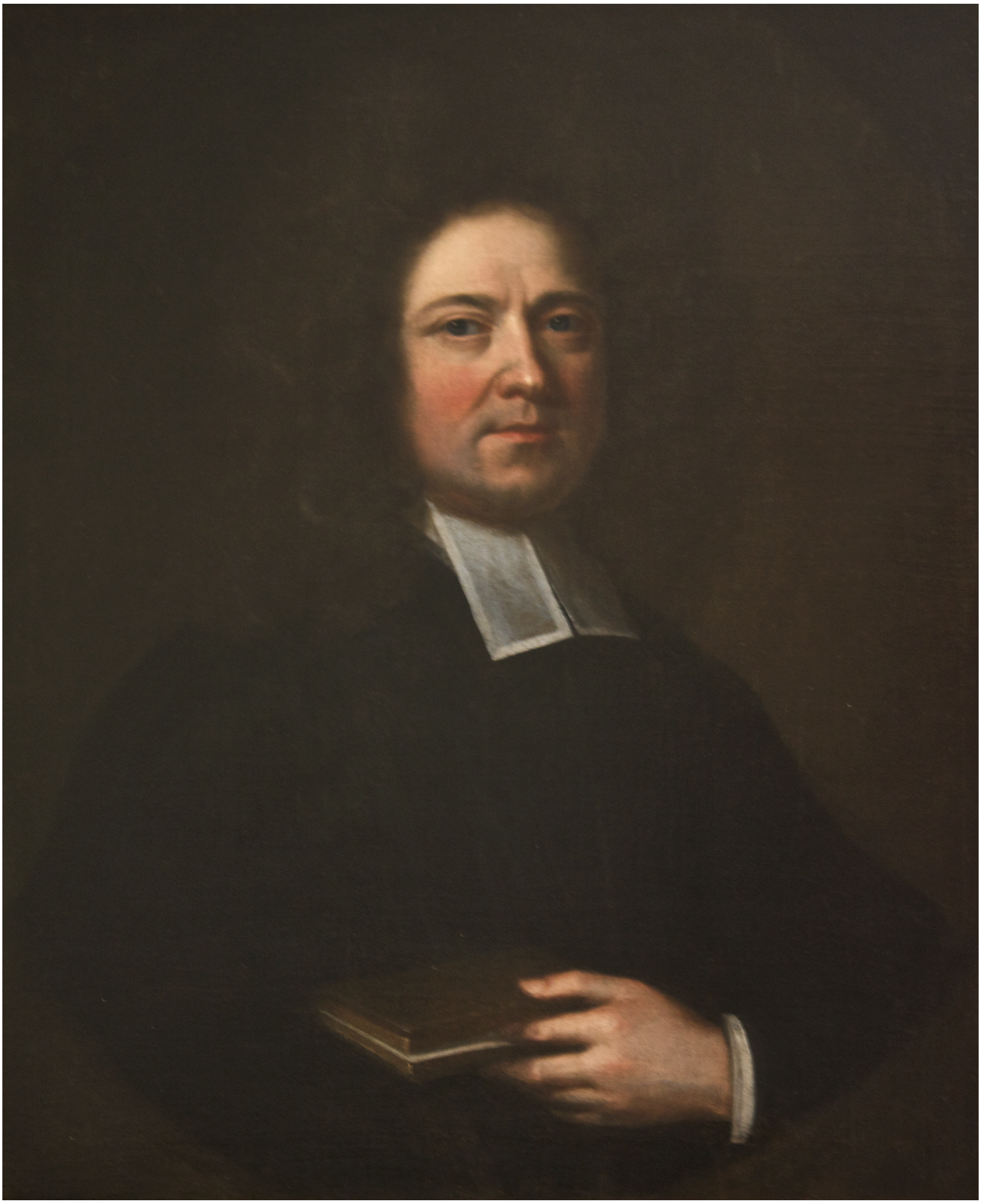

FRONTISPIECE

Portrait of James Blair, the president of William and Mary from its founding in 1693 until his death in 1743, painted in London in 1705 by J. Hargrave (Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary).

The College of William & Mary: A History, Vol. I

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1693–1888

SUSAN H. GODSON; LUDWELL H. JOHNSON; RICHARD B. SHERMAN; THAD W. TATE; AND HELEN C. WALKER

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These volumes are dedicated
to all living alumnae and alumni of
the College of William and Mary
and to the memory of all who have studied there
throughout its long history.

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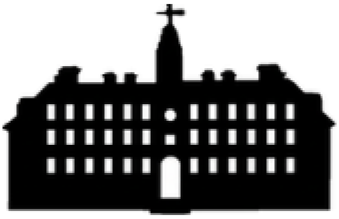
ILLUSTRATIONS



VOLUME I

Frontispiece

Portrait of James Blair, By J. Hargrave (1705)

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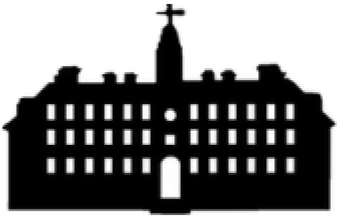
PREFACE



When the College of William and Mary began to plan the observance of its three hundredth anniversary, one of the earliest recommendations of the Tercentenary Commission, the body charged with oversight of the entire celebration, was that there should be a new history of the institution. While there were a number of accounts that treated limited aspects of the first two centuries in the life of the College, no comprehensive history existed. In particular, the years from the end of World War I to the present, the period in which the modern institution took form, had never been systematically examined.

A subcommittee on tercentenary publications undertook the task of exploring how such a history might be prepared. Its members worked with the provost, Melvyn D. Schiavelli, whose support for the undertaking proved indispensable. From the outset the commission and officials of the College made it clear that the work would receive generous funding and that any author or authors would have a free hand to write an objective history without restraint. Those commitments have remained firm throughout the preparation of the history.

Even with those two endemic problems of many commemorative and institutional histories eliminated, the task was still formidable. Finding a single author able to commit the necessary time to complete a volume covering such a span of time and embracing so many periods of American history proved especially difficult. The best solution seemed to be a collaborative work with several authors, each assuming responsibility for a major period in the history of the College.

The five of us who agreed to undertake the history recognized that such an approach posed difficulties of its own, especially the potential loss of some of the unity and coherence that a volume by a single author might more easily achieve. Yet, we also concluded, as we discussed how we might best divide responsibility for various segments of the overall study, that the history of William and Mary does in many respects divide into several distinct periods. More often than not, these periods are defined by the social and economic effects of some of the major wars in which Americans have engaged, from the American Revolution to World War II. While we hope that we have provided adequate transitions between the various sections and made it possible to read the work as a sustained narrative, we have nonetheless concluded that we ought to make clear, as we have done in the table of contents and the section headings, the division of the history into several such parts and the specific responsibilities of each author.

We began this undertaking with a sense that the character of histories of colleges and universities falls somewhere along a line from celebratory, anecdotal, even sentimental accounts of a beloved alma mater to scholarly, more objective examinations of the institution. Since we are all academically trained historians, almost inevitably our work tends in the latter direction. We believe, moreover, that it is important to understand the almost unceasing struggle of the College for survival in its first two centuries and, after permanence was essentially assured, the succession of efforts to define and redefine its purposes and character. We hope that those who will help set its direction as the fourth century begins will find this perspective on the history of William and Mary helpful.

We also have endeavored to give the story some interest, especially for alumni, who will no doubt constitute the largest readership for the volumes. And we hope we have written with some fondness for an institution with which all of us have had a close association.

Finally, it is probably fair to say that although we believed that we had an adequate appreciation of the task that lay before us, we almost certainly underestimated its difficulty. The College has had a long and unusually complex history. There are gaps in the sources, even for the more heavily documented years of the twentieth century. Even so, containing the length of the work while still producing a comprehensive history proved a great problem. We take some satisfaction in the fact that the College now has a systematic account of the full sweep of its history and hope that it may deepen our understanding of William and Mary's past.

S.H.G.
L.H.J.
R.B.S
T.W.T.
H.C.W.

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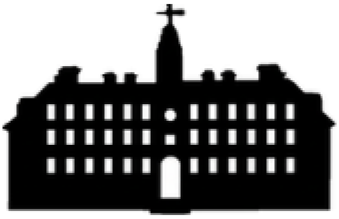

This work would not have been possible without the generous contribution of the Olde Guarde, the senior alumnae and alumni of the College of William and Mary. The authors are grateful for their continuing interest and support. We also wish to thank those members of the following institutions who provided essential research assistance: the library and special collections staffs of the Earl Gregg Swem Library (Margaret C. Cook, Kay J. Domine, Sharon Garrison, Susan A Riggs, Ellen R Strong, and Laura F. Parrish) ; the Virginia Historical Society (Waverly Winfree); the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation (John E. Ingram) ; Duke University; the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill; the Virginia Theological Seminary (Julia E. Randle); the Massachusetts Institute of Technology; the Virginia State Library; the Huntington Library ; the State Council of Higher Education; and the Naval Historical Center.

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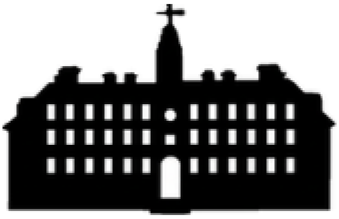
We also wish to express our appreciation for their assistance with illustrations to Jochen Wierich; Catherine H. Grosfils, Audio-Visual Editorial Librarian at the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation; and Kay J. Domine, Louise L. Kale, and S. Dean Olson. For the index, we thank Abigail C. Johnson, who compiled it under severe time pressure, and David Reed, who supplied the computer facilities and wrote a program to process the entries.

Finally, the authors take full responsibility for such errors or deficiencies that may appear in their individual sections. And we hope that those whose names we were unable to include will not think us the less grateful for their assistance.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES



A&S	Arts and Sciences
AAUP	American Association of University Professors
ABA	American Bar Association
ACLU	American Civil Liberties Union
APSP	*American Philosophical Society Proceedings*
BOV	Board of Visitors
CEBAF	Continuous Electron Beam Accelerator Facility
CLEO	Council on Legal Education Opportunity
CNC	Christopher Newport College
CWF	Colonial Williamsburg Foundation
DAB	*Dictionary of American Biography*
DH	David Holmes Collection of Bishop James Madison materials
DLC	Library of Congress
DU	Duke University
ESH	Eastern State Hospital
FAC	Faculty Advisory Council/Affairs Committee
FAS	Faculty of Arts and Sciences
FOIA	Freedom of Information Act
GPA	Grade Point Average
HEW	Health, Education, and Welfare, Dept. of
HMPEC	*Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*
IEAHC	Institute of Early American History and Culture
JLARC	Joint Legislative Audit and Review Committee
JSH	*Journal of Southern History*
MIT	Massachusetts Institute of Technology
MWSL	Marshall-Wythe School of Law
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NCAA	National Collegiate Athletic Association
NCATE	National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education
OCR	Office for Civil Rights

ODU	Old Dominion University
OIR	Office of Institutional Research
PBK	Phi Beta Kappa
PRO/CO	Public Records Office, Colonial Office, Great Britain
ROTC	Reserve Officers Training Corps
RPI	Richmond Professional Institute
SACS	Southern Association of Colleges and Schools
SACSS	Southern Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools
SAT	Scholastic Aptitude Test
SBA	School of Business Administration
SCHEV	State Council of Higher Education for Vrrginia
SCS	School of Continuing Studies
SE	School of Education
SLM	*Southern Literary Messenger*
SREL	Space Radiation Effects Laboratory
TQ	*Tyler's Quarterly* (title varies)
UVA	University of Virginia
VARC	Virginia Associated Research Center (Campus)
VCU	Virginia Commonwealth University
VFL	Virginia Fisheries Laboratory
VHS	Virginia Historical Society
VIMS	Virginia Institute of Marine Science
VMHB	*Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*
VPI&SU	Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University
VSL	Virginia State Library
VSLArchives	Virginia State Library and Archives
VTS	Virginia Theological Seminary
W&M	William and Mary
WMA	William and Mary Archives
WMM	William and Mary Manuscripts
WMN	*William and Mary News*
WMQ	*William and Mary Quarterly*

Part I

The Colonial College

1693–1782

By

Thad W. Tate

1

FOUNDATIONS: THE ROYAL CHARTER OF 1693

On September 1, 1693, the Reverend James Blair, rector of James City Parish and commissary of the Church of England in Virginia, prepared himself for an official appearance before the governor of the colony, Sir Edmund Andros, and the members of his council. To this group, which functioned as advisory body to the governor, upper house of the assembly, and high court of the colony, Blair himself also belonged. Blair brought with him the fruit of a two-year stay in England from which he had only recently returned, a charter providing for the establishment in the colony of Virginia of "a certain Place of universal Study, a perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences." On the preceding February 8, the English monarchs King William and Queen Mary had approved the charter, the only one they or their successors ever granted to an American institution. It was a satisfying and triumphant moment for the Scottish-born clergyman, principal founder, and first president of the new College that took the name of its royal patrons.

At the next session of the General Assembly, the legislative body of the colony, Blair also appeared before the House of Burgesses, its lower house, to present all the papers from his mission. On this occasion the charter also received a ceremonial reading, and both houses of the assembly, the burgesses and the council, adopted a memorial expressing their gratitude to the sovereigns. The members gave their thanks as well to James Blair, both verbally and in the more tangible form that the commissary and president always especially welcomed—provision for an honorarium of £250 plus reimbursement for expenses of some £600. Although much remained to be accomplished-the General Assembly turned almost immediately to finding a location and providing additional funds for the new College—the ceremonies that had taken place before the council and the burgesses marked the culmination of a long effort and a symbolic beginning for a unique American college.[1]

The precise and immediate origins of the idea of founding William and Mary are, like much about its early history, obscure. The first recorded reference to its founding appeared in a brief comment in Robert Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia* of 1705, noting that the governor and the council discussed the possibility in 1689 but could take no action because the House of Burgesses was not in session.[2] The date preceded Blair's appointment to the council in 1691 by two years but came an almost equal length of time after he had married Sarah Harrison, whose family connections among council members were numerous and would have afforded Blair easy access to its deliberations.

By the end of 1689, Blair had gained a new appointment that gave him a position in his own right from which to advance the idea of a college, for it was at that time that the bishop of London, who had ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the Anglican church in the colonies, appointed him as his commissary with supervisory powers over the Virginia clergy. When Blair called his first convocation of the clergy on July 23, 1690, he advanced "Several Propositions" for a new college which gained the prompt endorsement of those in attendance.[3] By the following February, Blair had also discussed his plan with the political leaders of the colony, and then in April 1691 the assembly gave its formal approval, formed a committee to raise funds to support the College, and voted to send Blair to England to launch the campaign that ended so successfully with the grant of the royal charter in February 1693.[4]

The Question of Origins

So brief a summary can, however, suggest no more than an outline of the manner in which the idea of a Virginia college unfolded. Many of those who have examined the history of William and Mary have, in fact, traced its beginnings back to a much earlier event, the attempted founding of a college at Henrico, a settlement on the north bank of the James River just below present-day Richmond. In 1619, when the colony was still a struggling outpost, the Virginia Company of London provided ten thousand acres of land and raised a large sum of money for the establishment of a school or college for the instruction of both Indian and English boys. In time the company dispatched a hundred laborers to work on college lands, placing them under the command of George Thorpe, a prominent settler, Cambridge graduate, and former member of Parliament. By 1622 company officials had also chosen a rector for this college, the Reverend Patrick Copland, son of an Aberdeen merchant who had settled in London.

Patrick Copland had already achieved recognition as a missionary and educator, but he was never to take up his Virginia post. Within two weeks of his appointment, news reached England that Indians had launched a major attack against settlements in Virginia (March 22, 1622). Henrico had suffered especially, and among those killed was George Thorpe. The company nonetheless ordered work to continue on the building of the college. Patrick Copland retained his appointment as rector and promised to set out "in due course" for Henrico. However, the revocation of the Virginia Company charter on May 24, 1624, and its virtual bankruptcy ended all possibility of opening the college at Henrico.[5]

There are indeed tantalizing parallels between this early attempt at Henrico and James Blair's successful foundation of William and Mary seventy years later. Both institutions had strong Anglican church connections; both envisioned the education of Indians and whites; and Copland and Blair were both Scottish-born clerics who had moved to London but had at very different times shared study at Marischal College, Aberdeen, and incorporated features of Scottish education in their plans for New World colleges. Blair's first Virginia parish likewise included the land on which the first college would have stood. Yet, despite the sometimes persuasive efforts of several of William and Mary's historians to forge such links-and thereby establish a claim to being the oldest rather than the second oldest college in the English colonies—the claim is tenuous. None of those active in the late seventeenth century effort to found a Virginia college left a record in which such assertion is made.[6] Moreover, while it possessed lands, at least partially constructed buildings. and a rector, Henrico never had students or faculty. It never in any true sense became a functioning college, however remarkable and pioneering the effort.

The larger reality was that, given the difficulties of life in early Virginia, the colony was in no position to carry through successfully the foundation of such an institution. The collapse of the Virginia Company, a scattered rural pattern of settlement, an astonishingly high death rate, and an inability of the governing elite fully to establish itself across succeeding generations militated against such an effort. Certainly the general idea resurfaced from time to time, particularly in the first years after 1660, when in England the Restoration had brought about the overthrow of the Puritans and returned the Stuart monarchs to the throne and reestablished the Anglican church, and when in Virginia the staunch royalist Sir William Berkeley had resumed his governorship. The principal evidence of that effort was a pair of resolutions by the General Assembly that the king be petitioned to issue letters patent "to collect and gather the charity of well disposed people in England for the erecting of colleges and schools in this countrye" and that in the colony "there be land taken upon purchases for a colledge and free schools and that there may be with as much speede as may be convenient housing erected therein for entertainment of students , and schollers."[7] Both resolutions also stressed the need to train an adequate supply of Anglican ministers to serve in the colony as another justification for a college.

In the short run, neither conditions in England, where growing foreign and domestic crises dominated politics, nor in Virginia, where increasing political turmoil culminated in Bacon's Rebellion in 1676, favored the new effort to found a college. Yet, in the years following the Restoration, trends were at work that made Blair's efforts more productive within another decade or two. For the first time, the colony began to experience a population growth that stemmed from natural increase rather than immigration, and a more stable social and political elite, one capable of passing its positions of leadership to Virginia-born sons, took hold, creating a greater demand for more advanced education. Indeed, the book that first noted the effort to establish William and Mary—Robert Beverley's *History*—was the work of a prominent member of the emerging Virginia-born elite. Beverley wrote with an acute sense of both the opportunities and need for improvement that his province presented and actively supported Blair.[8]

Another indication of a favorable change in the cultural climate of the colony was a rise in the late seventeenth century of university-educated inhabitants of the colony. The number was still small-but sufficiently large that over the entire course of the seventeenth century, Virginia colonists trained at either Scottish or English universities outnumbered their counterparts in New England. A significant number of the group were Anglican clergymen, a number of whom were, like James Blair, graduates of Scottish universities. Oxford, too, was well represented, Cambridge far less so, almost certainly a consequence of its Puritan leanings. The presence of this group, however small, provided a key bloc of supporters for Blair's efforts and must have been important, too, in making training in divinity one of the purposes of the institution and in allying the effort so closely with the church.[9] Given the royalist and Anglican leanings of Virginians, the Church connection had, of course, been important in the earlier efforts to found a college, and the 1660 resolutions had made it clear that royal favor was also vital. Thus, a final ingredient in Blair's success after 1690 was the change in the English monarchy brought about by the Glorious Revolution of 1688. From the Restoration in 1660 until that event, the Stuart monarchs, Charles II and James II, pursued policies of increasingly tighter economic and political control over the American colonies, more authoritarian rule at home, and closer alliance with the Catholic monarchs of France and Spain, accompanied by support for Catholicism in England itself. Nothing in the monarchs' program favored any philanthropic endeavors in the colonies, least of all a staunchly Anglican college in Virginia. With the overthrow of James II in the Glorious Revolution and the accession of the Dutch Protestant William and Mary, his English queen, who quickly demonstrated an interest in charitable and religious endeavors, the political and religious climate dramatically changed.

By the beginning of the 1690s, then, new circumstances in both England and Virginia finally made the founding of a Virginia college possible. Although some Virginians would continue to the very eve of the American Revolution to return to England for more advanced education, the provincial society of the colony had now matured to the point where a relatively stable, increasingly native-born elite sought opportunities for such advanced education for its sons in the colony. Despite an always-chronic shortage of clergy for the established church, a sufficient number of Anglican ministers were now serving in the colony to create another influential group of supporters—witness the first systematic formulation of plans for the College in a convocation of the clergy. They especially sought to associate the effort with their church and secure the backing of the ecclesiastical hierarchy in England. Finally, at home the monarchs and at least some part of the political leadership in the imperial bureaucracy were prepared to support the college.

Securing the Charter

While the founding of a college was now a distinct possibility, the success of the effort was by no means certain. Ardent backers were hardly numerous in either Virginia or England, although their ranks included persons as powerful as the Virginia governor Francis Nicholson and, of course, Commissary Blair, the prime mover. Blair effectively personified the manner in which the ambitions of the Virginia elite, the interests of the Anglican church, and the favorable political climate in England after 1688 all came together in this remarkable, if often disagreeable, man. Blair had quickly linked himself to the provincial elite by marriage and membership on the council; he was the appointed leader of the church in the colony; and before his arrival he had forged ties to high-ranking English clerics who were close to the new monarchs.

Such advantages had not come easily to James Blair. Born about 1655, the son of a Scottish clergyman who spent most of his ministry in a rural Banffshire parish, he began study at age twelve at Marischal College, Aberdeen, an institution that remained strongly Calvinist, presbyterian, and antiepiscopal despite Charles II's restoration of bishops in the Church of Scotland. After two years at Marischal, Blair enrolled at the University of Edinburgh in 1669, receiving his master of arts in 1673, and then proceeding to theological study at Edinburgh for six years under a celebrated teacher, Laurence Charteris.[10]

In a Scottish church that remained badly divided between episcopalian and presbyterian factions, James Blair, like his father, remained a strong advocate of a Scottish episcopacy—in that respect, at least, Marischal had not affected him. At the completion of his theological training in 1679, he had received ordination by the bishop of Edinburgh and appointment to a modest, rural parish near Edinburgh. For all his episcopalian convictions, Blair was also staunchly Protestant and in 1681 refused to take a test oath required of all Church of Scotland clergy by which they agreed to accept the future monarch, the Catholic James II, as head of the Scottish church upon his succession to the throne.

Removed from his parish as a consequence and barred from serving in Scotland, Blair, as did many other Scottish episcopalians, moved to London. Here he gained the patronage of another Marischal graduate, Gilbert Burnet, then chaplain of the Rolls Chapel but later bishop of Salisbury. Through Burnet he met other leaders of the Church of England, most notably Henry Compton, bishop of London, whose duties included supervision of the Anglican clergy in the colonies. By 1685 Compton persuaded Blair, who was at this time barely thirty years of age, to go to Virginia as rector of Varina Parish.[11] Although his patrons fell into disfavor with James II, who had succeeded to the throne in the year of his departure for Virginia, Blair was now in a comparatively safe position of which he took full advantage. He rapidly became a leader among his fellow clerics and in 1687 married Sarah Harrison, allying himself with one of the most powerful families among Virginia's governing elite.[12]

With the overthrow of James II in the Glorious Revolution, the accession of William and Mary, and the restoration of Blair's ecclesiastical patrons to their positions of influence, Blair's position grew even stronger. A new lieutenant governor for the colony, Francis Nicholson, arrived in June 1690, bringing with him the commission that named Blair as Bishop Compton's commissary for Virginia.[13] It seems likely that Compton had a hand in Nicholson's appointment no less than Blair's. The two men for the present became close allies, although the friendship between them would eventually turn to unremitting hostility.[14]

Within a few weeks of receiving his commission as commissary, Blair called his first convocation of the Virginia clergy on July 23, 1690, at Jamestown, this being the meeting at which he first introduced his plan for the College, the "Several Propositions." The detailed nature of Blair's scheme—it spelled out at some length the basic structure of grammar school, college, and divinity school, defined faculty positions, and specified the amount of faculty salaries and allowances—strongly suggested that Blair had begun its formulation well in advance of the convocation, perhaps in cooperation with his new ally, Nicholson.[15] The commissary's fellow clergy promptly endorsed the propositions, as we know, and also authorized a petition to the General Assembly asking members to add their support.[16]

The assembly did not meet again for almost a year—in April and May of 1691—but there is at least one suggestion that in the interim Blair and others continued to discuss and refine the college proposal. In a May Day 1699 student oration on the founding of the College, the young speaker described a meeting, "of some private gentlemen" at Jamestown in February 1691 and identified John Page as "the person that had the chief honour to be the first mover in procureing such a meeting."[17] Page was a landholder at Middle Plantation, where the College would eventually be located, and a member of the governor's council who must from this time be associated with Blair and Nicholson as one of those taking a lead in planning for the College.

We know that when the assembly met in April 1691, it lost little time in doing its part by its petition to the king and queen, plan for raising money, and, above all, authorization of Blair's trip to England. Only one item seemed to cause the members much concern, an article in the original proposals that recommended "that a convenient place may be appointed as near as may be the Center of the Country for the seating of said Colledge, and a sufficient Quantity of land purchased for the same." First defining the center as north of the York River in Gloucester County, the assembly changed its mind and settled instead on a location to the south of the York River in York County.

One dissident attempted without success to have the petition forwarded in the mails, thereby saving the expense of sending Blair to England. But the commissary was to have his trip, his first return to the home country since he had arrived in the colony. By June he had departed, armed with a detailed set of instructions built around obtaining a charter and a grant of arms, searching for private gifts, and finding a teacher for the Grammar School. The stage was set for Blair's two-year effort to accomplish these ends.[18]

When Commissary Blair reached London at the beginning of September 1691, he must have hoped, even though he had much to accomplish, that matters would move more promptly than they did. Instead he encountered repeated delays, some unintended and a consequence of unforeseen circumstances but many the inevitable product of the bureaucratic and political maze through which he had to work his way. We can still experience a certain tedium in following his progress. What we know comes largely from Blair's intermittent letters to Governor Nicholson and a few official records. Apart from Bishop Gilbert Burnet's comments in the *History of His Own Time*, which remained unpublished until the nineteenth century, no one in England appeared to refer to Blair's efforts outside the public records.[19]

Upon his arrival Blair found first off that virtually everyone whom he needed to see was away from London—the Virginia colonial agent in Wales, King William on the continent, several of the bishops whom he knew in their dioceses. The bishop of London, Henry Compton, was on hand but ill and out of favor with William. Hence, he proved "unwilling to meddle in any court business." Ultimately, however, several other bishops whom Blair had known from his days in London were helpful. Edward Stillingfleet, bishop of Worcester, had the confidence of Queen Mary and advised Blair that she was the most likely source of support for charitable projects.[20] Bishop Burnet offered to use his influence, and, finally, John Tillotson, the archbishop of Canterbury, succeeded in attracting even the king's attention.

On November 12, accompanied by Tillotson and Lord Howard of Effingham, the governor of Virginia immediately preceding Nicholson, Blair had his audience with the monarch, made his request, and received a favorable response. Blair's account reported William as observing, "I am glad that the colony is upon so good a design & I will promote it to the best of my power."[21] Within two days Blair was instructed to present a detailed financial request to Bishop Compton and Archbishop Tillotson. If they approved, it would then be sent forward to the lords of trade and plantations. Blair followed with a successful meeting with the bishops, providing a memorial pleading the College's case for their use. He then found himself waiting for eight months while his statement made its tortuous way through the various layers of imperial officialdom, in the course of which it encountered some opposition to the idea of permanently committing crown revenues to the College.

While he awaited the outcome, Blair focused on his need to find private support. First, with the assistance of Bishop Burnet, who had preached the funeral sermon for the renowned scientist Robert Boyle, the commissary succeeded in securing provision by Boyle's executors for a large portion of the income from Brafferton Manor in Yorkshire to support a school for Indians at the College. Although the plan for an Indian school might have appeared to resurrect a principal objective of the attempted college at Henrico, the idea evidently came not from any memory of that earlier effort in Virginia but rather as a consequence of the trustees' particular interests and a similar bequest for Harvard College.[22] The details of the execution of the bequest took time to work out, but when they were completed in 1697, the College thereafter received its share of the Brafferton income every year until the American Revolution.

Blair's other early success in finding private benefactors came in an agreement negotiated between the lords of trade, the commissary, and the London merchant Micajah Perry under which three accused pirates captured in Virginia waters were to give a fourth of the value of their loot, approximately £300, to the College in return for a pardon and the recovery of the remaining money.[23]

Blair continued to fight as well for a restoration of the royal revenues that English officials sought to withhold.[24] One of the often-told, if perhaps apocryphal, anecdotes that illustrates the commissary's embattled position was recounted in 1784 by Benjamin Franklin. In Franklin's account, when the possibility of issuing a charter and providing support for the College was discussed, one of the lords of the treasury, Sir Edward Seymour:

> oppos'd the Grant; saying that the Nation was engag'd in an expensive War, that the Money was wanted [for] better purposes, and he did not see the least Occa-

> sion for a College in Virginia. Blair represented to him, that its Intention was to educate and qualify young Men to be Ministers of the Gospel, much wanted there; and begged Mr. Attorney would consider, that the People of Virginia had souls to be saved, as well as the People of England. "Souls!" says he, "damn your Souls. Make Tobacco!"[25]

Blair never mentioned this incident in any of his surviving writings, and Seymour, in any event, was not attorney general, as Franklin stated.[26] He was, however, a key imperial official, and the remark, true or not, was no doubt in keeping with his attitude toward the founding of the College.

Finally, the lords of the treasury made their report to the king, continuing to recommend against several of Blair's requests for support, specifically a grant from the crown quitrents, the proceeds from escheated estates in the colony, and the income of the office of surveyor general, the last derived from substantial fees paid by county surveyors for their licenses. The officials were willing, however, to provide two large land grants, one near Blackwater Swamp south of the James River and the other on Pamunkey Neck on the upper York and to allow the College to have the proceeds of a tax of one pence per pound collected on tobacco exported from Virginia or Maryland to other American colonial ports.

Blair refused, however, to give up hope of obtaining the entire package of support, and in the end he prevailed. On September 1, 1692, a year from his arrival in London, the College received all that it had sought-a payment from quitrents totaling almost £2,000 to help with the building of the College, the two land grants of ten thousand acres each, the tobacco export tax receipts, and the "Issues, Fees, and Profits" of the surveyor general's office.[27] In return, the College would only pay a symbolic annual quitrent of two copies of Latin verses to be delivered on Guy Fawkes Day, November 5, an obligation with which over the years, to judge from the survival of some of the verses, the College faithfully complied.[28]

The commissary's work was not yet complete, however, for he now faced the task of preparing the actual text of the charter for the king's approval. In nothing that survives did Blair explain the details of his work. Clearly, he had given much thought to the matter long before he left Virginia so that he could begin with a relatively complete conception of the structure of the institution. Almost certainly there was further consultation with Governor Nicholson, who in particular recommended that he obtain help from two English lawyers, "church of England men . . . [who] were every way qualify' d."[29] One can assume that Blair examined the charters of English and Scottish universities, although the result suggested that he followed no single model.[30] All in all, apart from the need to frame the provisions of the charter in acceptable legal terms, it is logical to assume that Blair already clearly understood what he wanted the document to contain.

The monarchs duly granted the charter under the date of February 8, 1693. Blair now knew that his efforts, begun at least four years earlier, were successful, although the tasks of finding a faculty, constructing buildings, and actually enrolling the first students lay ahead. For now, the charter itself was the important thing, and the commissary could look forward to bearing it triumphantly back to Virginia.[31]

Behind its stilted and formulaic language, the charter contained several basic provisions which can be summarized as follows:[32]

1. The opening paragraph defined the College as founded "to the end that the Church of *Virginia* may be furnish' d with a Seminary of Ministers of the Gospel, and that the Youth may be piously educated in good Letters and Manners, and that the Christian Faith may be propagated among the Western *Indians*." It was to be—in the words that are regularly intoned at modem observances of Charter Day—"a certain Place of universal Study, a perpetual College of Divinity, Philosophy, Languages, and other good Arts and Sciences, consisting of one President, six Masters or Professors, and an hundred Scholars more or less." The twin emphasis on the study of divinity and the general education in arts and sciences of the youth of the colony met both the objectives of the Virginia social elite for improving the education of their sons and those of the clergy for strengthening the Church of England in the colony. Secular and religious purposes were joined in the new institution from its very beginning. The reference to educating and proselytizing Native Americans was, of course, a response to the Boyle bequest.
2. The control of properties and revenues of the College and the right of nominating faculty rested initially in the hands of a body of eighteen trustees, who were specifically named in the charter. Their ranks included Governor Nicholson, four members of the council, nine members of the House of Burgesses—one was Blair's father-in-law—and four clergymen, one of them Blair himself. Again the interests of the church and clergy were joined with those of Virginia's powerful governing elite. No provision was made for choosing new trustees, since they constituted in theory a temporary governing body to serve until the College was fully established with a full complement of faculty, at which time control of property and revenues would be handed to the president and masters, and the charter would be transferred into their hands. Few would have anticipated that the transfer would not take place for more than thirty years and that by that time the trustees would have declined in number by death until only two were still living.
3. In the ninth and tenth articles, the charter also named the trustees and their successors as "the true, sole and undoubted Visitors and Governors of the said College for ever." It also endowed the group with "full and absolute Liberty, Power and Authority, of making, enacting, framing and establishing such and so many Rules, Laws, Statutes, Orders and Injunctions, for the good and wholesome Government of the said College, as . . . shall from time to time … seem most fit and expedient." The Board of Visitors, or Visitors and Governors—both designations were employed in the colonial period—was required to have a minimum membership of eighteen, which was the size of the original group, but could be expanded to as many as twenty. A majority of the sitting board could elect their successors or fill vacancies from "the principal and better sort of inhabitants" of Virginia. Fol-

lowing an initial appointment of James Blair as rector of the Board by the terms of the charter, the members thereafter were to elect their rector annually. Thus, the charter conveyed broad but vaguely defined powers to this permanent, self-perpetuating governing body.

4. The charter also resolved the choice of a first president by naming James Blair to serve for life, a tenure that perhaps might be viewed with envy by presidents of today's American institutions of higher education. In one of his early letters to Nicholson from England, Blair professed not to have thought ahead while still in Virginia as to who might fill the office. Rather, he declared to the governor, the bishops and others with whom he had consulted in England urged the selection of a president as a necessary first step in organizing the College and securing a faculty. While suggesting that good people could be found in England, Blair went on to observe that such a man might be reluctant to go to America or even might not "at all be fitt for such a small College as ours will be." Blair put himself forward with seeming reluctance. "Though I never sought a place in my whole life time," he told Nicholson, "I could find it in my heart to seek this." Nicholson took the hint and managed Blair's nomination by the Virginia assembly in April 1692. Not surprisingly, the charter in the following year confirmed Blair as president at the same time that it designated him as the first rector.[33]
5. The charter likewise provided another College office, that of chancellor. As with the post of rector, it named a first chancellor, Henry Compton, bishop of London, but set a seven-year term. Thereafter, the rector and the Board could elect an "eminent and discreet Person" to fill the chancellorship. The charter did not specify any duties or powers, evidently in replication of what was in English and Scottish universities essentially an honorary position. Compton's designation as the first to hold the office also set a general precedent, although one not universally followed, of appointing an English bishop. Bishop Compton had been far less helpful in securing the charter than several of his episcopal colleagues, and Blair, some years later in 1702, commented on "the imperfect notion we had of him . . . that he was to be a Great Man of the Church of England."[34] Yet he was Blair's superior in his position as commissary , and his supervisory powers over the church in the colonies made him a logical choice from the perspective of English officials.
6. William and Mary, based upon the example of seats held in the English Parliament by Oxford and Cambridge Universities, was to have its own seat in the lower house of the Virginia assembly, with the president and masters having the right of election. The assembly, however, resisted implementing this provision—and the College did not press for it—until the transfer of the charter.
7. As Blair had envisioned from the first, the College was to include the Grammar School, a school of philosophy (that is, instruction in moral and natural philosophy at the collegiate level), and a school of divinity. The charter affirmed these parts of the College but did not provide for the Indian School, although it looked to the conversion of Indians as one of the stated purposes of the College in the

preamble. In all that he wrote during the process of securing the charter, Blair was emphatic that initially he envisioned opening only the Grammar School.[35] Although Blair no doubt made the decision that practical necessity dictated, he had to recognize, too, that the College would not be complete or the charter transferred to the president and masters until it offered advanced instruction in philosophy and divinity.

8. The articles of the charter that defined the governance and institutional structure of William and Mary, although they were particularly important, did not constitute all the provisions of a very long document Several lengthy sections reaffirmed and laid out the detailed provisions of the various grants of land and income that the crown had bestowed on the College. Other articles defined the legal status as a corporate body of the president and masters, provided for the College to have a seal, and specified that the College should provide a council chamber in which the rector and Visitors could convene from time to time.

Although the charter incorporated some provisions that were suggested to Blair only after he began his work in England and although in some respects the charter rested upon an eclectic borrowing from both English and Scottish precedents, the final document in many important respects largely ratified the ideas that Blair and others had formed in Virginia, reaching back to the commissary's "Several Propositions." It was, moreover, a document that continued to blend the secular and religious motivations that had combined to produce the demand by Virginians for a college. In an age that did not rigidly separate the worldly and the spiritual, it remained to be seen how the relationship between the two would unfold in the affairs of the College—and, for that matter, how they would play out in the life of the man who was simultaneously the founder, first president, trustee, and first rector of the new institution while he remained commissary and titular leader of the Anglican clergy of Virginia and an increasingly powerful political leader in the affairs of the colony.

The Charter and the Development of the College

As explicit as the terms of the charter were, much about the character of William and Mary remained to be determined from the day-to-day experience of getting it started and keeping it in operation-no easy task. Thirty-six years were to pass before all the professorships could be filled and the transfer of the charter effected. For another half century thereafter, the College continued to struggle, frequently facing divisive controversies and financial hardship. But for almost nine decades, the Charter of 1693 was its operative "constitution," its fundamental law, amplified by College statutes and regulations, and by the actions of faculty and Visitors. As such, the royal charter was a unique document in the history of American higher education, one that in some, though certainly not all, respects gave William and Mary a distinctive place within the embryonic system of higher education, nine colleges in all, that developed in eight of the mainland colonies of British North America before the American Revolution.

If William and Mary's royal charter was the only one granted an American colonial college, it had one possible counterpart within an extended colonial setting that also embraced an earlier but continuing English colonization of Ireland. There, in 1592, Queen Elizabeth I granted a charter to Trinity College, Dublin, which declared it to be "the mother of a university," although it contained but a single college, and defined its purposes, rather like those of William and Mary a century later, as instruction in the arts and promotion of religion, that is, Anglican and Protestant Christianity. In 1637, when Archbishop William Laud became its chancellor, the college received a new charter increasing the power of the crown and the provost in its affairs. Trinity came under severe attack and military occupation by the forces of James II in the Glorious Revolution but rapidly revived under the more benevolent treatment of William III.[36]

No evidence exists of a conscious link between Trinity and William and Mary, even though the two, one being resurrected and the other founded, must have come to the attention of King William and Queen Mary at almost the same time. Trinity might have provided the model for a chartered "colonial" and Anglican institution, although Virginians would have seemed to conceive the idea of a royal charter well before Blair reached England.

Before the end of the colonial era, one other American college of strongly Anglican leanings sought a royal charter, although subsequent to its founding. As early as 1704, the Anglican missionary group, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, conceived the idea of an Anglican college for the "center of English America," by which it meant the colony of New York.[37] By the time that the foundation of a New York college came to fruition decades later with the organization in 1754 of King's College—a predecessor of Columbia University—New York was a religiously diverse colony. As with William and Mary, but perhaps with even greater force, there were strong secular motives for an institution that could train a political and social elite. The New York legislature approved the grant of a provincial charter for King's that stipulated that the president should be an Anglican and all college religious services be conducted according to the Anglican liturgy. Its governing board, although dominated by Anglicans, also included representatives of four other religious groups, public officials, and lay members chosen without regard to their religious affiliation. The board also included as ex officio members two important English officials, the archbishop of Canterbury and the first lord commissioner of trade and plantations, both of whom might be represented by proxies. King's was open to students of all religious persuasions, and the board had full power over the appointment and discharge of the president and members of the faculty, the making of rules for the college, and the choice of textbooks.[38]

King's in its first years lacked the royal charter and full-fledged Anglican character of William and Mary, although its Anglican ties were strong. On the eve of the Revolution, however, under the leadership of the second president of King's, the Oxford-educated cleric Myles Cooper, New York Anglicans set out to remake the institution. By 1771 Cooper had introduced new statutes based in some part on Oxford, overseen successful efforts at raising money in Great Britain, and begun to increase a student enrollment that had failed as yet to reach forty. Three years later, at Cooper's urging, the board of governors had prepared a charter for submission to English officials. As one historian has observed, "it was a remarkably ambitious blueprint." The framers adopted their own version of the wording of the 1592 Trinity College charter by designating King's "the mother of the American University in the Province of New York." King's was to form the core of an expanded number of colleges. Its president, who would still have to be Anglican, would also serve as president of the larger university, and the board of governors of King's would be expanded and become the university board with full governing powers. The new university would enjoy two seats in the provincial legislature, and the number of Anglicans and royal officeholders who served as governors would increase.

The proposed charter was indeed an ambitious document, little short of breathtaking in its expectations for an institution that had still enrolled only a handful of students at any given time, but during late 1774 and early I 775 it met an initially favorable reception from the crown and royal officials. A rapidly developing Revolutionary crisis, however, left no place for such an undertaking. Far from becoming the man to implement such a plan, Myles Cooper, an avowed Loyalist, in May 1775 fled the colony and took refuge on a British warship. There was to be no American University in the Province of New York—and no royal charter.[39]

Had the effort of Cooper and his supporters succeeded, the charter that William and Mary had received eight decades earlier might have seemed a less significant document. For almost a century, however, while simultaneously embodying in common with all the other colonial colleges the aspirations of its provincial elite, William and Mary remained an institution that expressed a more traditional Anglican and imperial vision of the social and religious order. While the charter had not provided an active imperial voice in its governing structure, the close review of the document by the lords of trade before its confirmation, the permanent provision for financial support granted by the crown, and the appointment of a high ecclesiastical official of the established church as its first chancellor signified something more than a onetime token of royal favor. Although sometimes hostile to the president and masters and more supportive of the provincial Board of Visitors in college disputes, a succession of royal governors took their involvement in the affairs of William and Mary seriously, generally maintaining a tradition of imperial patronage of learning and religion.

Although in English practice the position was conceived as largely honorific, the act of selecting the bishop of London as first chancellor established a continuing relationship between the College and ecclesiastical and imperial authority that at times proved influential. A succession of bishops of London—and occasionally an archbishop of Canterbury or a lay official of the British government—continued to fill the chancellor's post, and the more active of them were especially influential in the recruitment of faculty and in an increasing predominance of Anglican clergymen among the group. Given their political connections with the home government, they could from time to time advance the interests of the College among imperial officials. Such an avenue of communication was often of particular benefit to the president and the masters, providing a source of influence and power that after the time of James Blair they did not possess in the colony itself. That link between the faculty and the hierarchy of the Church of England-an outgrowth of custom and practice, not a specific provision of the charter-proved especially important in light of the complexity, indeed ambivalence, present in its provisions for transfer of the charter itself and control over property and resources to the president and masters, while simultaneously awarding the Board of Visitors power over appointments and rules and regulations.

Indeed, the most compelling question about the charter, one that has aroused considerable debate among historians of American higher education, concerns the extent to which its provisions made the faculty a self-governing, autonomous corporation in the tradition of the universities of medieval origins, such as, in the case of England, Oxford and Cambridge.[40] Older histories of William and Mary long maintained that provisions in the William and Mary charter, such as the grant of representation in the Virginia assembly on the model of the Parliamentary seats held by Oxford and Cambridge or the mandated transfer of the charter from the original trustees to the president and faculty, established the critical influence of the English university tradition of an autonomous faculty on William and Mary alone among the American colonial colleges. The counter position, most recently and cogently advanced by Jurgen Herbst, asserts the weakness of such a tradition at William and Mary and emphasizes its operation as no more than a grammar school for its first thirty-six years. It points also to a strong Scottish influence on the charter, one that transferred to Virginia an alternate tradition of governance of schools and colleges by a powerful external authority—in this instance, the Board of Visitors and Governors.[41]

The essential thrust of Herbst's argument is that all of the early American colleges, Anglican William and Mary included, developed forms of external governance as a consequence of religious influences on education arising in the first instance out of the Protestant Reformation, but reinforced in the American colonies by the initial smallness and fragility of the early colleges, limiting the competence of their faculties to govern themselves. In the areas of Europe swept by the Reformation, universities became essentially territorial institutions answerable in part to civil authority, and although they were founded to advance the Protestant faith, they always had strong secular purposes as well. The Reformation produced, moreover, a tier of lower schools—gymnasia in Continental terminology—not offering degrees but providing a classical and religious education at a preuniversity level. Being locally organized, without a charter from higher authorities, unable to grant degrees, but offering much of the instruction and taking on some of the characteristics of a university, these institutions were nonetheless more easily made subject to control by local authorities outside the institution and more likely at the most to allow their faculties a minor voice in purely internal affairs.[42]

The first three American colleges—Harvard, William and Mary, and Yale—all in Herbst's view were "more closely related in conception and governmental practice to the contemporary academic institutions of Reformed Europe . . . than to the medieval universities."[43] All began and continued for some years as grammar schools, even though they intended to offer collegiate instruction and ultimately did so, and all had from their inception external trustees or governing bodies. Even without the close links between civil authority and established churches, Puritan or Anglican, that prevailed in Massachusetts, Virginia, and Connecticut where the first three American colleges were established, all the later colleges followed a similar pattern. Four, New Jersey (later Princeton), Queen's (later Rutgers), Dartmouth, and Rhode Island (later Brown), were founded by religious groups caught up in the Great Awakening; and two, King's and the College of Philadelphia (later Pennsylvania), were founded in colonial cities that contained great religious diversity and exhibited increasingly secular educational concerns. Yet, all developed their own forms of external control of their governance.[44] William and Mary, as an Anglican institution with a royal charter might, as Herbst recognizes and its early historians strongly maintained, present an exception to this general pattern, but Herbst concludes that, in fact, it did not. In his view, even Oxford and Cambridge were developing some tendencies toward external control. More important, England had developed numerous grammar schools, often with a strong principal as the chief administrative officer but also with a powerful external body of governors or trustees. Indeed, the idea of a trusteeship became especially popular in the last half of the seventeenth century, so that the use of this model as a transitional arrangement for William and Mary was a logical step.[45]

Even more decisive was the extent of the power assigned by the William and Mary charter to the Board of Visitors. While the president and masters would receive the charter and control revenues, the Board became the "true, sole, and undoubted visitors and governors of the said college forever," and the rector—the Board's presiding officer—a powerful figure in college affairs. It was in this provision and also in the combination of a grammar school with authority to grant university degrees that Herbst found the Scottish influence on William and Mary especially strong. James Blair was obviously the likely agent for transmitting that influence. These charter provisions—and the general thrust of the curriculum—were a close replication of the charter provisions for Marischal, Blair's own school. Edinburgh, where he had taken his degree in divinity, was likewise an institution established by royal grant and governed by the external authority of the town council under a rector.[46]

Herbst's analysis is in many respects convincing. James Blair clearly expected to launch William and Mary as a grammar school and to add collegiate instruction later. He had from the start collaborated closely with the legislature of Virginia in promoting the idea of a college and looked to the provincial government for some part of its financial support, steps that certainly carried the implication of a voice by political authorities in the control of the institution. The charter indeed opened the way for a powerful Board of Visitors on which political leaders would often play a dominant role. Over the course of the eighteenth century, the Board sought to put the widest possible interpretation on its assigned powers, challenging the faculty time after time.

Yet, the charter had also conveyed a marked degree of authority to the president and masters, and there was a certain symbolism in their physical possession of the charter, once the transfer had taken place. The faculty, too, sought, where any point in the charter was vague, to extend its powers, as, for example, the right to approve degrees. In addition, the eventual predominance on the faculty of English-born clerics and their relationship with politically powerful Anglican prelates who served as chancellors afforded faculty members a more powerful voice in college affairs than they might otherwise have achieved. They saw William and Mary as embedded in an imperial culture, tied closely to the mother country, and looked at times to Oxford and Cambridge, especially the former, as the appropriate model for a Virginia institution.

The consequence was a long, bitterly contested fight between Visitors and faculty through much of the later colonial period, when William and Mary had filled out its faculty and begun to offer instruction on the collegiate level. If the decision went eventually in favor of external governance by the Board of Visitors, bringing William and Mary in line with the other early American colleges, the route was at times rocky and the outcome uncertain. Indeed, the faculty made their strongest and most nearly successful effort to shape William and Mary in conformity with their ambitions on the very eve of the American Revolution. Only with independence did the Visitors emerge victorious. Their triumph may therefore have been achieved later and have been less foreordained than Herbst suggests, even if he is entirely correct about the eventual outcome.

In 1693, however, such a conflict was hardly conceivable. There was no reason to fight over control of an institution that did not yet exist, one that faced a long struggle to survive. Blair, moreover, had established personal control over both avenues of governance contained in the charter. He was simultaneously its president, a powerful trustee, and an influential member of the Board of Visitors. He presided over a faculty of two, the Grammar School and Indian masters, who held academically inferior appointments and lacked any claim to the status of a university faculty. His political power and that of his family connections were such that no one in the colony wished to challenge him. Some may well have been indifferent to the idea of founding the College, but none had the least interest in wresting control of it from him.

NOTES

1. H. R Mcilwaine and J. P. Kennedy, eds., *Journals of the House of Burgesses of Viginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond: Colonial Press, 1905–15), 1659/60–1693: 459, 465, 466, 491, 495. The best account of the charter, including the loss of the original document by the College in the 1780s, is Frank B. Evans, *The Story of the Royal, Charter of the College of William and Mary*, Botetourt Publications, no. 4 (Williamsburg: Botetourt Bibliographical Society, 1978). The best modem edition of the text of the charter is Frank B. Evans, ed., *The Royal Charter of 1693* ([Williamsburg: The College of William and Mary], 1993), which is a photographic reprint of the version published in Nicholas Trott, comp., *The Laws of the British Plantations in America, Relating to the Church and the Clergy, Religion and Learning* (London, 1721). A second printed version that appeared in England is in Henry Hartwell, James Blair, and Edward Chilton, *The Present State of Virginia and the College* (London: John Wyat, 1727), 72–95, which was republished in a modem edition, ed. Hunter D. Farish (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, Inc., 1940). The first Virginia printing of the text was *The Charter and Statutes of the College of William and Mary in Virginia* (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1736). The College has photostatic

copies of the four stages of the original—warrant, King's Bill, Writ of Privy Seal, and Patent Roll entry—in the Public Record Office, London, folder 2, College Archives, WMA.

2. Robert Beverley, *History and Present State of Virginia,* ed. Louis B. Wright (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1947), 97.
3. Public Record Office, Colonial Office 5, London, 1305, microfilm copy in Virginia Colonial Records Project, CWF Library (hereinafter cited as PRO/CO 5). See also "Papers Relating to the Founding of the College," *WMQ,* 1st ser., 7 (1898–99): 158–59.
4. "Speeches of Students of the College of William and Mary Delivered May 1, 1699," *WMQ,* 2d ser., 10 (1930): 333–34; Mcilwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses,* 1659/60–1693: lxiv, 343, 344, 361, 363, 366, 368, 372–74.
5. There are full accounts of the effort to found the Henrico college in Robert H. Land, "Henrico and Its College," *WMQ,* 2d ser., 18 (1938): 453–98; J. E. Morpurgo, *"Their Majesties' Royall Colledge": William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsburg: Endowment Association of the College of William and Mary, 1976), chap. 1; and Eric Gethyn-Jones, *George Thorpe and the Berkeley Company: A Gloucestershire Enterprise in Virginia* (Gloucester, England: Alan Sutton, 1982), passim. A. Bailey Cutts, "The Educational Influence of Aberdeen in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *WMQ,* 2d ser., 15 (1935): 232–38, is also useful.
6. See esp. Morpurgo, *William and Mary,* who argues strongly for a direct connection between Henrico and William and Mary but also recognizes (p. 30) Blair's failure to make any reference to the earlier effort, especially to find any remaining endowments that he might claim.
7. William Waller Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large ... of Virginia,* 13 vols. (New York: R W. and G. Barrow, 1823), 2:25, 30–31n; Cutts, "Educational Influence of Aberdeen," 240–41.
8. Beverley, *History,* ed. Wright, 97–100.
9. University-trained settlers came to New England largely in the early part of the century in part because this was the time of the greatest New England migration and also because the founding of Harvard in 1636 provided college instruction in the region. A few college-trained migrants came to Virginia quite early, George Thorpe, for example, but, as noted above, most came late in the century. I am indebted to Dr. James McLachlan for sharing with me information from his work in progress on university graduates in the American colonies on which this paragraph is based.
10. Parke Rouse, Jr., *James Blair of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1971), chap. 1, provides an excellent summary of Blair's pre-Virginia years.
11. Rouse, *James Blair,* chap. 2.
12. Ibid., 32–35, deals fully with the circumstances of the courtship and marriage and with the complex web of Harrison relationships through marriage with other powerful Virginia families.
13. Blair's commission, dated December 15, 1689, is in PRO/CO 5/1305.
14. Rouse, *James Blair,* 38.
15. Cf. Morpurgo, *William and Mary,* 30.
16. See note 3, above.
17. "Speeches of Students," 333–34; Morpurgo, *William and Mary,* 31–38.
18. Mcilwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses,* 1659/60–1693: 343, 344, 352, 353, 361, 363, 366, 368, 372–74, 465–66; several key documents are also reprinted in "Papers Relating to Founding," 161–64.
19. William Stevens Perry, ed., *Historical Collections Relating to the American Colonial Church,* 5 vols. (Hartford: Printed for the Subscribers, 1870–78), 1:3–9, reprints two of the most important letters to Nicholson. For Burnet's comments, see *Gilbert Burnet's History of His Own Time ...,* 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1823), 4:209–10.
20. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections,* 1:3-9.

21. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:6.
22. Ibid., 1:8; "Supplementary Documents ... Concerning Four Forms of the Oldest Building," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 10 (1930): 68–69.
23. The deal may not have been altogether as crass as it has been made to appear, since the case against the men turned on technicalities in the laws regarding licensed privateering rather than flagrant piracy. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:8. There is a full account in Edmund Berkeley, Jr., "Three Philanthropic Pirates," *VMHB* 74 (1966): 433–44.
24. The course of this struggle can be followed in PRO/CO 5/1306, 116, 1 18, 119.
25. Benjamin Franklin to Mason Weems and Edward Gant, July 18, 1784, in Albert Henry Smyth, ed., *The Writings of Benjamin Franklin*, 10 vols. (New York: Macmillan Co., 1905–1907), 9:240.
26. Rouse, *James Blair*, 70–71, 281 nn. 26, 27.
27. PRO/CO 5/1306, no. 118; CO 5/1358; W. Noel Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies*, 40 vols. (London: H. M. Stationery Office, 1860–1939) , 1693–96: 671–74, 678, 693.
28. See, e.g., Julian Ward Jones, Jr., "A New Latin Quitrent Poem of the College of William and Mary," *VMHB* 96 (1988): 491–504.
29. "Papers Relating to the Administration of Governor Nicholson and to the Founding of William and Mary College," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 159.
30. Cf. Rouse, *James Blair*, 71.
31. For references to the issuance and printing of the charter, see note 1 above.
32. See note 1 above for editions of the charter.
33. Blair to Nicholson, Dec. 3, 1691, "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 160–63; Blair's appointment is also perceptively discussed in Rouse, *James Blair*, 75–77.
34. Rouse, *James Blair*, 73–74, citing "An Abstract of the Design and Institution of the College of William and Mary in Virginia," Fulham Palace Papers, 13:48, Lambeth Palace Library , London (microfilm, Virginia Colonial Records Project, CWF Library).
35. Blair to Nicholson, Dec. 3, 1691, "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 160–63.
36. R. B. McDowell and D. A. Webb, *Trinity College Dublin*, 1592–1952: An Academic History (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), chaps. 1–2, traces the history of Trinity during the seventeenth century.
37. Jurgen Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis: American College Government*, 1636–1819 (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 97. Note, too, that Dartmouth College in 1769 received a charter issued by John Wentworth, governor of the royal colony of New Hampshire, in the name of the king. Herbst (pp. 128–31) sees this as essentially a provincial charter, stressing "Dartmouth's character as a provincial institution," although it was historically important, given the constitutional significance of the landmark Dartmouth College decisions (1819), in which the Supreme Court under John Marshall upheld the continuing validity of the charter.
38. Ibid., chap. 8
39. Ibid., 137–41 (quotations on 139); see also David C. Humphrey, *From King's College to Columbia*, 1746–1800 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1976).
40. The fullest discussion is in Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis*, 29–37, 55–61, although there is some additional material in his "First Three American Colleges: Schools of the Reformation," *Perspectives in American History* 8 (1974): 7–52.
41. Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis*, 260 n. 13, provides a list of the pertinent writings on both sides of the debate. On the pro-Scottish side, Cutts, "Educational Influence of Aberdeen," 229–49, is a pioneering discussion sometimes overlooked by historians of the College. Oxford and Cambridge continued to be represented in Parliament into the twentieth century.

42. Herbst, "First Three Colleges," 1 1–40.
43. Ibid., 7–11, 40–45 (quotation from 7).
44. Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis*, chaps. 7–10.
45. Herbst, “First Three Colleges,” 38–40, 43–45
46. Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis*, 32–33. Also of interest is Roger L. Emerson, "Scottish Universities in the Eighteenth Century, 1690–1800," *Studies in Voltaire and the Eighteenth Century* 167 (1977): 453–74, which emphasizes the superiority of Scottish universities over those in England in the eighteenth century, a development just getting under way in the late seventeenth century, and P. G. Scott, "An Edinburgh Graduate in Virginia: The Educational Influence of James Blair," *University of Edinburgh Journal* 27 (1975–76): 205–8.

2

A Perilous Beginning: The First Twelve Years

1693–1705

In February of 1693, with his objective realized and a charter for “Their Majesties’ Royall Colledge” in hand, James Blair began to think of his return from London to Virginia and his next task: to organize, build, and open William and Mary to its first students. Before he could depart England, however, there were a few other things to complete. Having earlier determined that “at first a Grammar school being the only thing that we could go upon,” he had to find a grammar master and an usher to assist the master. Securing the latter apparently caused him no difficulty, but he had less success in identifying someone to “help me to a good English School-master.” With only a brief time left before he embarked for Virginia, Blair settled on a fellow Scottish clergyman, the Reverend Mungo Inglis.[1]

Blair’s original instructions also required him to obtain a grant of arms, and so he now approached the College of Heralds with his request. On May 16, 1694, the heralds granted the familiar coat of arms that depicts a college building in silver on a green field with a gold sun at half orb against a blue sky.[2] The commissary had now completed his English mission, not only assuring the charter and English financial backing but also gaining equal assurance that as president for life he would be the dominant figure in shaping the new institution. By the end of March, he was ready to depart Portsmouth.[3]

The Contest with Governor Andros, 1693–97

Blair returned to an unexpectedly difficult political climate in which to launch the College. His old ally Francis Nicholson, although still a trustee of William and Mary, was now governor of Maryland. The new Virginia governor, Sir Edmund Andros, was an experienced but highly unpopular colonial administrator. He had been a staunch ally of the deposed James II and governor of the Dominion of New England, an ill-fated effort under James to draw the New England colonies and New York together under a single government more firmly subject to royal control. Andros had already displayed enmity toward Nicholson, and he also had the confidence of those English officials who had opposed lavishing so much crown financial support upon the new Virginia college. Although perceived as a strong advocate of Anglicanism in the colonies, Andros gave no sign of equivalent enthusiasm for the College designed to advance that faith.

Hostility between the governor and the commissary was not long in coming, but for the moment Blair pressed ahead with plans for the College. The General Assembly that convened in the fall of 1693 remained enthusiastic. Early in the session, the burgesses heard a reading of the charter, voted congratulations to Blair and gratitude to the monarchs, and overwhelmingly agreed on Middle Plantation as the site for the College. The College thereby became the first public institution, apart from Bruton Parish Church, to occupy the site that before the end of the decade would become the second capital of the colony and take the name of Williamsburg in honor of the king. Middle Plantation had already developed a cluster of stores, shops, and residences, and there were those who were optimistic about its future. It afforded easy access to the York River by way of a landing on Queen's Creek, as well as to the James by another landing on what became known as College Creek. It also lay at the junction of primitive roads that connected all the more settled areas of the peninsula between the two rivers.

The choice of Middle Plantation as the location of the College, although clearly a happy one, appeared to be less a matter of convenience for its students and teachers than the first step in a well-orchestrated effort to move the capital from Jamestown to the same location. The strategy became more apparent a few years later when on May Day 1699—the year in which the capital was officially moved—five William and Mary students delivered Latin orations in celebration of the successful establishment of their College. The third young orator—possibly Orlando Jones, son of the rector of Bruton Parish and the grandfather of Martha Washington—devoted his remarks to the advantages of Middle Plantation as the chosen site for William and Mary, predicting that "the colledge will help to make the town." Jones went on to stress not only the cultural and intellectual advantages but also the economic benefits of attracting tradesmen, builders, and laborers to meet the demands of the institution that was under construction. "We have an opportunity," he declared, "not only of making a town, but such a town as may equal, if not outdo Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charlestown, and Annapolis." In all that was said and its timing, few listeners would have missed the end purpose of promoting the new location of the capital.[4]

As a specific location for the College, the trustees settled on a tract of 330 acres belonging to Captain Thomas Ballard and agreed to a payment of £170. The land lay west of Bruton Parish Church and extended to a ravine and stream that was later dammed to create Lake Matoaka. In modem terms it embraced land that lay on either side of Jamestown Road from its beginning at Duke of Gloucester Street to the Lake Matoaka crossing and also extended along one side of Richmond Road and then along a valley and small stream that drained in a southwesterly direction into what would now be the smaller arm of Lake Matoaka. Although all but a few acres of the land would later be sold by the College, much of it was in time reacquired.[5] While it had discharged its ceremonial obligations respecting the grant of the charter and approved Middle Plantation as a site for the College, the 1693 assembly was far from uniformly supportive of William and Mary. The members did agree to assist it with a provincial tax of 7.5 percent of the value of furs exported from the colony, but they turned aside a potentially far more lucrative tax on liquors.[6] Andros at the same time refused to follow his instructions from London to support higher salaries for the Anglican clergy.[7] At the beginning of 1694, Blair complained to Nicholson that the governor “thought it not fit in any of his Speeches to recommend the business of the College, nor the clergy.”[8]

In the controversy that was obviously building between the two men, the commissary scored one victory over Andros, however. In 1694 the governor received notice that Blair had been appointed to the governor’s council—a result of Nicholson’s lobbying in London and in contradiction to Andros’s own recommendation against it. The appointment almost certainly angered some incumbent councillors who had become allies of Andros. Blair had the support, on the other hand, of those connected to his in-laws the Harrisons, and he duly took his seat in June. The following year he added to his influence by leaving his more remote parish at Varina to become rector of James City Parish at Jamestown, a more prestigious appointment. It also offered an advantageous location that would enable him to live in proximity to the College without having to surrender any of his several sources of income.

Otherwise, Blair’s difficulties in launching the College persisted in 1694 and 1695. Interlopers were claiming parts of the lands that the crown had granted, and period of warfare that came as a result of King William’s War, duties on tobacco shipped to other American ports fell off drastically. Blair tried to put the blame on Andros.[9] The surveyor general declined to surrender the office that had been given to the College; hence only with his death in 1695 would it prove possible to begin to collect fees for surveyors’ licenses.[10] The General Assembly of 1695 likewise declined to answer Blair’s request for more support on the grounds that William and Mary was “under no Circumstances of want at present” and the colony “in no Capacity of giving it assistance at this time.”[11] In addition, the pledges that some forty-two planters and clergymen had made in 1691 remained largely unfulfilled, only about a sixth of the promised total of £3,000 having been paid by 1697. To add personal insult, Andros refused to vacate the house at Middle Plantation owned by the widow of John Page that Blair had rented in preparation for taking up his duties at James City Parish and the College. He was forced instead to rent a house owned by Philip Ludwell and located at Richneck, somewhat over a mile from the College in the direction of Jamestown.[12]

The commissary continued to place the blame for the difficulties that William and Mary faced on Andros, and sometimes as well on the councillors who supported the governor.[13] But Blair himself was also under attack, first for failure to open at least the Grammar School and get on with the construction of a building and then, after the Grammar School opened, for drawing his full salary of £150 as president when no other part of the institution was in operation.[14] At one point, according to a report by Nicholson, Blair preached a sermon declaring that those “who withdrew back & did not put forward their helping hand towards the Building of the Colledge would be Damned.” Andros, in his turn, responding to a comment that the College would be a great benefit to Maryland and Virginia, sourly observed, ”Pish, it will come to nothing.”[15]

The relationship between the two men deteriorated to the point that in April 1695 the other members of council voted to suspend Blair for his attacks on Andros over College and clerical matters. At the instigation of both men, the dispute went to the Lords Commissioners of Trade and Plantations, who in the next year ordered Blair reinstated. He then faced a second suspension in 1697 when Parliament transmitted an order that all positions in courts of law or financial affairs in the colonies should be held by subjects born in England, a ruling that in the eyes of other councillors disqualified Blair as a Scot from sitting with them.[16]

A showdown over Blair's membership on the council was postponed only as a consequence of his impending departure for England under an authorization from the trustees of William and Mary to seek additional support for the College there. Blair obviously had other purposes in mind, for he had been carefully building his own bloc of support among Virginia leaders hostile to Andros and had kept in regular communication with his old ally Francis Nicholson, who had agreed to cover the expenses of the trip. The two had concluded that they should seek Andros's removal, by bribery of English officials if necessary, and the restoration of Nicholson to his old post as lieutenant governor of Virginia.[17]

Blair reached England in the summer of 1697, and within a comparatively brief time, he found an unexpected opportunity to make his case against Andros. In the previous year, the king had replaced the old lords commissioners with a new Board of Trade to oversee the commercial and political administration of the colonies. When Blair arrived, the board was still in the process of finding out all that it could about the colonies. Blair consequently received an invitation to discuss affairs in Virginia from a surprising source, the famous and learned philosopher John Locke, who was a member of the board. To judge from their subsequent correspondence, Blair and Locke must have gotten along well, probably extending their conversations to questions of mutual interest about education. On the matter immediately at hand—Virginia affairs—Locke requested a written version of the commissary's criticisms and suggestions, which he prepared in a document entitled, "Some of the Chief Greivances [sic] of the present Constitution of Virginia with an Essay towards the Remedies thereof."[18]

As a follow-up and in response to a set of questions posed by the board, Blair and two colleagues who were also in England at the time, Henry Hartwell, a trustee of the College and member of the Virginia council, and Edward Chilton, former attorney general of the colony, spent several weeks preparing a fuller response, "An Account of the Present State and Governance of Virginia."[19] The three authors, all born in England or Scotland but having resided and held a number of offices in Virginia, wrote from a common perspective. Their view was an imperial one in the sense that they criticized the institutions of the colony for their deviation from the norms of the home country. They advocated the kinds of reform that would encourage trade and economic diversity rather than excessive concentration on tobacco; the establishment of towns to promote commerce; provision for an adequate money supply; a more carefully defined legal and political system; and an established church that was closer in its practices and in the secure position of its clergy to the Church of England. Their vision of a properly administered and structured imperial system did not, however, extend to untrammeled power for the royal governor and his council. The authors' comments on the church and the College of William and Mary formed but two of the twelve sections of the statement, no more than a tenth of its full length; they were, however, the concluding portions. Here the authors, probably Blair principally, concentrated on strengthening the clergy and improving the government and forms of worship of the church and, in the case of the College, on overcoming the problems the trustees had faced in completing a building, obtaining promised revenues, and defending the institution against Andros and some of the council. With Andros's appointment, the authors asserted, the trustees "found their Business go on very heavily, and such Difficulties in every thing, that presently upon change of the Governor they had as many Enemies as ever they had Friends."[20] The statement by the three men was not, however, cast so much as a frontal attack on the governor personally—only in the discussion of the College did that occur—as a recitation of institutional and structural weaknesses that needed reform. Yet, it provided a starting point for Blair's campaign to unseat Andros and gained the attention of a powerful group of imperial officials.

Blair, in fact, reserved his most direct attack for a separate "Memorial Concerning Sir Edmund Andros" that was far more pointed. It was the source of an account of Andros's attempt to arrest his fellow governor, Francis Nicholson, and of the effort of one of his Virginia supporters, Daniel Parke, to provoke a duel with Nicholson. Blair also reported his own dismissal from the council and sought to suggest that the governor and his allies were openly dismissive of the bishop of London or any "church powers." Once again Blair linked the cause of church and College, clearly intending to mount a major part of his attack through his high ecclesiastical connections.[21]

Blair's efforts to undermine Andros reached a climax on December 27, 1697, in a hearing before Thomas Tenison, archbishop of Canterbury, and Henry Compton, bishop of London. Blair appeared with his brother-in-law, Benjamin Harrison III, age twenty-four and a recent student of law at the Middle Temple. Andros, of course, could not defend himself in person but was represented by William Byrd II, the son of an Andros ally on the council, twenty-three years of age and, like Harrison, a recent student at the Middle Temple. An English attorney who attended on Andros's behalf and a clerk of the Privy Council were also present.

Archbishop Tenison presided over what was hardly an impartial hearing. Although it began with a consideration of accusations against Blair—that he had favored Scottish churchmen and that he had squandered the funds available for constructing a College building—the commissary, aided by Bishop Compton, struck back and moved the proceedings to the charges against Andros. Byrd, as chief spokesman for the governor, found himself constantly on the defensive and unable to bring forward a prepared brief against Blair. Fairly won or not, Blair's victory was complete.[22]

Perhaps the ultimate triumph was not quite as total as Blair had wanted, for while he learned early in 1698 that Nicholson would replace Andros in Virginia, the Board of Trade did not restore the commissary to the council, and Andros was permitted the face-saving gesture of requesting permission to return home. The board also delayed the announcement of Nicholson's appointment.[23] Nor did Blair accomplish anything specific for William and Mary; the ostensible fund-raising purposes of his trip seemed to have vanished quietly. Nonetheless, he had secured the removal of the hated Andros and boosted his own political power, even without his council seat. Sir Edmund Andros became the first but not the last governor who could blame Blair for his dismissal, but the commissary's success had come at the cost of some subordination of the religious and educational concerns for which he presumably spoke to political self-interest.

Still, Blair had not completely forgotten his educational ambitions for William and Mary. Despite John Locke's ill health during the closing months of the clergyman's mission, the two had continued to correspond. Blair wrote at least twice to thank him for his support in the matter of replacing Andros.[24] And John Locke's last reply of record, which came almost a year after Blair had returned to Virginia, spoke not only of his hope for "the flourishing of the plantations under their due & just regulation" but also of the philosopher's desire for seeds of "all strange & curious plants" of Virginia and of his interest in obtaining peach stones. Finally, he wrote of his hopes for the new College, observing:

> I hope the College grows & flourishes under your care. I would be glad to know whether you carried over with you a Baroscope & Thermoscope . . . for I think a constant registar of the air kept there would not only be of general use to the improvement of natural philosophy but might be of particular advantage to the plantation itself by observations to be made on the changes of the air.[25]

Constructing the College Building, 1694–1700

James Blair's growing political preoccupations, coupled with severe financial difficulties and delays in the completion of the first College building, might suggest that William and Mary had scarcely begun to flourish in the manner that John Locke wished. Yet, despite all the problems, work on the building began, however slowly, in 1694, with some initial expenditures for materials, especially bricks.

The Grammar School also apparently opened in 1694. With the master Mungo Inglis and his usher, whom we know only from his surname of Mullikin, on hand from the time they returned with Blair from England in 1693, the trustees began instruction in a temporary building. Since forty-five pounds of College funds were allocated for repair of an existing schoolhouse in Middle Plantation, this structure presumably served until the new College building was ready. The trustees were within a few years able to declare optimistically that the students were achieving "great proficiency in their Studies to the Gen'l Satisfaction of their parents and guardians."[26]

The construction of the building did not go as smoothly, in some part because the task from the beginning became enmeshed in the hostility between Blair and Andros.[27] Too, there were likely few, if any, persons in the colony experienced in the construction of quite so large e a building. At least some of those involved in the early construction came from England. Either Blair before his departure from England or Nicholson, who had remained for a time before taking up his Maryland post, had engaged Thomas Hadley as "surveyor." Hadley arrived in Virginia by 1695 and began work on the College building. Although the records are scanty, he seems to have continued his work until the fall of 1697—at least Blair reported in a letter in January 1698 that Hadley had not been engaged at the College for about two months.[28] Three other English workmen can also be identified, one named Pocock [29] and two bricklayers, George Cryer and Samuel Baker.[30]

There was another English recruit who played a significant role in the College design—a gardener, James Road. George London, who was in charge of landscape design at Hampton Court, the great Tudor palace that was undergoing enlargement and improvement under the direction of Sir Christopher Wren, sent Road to Virginia with plans for a College garden and also with instructions to lay it out and then to collect specimens of American plants before he returned.[31]

In the spring of 1695, as the second anniversary of Blair's return from England with the charter approached, work on the building still lagged. Blair had just moved from Henrico to the Ludwell house at Richneck, satisfying the wish of the other trustees that he give closer oversight to the College work. Blair was inclined, however, to blame the delays on Andros, who in another demonstration of enmity had removed him from the council in April. Then on May 8, 1695, Blair wrote Nicholson that "we have been taken up three days at James Town about the College business which now looks with as bad an appearance as ever." He went on to note that Philip Ludwell had declined to undertake the building, privately saying "that he sees no possibility of carrying it on in the Governor's time." Blair further observed that after consideration Edmund Jenings had likewise refused the work.[32]

In the end a building committee drawn from the trustees assumed responsibility for supervising construction.[33] By late July the land was cleared, and the warring factions came together long enough to hold a ceremony to mark the laying of the foundation, over which the governor presided. As Councillor Ralph Wormeley reported, "Sir Edmund Andros &ca with the best Solemnity we were capable, layd the Foundacon of the College."[34] Thereafter, construction moved forward. By April 1697—about the same time that Blair was setting out for England to mount his campaign against Andros—College accounts showed total expenditures of £3,889.1.10 on construction, an excess of about £170 over available funds.[35] The trustees were able to certify to the governor on April 22 that "we have carried on the building of two sides of the designed square of the Colledge (wch was all wee judged wee had money to goe through with) and have brought up the Walls of the Said building to the roof wch [we] hope in a short time will be finished." Philip Ludwell, despite his reluctance to assume the role of undertaker for the building, had nonetheless agreed to finish the roof, "haveing promised to Shingle it upon Creditt."[36]

Blair was more pessimistic later in the year, when he reported at his December 27 conference with Bishop Compton and Archbishop Tenison on his charges against Andros that "we have got the roof on but half of the Building, the other half we have not meddled with, and how we shall finish what we have built I cannot tell." The following month he explained that winter weather and a lack of bricks to complete the chimneys had delayed the roofing and that in any event no money remained for further work.[37] While no records survive for 1698 that relate to work on the building, it seems to have been sufficiently complete to be the setting for the May Day celebration of 1699 and thereafter to be in regular use until it burned in 1705. In February 1700 Blair wrote more optimistically to Archbishop Tenison—to be elected as the second chancellor of William and Mary within three months—that "the subscriptions that were made to our College do now come in apace, so that we are in hopes of having it quite finished before next Winter."[38]

The building that stood on the verge of completion in 1700 was not the one that we see today, which is a restoration of the second building, erected after the 1705 fire on the surviving walls of the first building but extensively modified in the process. Recovering an accurate impression of the original structure can be difficult Only one drawing survives, a somewhat crude but for the most part accurate sketch by a Swiss traveler, Franz Ludwig Michel, who came to Williamsburg in 1702. Careful sifting of the limited documentary evidence and the more substantial archaeological evidence provides a better impression, even though architectural historians may disagree on some details.[39]

As Blair and others noted, the original design of the building called for a quadrangle. Because of financial constraints, but perhaps also because the additional space was not yet needed, the building was constructed in an L-shape with an east range on the front of 46 by 138 feet.[40] The north wing, containing the hall, now usually termed the Great Hall, was almost certainly 72 feet in length (8 feet longer than it became in the second building) and 32 feet wide. The first building was somewhat taller than its successor. The ground level was 3 feet lower, and the basement windows were larger and more visible. Above were three full floors (one more than in the second building) plus a half-story with dormer windows. Both the third story and the half-story above it seem to have extended above the hall. On the east or main front, the original structure had two balconies, one opening from the second floor and another from the half-story attic; a tall two-story tower; and, because of the basement elevation, a higher entrance to the first floor.[41]

The English gardener James Road did not reappear in the record after the single reference to his having been sent out to lay out the College gardens and collect exotic plants. In time, however, extensive gardens were developed on the west side, or rear, of the Main Building so that one descended the steps from the piazza into what Hugh Jones described in 1724 as "the good courts and gardens about it."[42] An earlier, if fleeting, reference to the proximity of gardens to the piazza was made by Robert Beverley in 1704, when he described a quarrel between Governor Nicholson and Colonel Edmund Jenings as having taken place in "the garden" nearby. This demonstrates that the first building also had its gardens on the west. Rather than containing primarily ornamental plantings, "it is more probable that a nursery or botanical garden was there, or simple beds for vegetables and herbs."[43]

For all the delays and financial problems and even at half its originally planned size, the L-shaped building, once completed, was an imposing structure. From basement to attic half-story it contained about forty thousand square feet in its two wings. "Even as a fragment," James Kornwolf comments, "few buildings in the colonies before the Revolution approached it in size."[44] There had been compromises, or simply lack of expertise, in its construction, and Governor Nicholson warned of several fire hazards—excessively small fireplaces, a wooden girder running through the middle of one hearth, another with plank laid under it that by 1702 had already overheated and ignited once.[45] Yet it was the first major building to signal the transformation of Middle Plantation into the new capital city of Williamsburg, and perhaps it was a symbol, too, of James Blair's ambitions—for the College and for himself.

One cannot easily turn from the construction of the new College edifice to the events that began to take place within its walls without first addressing what one architectural historian has aptly termed "the Wren Problem," that is, the questions that surround the attribution of the design of the first building to the great architect Sir Christopher Wren. At the time he was surveyor general of the Office of Works and therefore closely involved with the building or rebuilding of many great English public buildings of the period. The designation today of the surviving and restored structure as the Wren Building is a testimony to the strength and persistence of the belief that he either prepared its design or at the least reviewed and approved plans drawn by someone in the Office of Works.

The first known reference to such an association occurred in Hugh Jones's *Present State of Virginia*, published after he had returned to England from a four-year stint as a member of the College faculty. Jones wrote:

> The building is beautiful and commodious, being first modelled by Sir Christopher Wren, adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there; and since it was burnt down, it has been rebuilt, and nicely contrived, altered and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood; and is not altogether unlike Chelsea Hospital.[46]

Although Hugh Jones noted that Wren "first modelled" the building, he also stressed the adaptation of the design "to the nature of the country" and the subsequent modification of the post-1705 rebuilding by Governor Alexander Spotswood. Certainly Jones's association of the building with Wren never caught on in the colonial era, when "the College" or "the College edifice" remained the common designation. In the modem era, especially with the restoration of the second building, the Wren tradition took on a life of its own. In 1931, when the restoration was complete, the Board of Visitors rededicated the building and designated it officially as the Sir Christopher Wren Building. From that time forward, the true connection of Wren has often remained a matter of debate.

No resolution of the issue is possible from the evidence presently available. The case against the Wren attribution rests on the lack of any specific evidence apart from Hugh Jones's somewhat enigmatic statement and the extent to which the building incorporated features that were generally uncharacteristic of Wren's best-known work. The argument in favor of Wren is an admittedly circumstantial one, based to some extent on Wren's official position and close relationship with the monarchs who granted the charter and on a counterinterpretation of the architectural evidence. There the matter seems likely to rest, although James Kornwolf's recent study of the building has certainly raised the level of probability of some English connection with the building plan, even one with Wren's Office of Works, if not with the great master himself.[47]

Several considerations lend support to his position. The building was of a scale that likely exceeded the experience of any builder in the colony in the 1690s. A plan therefore drawn in England, even if it received some modification in Virginia, was almost a necessity. The employment of an English surveyor to oversee construction and of at least some English workmen lends additional credence to the likelihood of an English design. From the time that his campaign for the charter began, if not from his earlier residence in London, James Blair, a protégé of powerful ecclesiastics, should have been familiar with the complex of offices and official residences at Whitehall, where the Office of Works was located. As a royal foundation, the College would have clearly been in a position to call upon the services of such an agency. For a number of reasons, then, the preparation in England of a plan for the College building seems a real possibility.

Establishing a significant connection between such a plan and Wren himself may be a larger order. With his connections to the Anglican hierarchy, Blair moved in circles where meeting the great architect would have been possible. The assignment of the gardener James Road from Hampton Court, where Wren was undertaking major work, to the College project opens up still another possible contact. And despite some architectural features in the College building that Wren would have been unlikely to employ, Kornwolf has identified others—"ratios, proportions, dimensions, and details"—that Wren did use in a number of buildings.

The case likely remains too circumstantial to warrant giving Wren's name to the building with total assurance, but a basic plan of English origin for the building was more than likely, the association of English workmen with its construction indisputable. The scale and design of the building and the circumstances of its construction added, then, another and more material dimension to the whole group of imperial relationships and influences—the royal charter, strong ties to the church hierarchy, substantial private and public funding from England, the establishment from the first of a faculty on which British clerics were predominant—that imparted a strongly imperial cast to colonial William and Mary. At the same time, Hugh Jones's other observation, that the College building was "adapted to the nature of the country by the gentlemen there," almost unintentionally provided a reminder of those more provincial purposes that were also embedded in the original charter. Even in the very physical setting of the College, in some of the questions that surround the construction of its monumental first building, we may not unduly strain the evidence in finding still another expression of the underlying ambivalence of the charter and of the tensions that were to develop between a British imperial culture and that of provincial Virginia.

The Blair-Nicholson Partnership Renewed, 1698–1701

With the College building approaching completion and Andros's removal as governor, Francis Nicholson's return to Virginia in December 1698 to take up his second term as governor seemed likely to renew the collaboration with James Blair that had proved so important in the foundation of the College. This time, however, the alliance proved short-lived, but for the moment it seemed to hold promising results for the College and the colony.

The May Day observance of 1699 was the first fruit of the resumption of the partnership between the two men, offering an opportunity both to celebrate the launching of the College and to advance the relocation of the capital. Within six weeks of Nicholson's return, the statehouse at Jamestown burned. At the opening of the next session of the General Assembly on April 27, 1699, Nicholson appealed for the earliest possible erection of a new government building. Then, in an ostensibly unrelated action, he announced a day of rejoicing on May 1 at the College to which he invited the members of the assembly that they might be "Eye Witnesses to one of His Majesty's Royal bounties and favors" and "Ear Witnesses of the royal favor and Improvement of our Youth in Leaming and Education."[48]

The five young Grammar School students who addressed the legislators, College trustees, governor, and president at the "Scholastick Exercises" played their part in a well-orchestrated event. The first speaker emphasized the value of learning to the public good by increasing both knowledge and virtue and insuring the proper conduct of public affairs. Whereas the first oration emphasized the classical and traditional sources of such learning, the second stressed the advantages—among them economy, safety, and suitability—of Virginia students receiving that education in the colony rather than abroad. The third address, probably given, as we have noted, by Orlando Jones, spoke to the best means of promoting Virginia education, but fixed especially upon the need for such study to take place in the setting of a good town, a place of "business" and "action," not in a more remote comer of the world. It followed, of course, that Middle Plantation, converted into a flourishing capital town, would provide such a location. The two remaining speakers sought to promote the College itself and establish its necessary relationship to those who exercised the powers of government. The fourth emphasized the contributions already made to William and Mary by individuals and members of the assembly. The last orator urged continuing encouragement of William and Mary "that the natives of America takeing example from us, may be excited to the Study and exercise of Leaming and virtue, and may confess and acknowledge that the Colledge of William and Mary in Virginia is the Mansion house of virtue, the Parnassus of the Muses, and a Seminary of excellent men."[49]

The May Day exercises set forth, in effect, three basic objectives: encouragement of support for the College, demonstration of its successful and useful beginning, and, most important, the value of its linkage to government and public affairs through the relocation of the capital. In the case of the first, Blair was able to say within a few months that the subscriptions pledged to the College some years earlier were now beginning to come in.[50] In October 1700 even the hostile Sir Edmund Andros was credited with providing £56.7.6 for "Sashing the College," and in the same accounts came recognition of a gift of £500 for a student scholarship from Francis Nicholson, who had previously promised his library to the College upon his death.[51]

With respect to its increasing success in establishing itself, the College began to receive favorable, if sometimes exaggerated, notice. The *London Post Boy* published a notice in March 1700 of a letter from Virginia reporting that "the University which has been lately founded there" had so increased in enrollment that there were plans to enlarge it. And the English historian John Oldmixon some years later described a commencement in 1700 at William and Mary attended by "a great Concourse of People." The account continued, "Several Planters came thither in their Coaches, several in Sloops from *New-York, Pennsylvania,* and *Maryland*. It being a new thing in *America* to hear Graduates perform their Academical Exercises, the *Indians* themselves had the Curiosity to come to Williamsburg on this Occasion, and the whole Country rejoiced as if they had some Relish of Learning."[52] A more sober assessment of the state of the College came, however, in a report on the 1702 enrollment which listed twenty-nine students, all enrolled in the Grammar School under the tutelage of the master Mungo Inglis, an usher, and a writing master.[53] Whatever the true condition of the College, Mungo Inglis and his scholars by the end of 1700 had completed their move into the new building. Governor Nicholson, concerned moreover at the failure to proceed to more advanced instruction, had asked Archbishop Tenison in the same year for assistance in finding a professor who could teach both mathematics and philosophy (that is, for the present to fill the two philosophy chairs with a single appointment), although nothing came of the effort for another decade.[54] But it could be said that in just over five years of its opening, William and Mary had a usable principal building and a sizeable number of students in the Grammar School.

These educational beginnings appeared somewhat modest, however, when placed alongside the outcome of the third purpose of the May Day gathering of 1699—the effort of Nicholson, Blair, and others to relocate the seat of government in proximity to the College. The assembly was already on notice that the governor wanted to get on with a replacement for the burned statehouse, and the third student speech demonstrated how far the campaign to abandon Jamestown in favor of Middle Plantation had proceeded. The governor followed by formally recommending to the assembly on May 18 "the placing of your public building . . . somewhere at Middle Plantation nigh his Majesty's Royall College of William and Mary," while Benjamin Harrison, Jr., saw to it that the members heard another reading of the student oration. On June 7 "An Act directing the building of the Capitoll and the City of Williamsburgh" passed.[55]

The grandiose reference to a "Capitoll," employing classical terminology rather than the customary and mundane designation of statehouse, and to a "city" where only a crossroads settlement existed set the tone for Nicholson's ambitious conception of the new seat of government. It was, moreover, the governor's second venture in town planning, since he had a few years earlier taken the lead in relocating the Maryland capital from St. Mary's City to the newly designed town of Annapolis, although there he had no college as an anchor on which to fix the new seat of government.[56]

At about the same time as the May Day observance, Nicholson had a surveyor, Theodorick Bland, already at work on a survey (dated June 2, 1699) of lands that adjoined those of the College to the east. Bland's survey also identified the main street of Williamsburg and the location of the new capitol, as well, of course, as the site of the new College building.[57] The act of June 7, moreover, was specific about the total acreage of the town—283 acres in all, although 220 in the town proper—and about the dimensions and shape of the capitol.[58] Nicholson's plan for Williamsburg located the College building and the capitol at opposite ends of a main street and provided a baroque plan with some streets on diagonal lines making a cipher of the letters W and M, combined with a traditional gridiron for the other streets.[59] Later modifications removed the diagonal streets, but, as John Reps noted, the Nicholson plan still "retained a formal grace and distinctive character."[60]

From the perspective of the College, what was most significant was the manner in which Blair and Nicholson had realized their objective of linking William and Mary with a new "metropolitan" center for Virginia and how effectively the plan both symbolized and helped the actual achievement of the political and cultural integration of the College, the local community, and the provincial political structure. In one respect—the use of the College building as a temporary seat of government while construction went forward on the first capitol building—that integration manifested itself from the very beginning. After the legislation establishing the new capital town passed in June, the governor and council on October 27, 1699, issued a proclamation requiring all sessions of the assembly or the General Court to take place in Williamsburg after May 10, 1700.[61] A design for the new capitol was almost certainly completed by the time of the June legislation, but it required all of 1700 and more than half of the following year to assemble materials and hire workmen. Consequently, the laying of the foundation did not take place until August 8, 1701. Final completion of the capitol required until the end of November 1705, although a part of the building was in use from April 1703.[62]

In the interim the General Court and the legislature had by law to sit in Williamsburg from May of 1700, so on April 24 the College, as had no doubt been envisioned, came to the rescue. On that date the council journals recorded an offer from the "Trustees and Governours . . . of whatsoever Rooms within the said Colledge shall be wanted for the use of the Country to hold their Generall Meetings and Assemblyes till the Capitol be built and fitted."[63] The council began its sessions in the College building on the following October 17 and continued to sit there through October 1703 , while the House of Burgesses first met in the hall on December 5, 1700, and remained until it opened its April 1704 session in the new capitol.[64]

During those same months, the incomplete condition of the capitol occasionally required the use of the College building for other public events. We know of one in particular from an engaging description of it in the journal of Franz Ludwig Michel. As it turned out, the Swiss traveler found himself in Williamsburg on the occasion of Governor Nicholson's official observance of the death of King William and proclamation of the succession of Queen Anne to the throne. Custom dictated that governors make a great deal of these occasions, and Nicholson, a flamboyant man in any event, was entirely willing to oblige. The ceremony which took place at the front of the College building was, as Michel described it, indeed elaborate, perhaps at times overreaching itself.

On the morning of the first day of what proved to be a two-day event, two thousand foot and horse troops—at least this was Michel's estimate—assembled in formation. Commissary Blair, whom Michel described as "the bishop," delivered a funeral sermon, and the secretary of the colony then read the formal proclamation announcing the death of the monarch. Thereupon, the governor, clad in mourning, appeared on horseback, and musicians played from the first floor landing and the two balconies of the building. In the afternoon the less somber part of the observance got under way. The musicians replaced their subdued music of the morning with "a lively tune," and Nicholson, having exchanged his somber clothes for a blue uniform covered with braid, reappeared on another mount. Then the secretary read the proclamation of Anne's accession. Afterward, the more prominent of those in attendance went to an entertainment given by the governor, while those of lesser rank received a glass of rum or brandy. In the evening a fireworks display came off less well when "the rockets refused to fly up, but fell down archlike, so that it was not worth while seeing," although Michel observed that most people still "praised them highly."

Michel had watched from the steep cupola of the College building and chose to stay there overnight rather than return two miles to his lodging. A second, perhaps less exciting day of celebration followed, but, all in all, with due allowance for Michel's exaggeration and the fiasco of the fireworks, it had been an ambitious observance for the new capital town and almost certainly the most spectacular public event that had yet taken place at the College.[65]

The Break between Blair and Nicholson, 1701–1705

The observance of Queen Anne's accession proved to have a more ominous side, for it signaled the opening of an irreparable breach between the two men who had appeared to be the closest of collaborators in the founding and promotion of William and Mary. In truth, mutual suspicion between James Blair and Francis Nicholson had been building for some time, but perhaps until this moment both saw an advantage in cooperation. With the College built and the relocation of the capital accomplished, this no longer seemed as necessary.[66]

From the time of his first trip to England in the early 1690s, Blair had begun to use his influence privately and somewhat tentatively to keep Nicholson from being returned to Virginia, even as the two collaborated on the effort to secure the charter. As the time for his return to Virginia approached, Blair wrote an English official, presumably Secretary of State Nottingham: "Thinking the peace of the Colony wherein my lot is cast to be endangered by Col. Nicholson's temper, I wrote to Mr. [William] Blathwayt about it, who communicated the letter to you; and accordingly I find that Colonel Nicholson is stopped. I think this [i.e., assignment to Maryland] much better than to send him to Virginia."[67] Again, on the eve of his return from his second trip to England in

1698—on this occasion after having lobbied energetically and successfully for Nicholson's reassignment to Virginia—he secured letters from the archbishop of Canterbury and several others counseling the governor to conduct himself with moderation. Blair presented Nicholson with the letters upon the governor's arrival in Virginia and then sent a somewhat self-serving letter to the archbishop making much of his own friendly counsel and reporting in detail Nicholson's heated response to the letters. The governor, he reported, "replied very hotly 'G——, I know better [how] to Govern Virginia & Maryland than all the Bishops in England.'"[68]

Blair's ability to harass the governor only increased when he gained readmission to the governor's council on June 1, 1701, by crown warrant In his five-year absence, the council membership had shifted markedly away from Andros's old confederates who had opposed the commissary, of whom only three remained, while Blair's relatives and their allies had gained strength.[69] With Blair ensconced once again on a council with whose members Nicholson was frequently in contention, the relationship between the two men deteriorated rapidly. This was the period, too, when the College and the offices of government shared a single building. Blair later complained that Nicholson crowded into it all the offices of government, as well as lodging for officials, and "had all his public treats in their hall to the great disturbance of the College business."[70]

So it was that the grandest "public treat" of all, the commemoration of William's death and Anne's succession, may well have provided the final spark. The specific matter that allegedly touched it off was a thinly veiled attack on Nicholson in the commissary's funeral oration, although later efforts to turn up a copy of the exact text were never successful, despite Blair's insistence that he had sent copies to both Archbishop Tenison and Bishop Compton. The governor's sharp reaction to the sermon, in the view of the commissary, was the consequence of an assumption by Nicholson that Blair's praise in his sermon of the mildness of King William's reign reflected unfavorably on the governor's own "furious and mad way of Government" Praise of William conceivably may have appeared, too, to be a criticism of Nicholson's refusal to proclaim William in the colony of New York at the first news of the Glorious Revolution.[71]

With the battle joined, Blair set out now to undermine Nicholson and secure his removal as he had that of Andros. He lost no opportunity—of which he had a good many—to make the most of the governor's impetuous conduct and quick temper. He complained to Tenison that "we never had near so much storm & tempest, tornado's & Hurricanes" as the colony now experienced. Nicholson, he continued, "governs us as if we were a company of Galley slaves by continued roaring & thunderings, cursing & swearing, base, abusive, billingsgate language."[72]

There followed at the end of 1702 still another confrontation, which occurred like the funeral oration in the setting of the College, but on this occasion directly involved the students and College affairs. It stands as one of the legendary episodes in the early history of William and Mary. The College, which had an interminable Trinity term stretching from early summer to the end of the year, adopted a traditional custom at English schools, one that had its origins far back in the Middle Ages. This was the so-called "barring out," a ritualistic and symbolic locking of the masters out of the student quarters until they agreed to begin the scheduled Christmas vacation early. Although Blair later claimed that the custom had at first been tolerated and then quickly abandoned at William and Mary, students and faculty maintained that by 1702 it had been followed every year at Christmas except for 1700, when the General Assembly had been using the building for most of December and the term had ended early anyway.

About two weeks before Christmas in 1702, Blair claimed to have been awakened in the middle of the night by the sounds of hammering and the driving of nails. Calling two servants, he went off to investigate and found the boys had barricaded themselves in a room from which they shouted to the president not to attempt to break in, as they possessed shot and were prepared to fire. Blair later claimed that a gun had been fired and one of the servants wounded in the eye, although the door had not been opened. Whether it was, as Blair charged, some further and serious plot of Governor Nicholson, who had given the boys money for food, drink, and candles, or whether the president magnified out of all proportion an accepted schoolboy prank was uncertain. Blair determined, in any event, to make the most of the episode. The ensuing war of words and investigation settled nothing. It only exacerbated the hostility between Blair and Nicholson.

Those who later insisted that the barring-out custom was well established at William and Mary argued, moreover, that guns and swords had always been a part of the ceremony without any intention to use them. They likewise pointed out that the governor had often provided refreshment for the entertainment which usually followed the students' demonstration and that the president himself in the past had often joined in. After the incident assumed such major proportions, one of the governor's defenders wrote a satirical statement ridiculing Blair's charges. There was essentially no one who could substantiate Blair's version of the barring-out incident, but he continued to claim he had been in physical danger and to make the episode a major part of his mounting accusations against Nicholson.[73]

The barring-out incident, however much one may suspect that Blair at the least was guilty of exaggerating its importance, nonetheless provided an occasion for hardening the division between the supporters of both men. Nicholson, well known for his explosive personality, had made other enemies with justifiable grievances against him. Other members of council than Blair's immediate circle had fought him. Robert Beverley, the historian, became an especially virulent opponent, attacking the governor for falsely claiming to support the College when its enrollment had actually declined. Another opponent who did the governor's cause great damage was the Reverend Stephen Fouace, rector of Yorkhampton Parish, a College trustee, and one of Blair's few clerical supporters in the colony, who fled back to England in 1702 after Nicholson threatened him. There Fouace' s testimony successfully undermined the governor.[74] Blair had his enemies, too, but they were often fellow clergymen, such as Mungo Inglis, who were less able to cause him political damage either in England or Virginia than were the governor's opponents.

Blair's accusations rested on other grounds as well. He continued to charge that the governor had run up the College debt and acted in such a way that parents would not enroll their sons in the Grammar School. He also quarreled with Nicholson on religious affairs. Finally, on May 20, 1703, Blair and five other councillors petitioned the queen, seeking an investigation and removal of the governor and promising to supply more detailed evidence through persons from the colony who were in England.[75] Leaving nothing to chance, Blair also departed on a third trip to England, determined to deal with Nicholson as he had with Andros. He remained there several months, from July 1703 to the end of March 1704, before submitting the petition from the six councillors to the Board of Trade. Soon thereafter Blair also filed a number of affidavits detailing the charges, two of his own plus several from those who shared his hostility to the governor.[76]

Nicholson, like Andros before him, had no opportunity to defend himself in person, and every move he made to respond from the colony went awry in an almost incredible series of misadventures. First, John Thrale, the Virginia colonial agent, represented him at an initial hearing but fell ill and died before he could resume his testimony. The Board of Trade then sent the affidavits filed against the governor to Virginia in June 1704 on a vessel that did not reach the Chesapeake until December. Nicholson decided to delay his response for several months, until after an April 1705 session of the assembly, and the letter he sent to the board to inform it of his plan went aboard a vessel that was seized by the French, whereupon the captain threw overboard all of the correspondence that he was carrying. By the time Nicholson had sent his own affidavits, Blair had persuaded the Board of Trade to wait no longer. On April 5, 1705, it removed Nicholson and commissioned Edward Nott as the new lieutenant governor of Virginia. It must have afforded Nicholson scant comfort when the board assured him that its decision was not based on information presented against him and indicated no displeasure with his performance.[77]

Blair had nonetheless scored another triumph, and Nicholson found himself thrust out of office without any real opportunity of defending himself. Much later, in 1727, no doubt still smarting from his treatment, he published a London edition of the affidavits and other evidence he had collected for his defense.[78] Even when one has examined the voluminous papers from both sides, the evidence can hardly settle the merits of the case of either protagonist.

The most immediate question, however, is not the unanswerable one of personal right or wrong, but rather that of how the College fared in the contest. How far was the president its shield and protector against a hostile governor? What was the extent of Nicholson's interest in the institution that he, too, had helped found and of which, to Blair's discomfort, he continued to be a lifetime trustee? Underneath his sometimes intemperate outbursts, Francis Nicholson did seem genuinely committed to the welfare of the College before Blair engineered his dismissal. As a trustee he regularly attended meetings of the group even while he was governor of Mary land. Back in Virginia he continued his efforts on behalf of William and Mary. In the absence of any known move by Blair to fulfill the terms of the Boyle bequest, Nicholson in 1700 engaged two Indian traders to help recruit Indian students. At the same time that he reported this effort to Archbishop Tenison, he also sought assistance in finding a master to teach mathematics and philosophy in order to institute instruction at the college level alongside the Grammar School.[79] While Nicholson's assertion that he had given a total of £2,652.6.11 to William and Mary between 1699 and 1702 was disputed by Blair, the governor, who had an unusual record of philanthropy among early eighteenth century imperial officials, seemed to have dealt generously with the College. Nicholson, moreover, was able to carry a vote of the trustees of the College in June 1705—after his fate was sealed but before Blair had returned from England—that deprived Blair of his presidential salary. This was a final demonstration that the governor was not without support in the colony.[80]

Also revealing, given Blair's interrelated leadership of the church as commissary and of the College as president, was the overwhelming hostility of the Virginia clergy toward their appointed leader. After Blair's opening convocation of 1690 that had strongly endorsed his college proposal, he did not call a second convocation until his triumph over Nicholson and return from England in the summer of 1705. In the interim Blair had put forward a major program for improving the condition of the clergy, coupled with higher standards of clerical education and more rigorous enforcement of their moral standards, but the General Assembly of 1699 put off action on it.[81] While his fellow clerics approved some of Blair's plan, they bitterly opposed other features; in the end, however, the accelerating conflict between Blair and Nicholson diverted attention from any serious effort at clerical reform.

Although the commissary retained a nucleus of support among the clergy, the overwhelming number increasingly sided with Nicholson, probably the consequence of a mixture of conviction, anti-Scottish bias, and receptivity to the governor's deliberate efforts to win them over. Nicholson even convened his own convocation of the clergy in March 1700, where he won strong support notwithstanding his scrutiny of their certificates of ordination and demands for their good conduct.[82] In addition to letters attacking the commissary that individual clergymen sent to English bishops, twenty clerics sent a protest to the bishop of London in 1703, and six self-styled "English" ministers accused Blair of altering the language of their addresses to Governor Nicholson. By that time the underlying issue was almost certainly Blair's desertion in that year of the fight to secure permanent induction of ministers in their appointments and prevent vestries from keeping them on annual contracts, whereas Nicholson had fully embraced the right of induction.[83]

Blair sailed for England leaving behind a restive clergy increasingly allied with the man whose removal the president and commissary now sought and would achieve. With his return the fight resumed. Two weeks after Governor Nott took office, Blair called a convocation of the clergy. Despite a message of support for the commissary from Bishop Compton that the governor read and Blair's own effort at reconciliation, the meeting was stormy. Those in attendance divided twenty-three to six against Blair, the dissidents remaining in close touch with Nicholson, who had not yet left the colony. Ultimately, the convocation adjourned leaving separate versions of its minutes, one set written by Blair on behalf of the minority and the other—a savage and at times satirical denunciation of the commissary—prepared by Solomon Whateley, rector of Bruton Parish.[84]

Through these years of controversy, the College continued to operate with a single faculty member, the generally respected Mungo Inglis, assisted by his usher and the writing master. While it stretches the truth to speak of a president who had lost the confidence of his "faculty"—an implicitly collective term—Inglis increasingly chafed at what he perceived as Blair's neglect of the College while the master labored endlessly with the students in the Grammar School. "Is it nothing," he asked the Visitors in a letter, probably written in 1704, "to be (all year long except the breaking up) Confin'd to the College from 7 to 11 in the morning; and from 2 to 6 in the afternoon, and to be all day long spending ones Lungs upon a Compa[ny] of children, who (many of them) must be taught the same things many times over[?]" Inglis's frustration at Blair for continuing to draw his own salary while reducing the master's drove him into the Nicholson camp, especially after the president's nephew withdrew from the Grammar School, followed by five or six others who were the sons of Blair supporters. The students were a third of his total enrollment, and all but young John Blair had boarded with him. Finally, on August 8, 1705, Inglis wrote to the displaced Nicholson of his resignation from the faculty and his lack of hope for the future of the College:

> I have learnt, by 12 years experience, that the intended College of William and Mary will never arrive at any greater Perfection than a Grammar School while Mr. Blair demands & takes his salary yearly as President while it is only a Grammar School & while there remains no more money behind than will barely pay the Usher & Writing Master & myself . . . so that there is not the least probability that ever the College will ans[wer] the design in the Charter while things continue as they are.[85]

Blair countered these charges in a letter to Edward Nott in which he asserted that young John Blair had been moved from his College residence because he had been "Exceedingly Run down by his School fellows" and from his enrollment in the Grammar School, after efforts were made to persuade him to sign a statement against his uncle. Blair likewise affirmed his intention to fulfill the charter and make the College more than a Grammar School.[86]

Nevertheless, Inglis's disenchantment with the College carried conviction. At James Blair's moment of seeming triumph, William and Mary was languishing. Blair presumably had no wish for it to fail, but the College seemed to play an increasingly smaller part in his expanded political agenda, as did his responsibilities as commissary and leader of the Anglican clergy of Virginia. On neither of his two most recent trips to England had Blair appeared to give much attention to the College or the church. Rather, he had employed his considerable influence with the Anglican hierarchy for other ends. He had made scant efforts to fulfill the terms of the Boyle bequest by finding Indian students. He seemed indifferent to efforts to increase the faculty by filling either of the philosophy chairs; nor did he teach moral philosophy himself.

Insofar as the College had prospered, it had done so largely by playing a central role in the relocation of the seat of government, which put the College in a closer relationship with the political life of the colony. Blair's own career seemed to follow a similar trajectory. Through a succession of steps—marriage into a leading provincial family, alliance with an emerging group of political leaders of Virginia, appointment on two occasions to the council, success as a maker and destroyer of royal governors—he had become a powerful political figure in the colony who also enjoyed influential English connections. Without overtly repudiating his ecclesiastical and educational responsibilities—quite possibly convincing himself that he was finding a more effective way of fulfilling them—Blair increasingly embodied the values and objectives of the provincial leadership, at some cost to the College.

Francis Nicholson, on the other hand, would in all likelihood have done himself in as a consequence of his recklessness and lack of self-control even had there been no James Blair, but the contest between the two men had significance broader than the deep personal animosity that developed. The governor, whatever his personal deficiencies and authoritarian tendencies, was a dedicated imperialist of at times surprising vision, concerned with the church, the College, and the development of his new capital as both symbols and vital institutions of an imperial system. Within the stricter confines of the history of the College itself, Nicholson, more than he may have realized in the heat of personal confrontation, spoke for a more imperial and religious purpose for the College than Blair, whose vision was becoming increasingly provincial. In the contest between these two formidable adversaries, the two fundamental purposes that the charter had outlined were beginning to diverge.

At his moment of triumph in the fall of 1705, Blair might have calculated some of the costs of his victory over Nicholson. He presided, though with his coveted salary suspended, over a College without a faculty, and with a declining enrollment in its single component, the Grammar School. Within a matter of weeks, he found himself presiding as well over a College without a building, for on the night of October 29, fire gutted the College building that several persons, including Francis Nicholson, had warned was a firetrap. The fire swept rapidly through the structure, leaving only a part of its exterior walls standing. Governor Nott moved quickly to appoint an investigating committee of twelve burgesses and six councillors, who collected a quantity of evidence and then proved unable to reach any conclusion about the cause from a mass of uncertain and conflicting detail.[87]

Given the recent disputes, charges and countercharges from partisans of both sides began immediately. Not surprisingly, they included accusations of arson, which, if not proved, have neither been completely dispelled. Mungo Inglis was quick to seek to incriminate the president himself and rushed to keep Nicholson informed of the disaster and of the opportunity it might give him to reassert his influence over College affairs.[88] Blair had not been staying in his rooms, which were occupied by Colonel Edward Hill on the night of the fire, nor was he at his Richneck residence. There was testimony to the effect that the fire began in or near Blair's rooms, but a conflicting statement from Hill noted that he had left the room, discovered the fire, and had time to return and recover his possessions before it reached that part of the building. Other accounts reported three men dressed as gentlemen running from the blaze. No one produced convincing evidence of how the fire began, but the previous warnings of fire hazards from Nicholson and others provided an argument for a less sinister cause of the destruction.

For the first, although certainly not the last, time the College seemed on the verge of complete collapse. The absent Nicholson remained as rector until the end of his term on March 25, 1706, and by Governor Nott' s testimony the remainder of the trustees were unable to do anything. Nor were there any funds for rebuilding.[89] Thomas Hearne, an Oxford don, wrote in his diary upon learning of the fire that, had it survived, in all probability the College "would in some time have grown very famous."[90] Those who had witnessed the loss of the College building and known of the controversies of the preceding three years could scarcely have disagreed with Heame's pessimistic view about the future of William and Mary.

NOTES

1. Blair to Francis Nicholson, Dec. 3, 1691, "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 160–63; Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:39.
2. Grant of Arms to Trustees, May 16, 1694, College of Heralds, London.
3. Blair to the Earl of Nottingham, Portsmouth, Mar.24, 1693, in Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers*, 1693–96:69.
4. The speech is reprinted in translation in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 10 (1930): 329–33; its attribution to Orlando Jones is made by Rouse, *James Blair*, 120, 288 n. 6.
5. PRO/CO 5/1309, no. 16:88; James D. Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design": The Colonial Campus of the College of William and Mary* . . . (Williamsburg: William and Mary, Muscarelle Museum, 1989), 35–36; David Sacks, "A History of Landscape Design at the College of William and Mary" (Honors thesis, William and Mary, 1984).
6. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 3:123–24.
7. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:49.
8. Jan. 2, 1694, in [Francis Nicholson], *Papers Relating to an Affidavit Made by His Reverence James Blair, Clerk ... against Francis Nicholson, Esq.* (n.p., 1727), 75.
9. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:22, 45.
10. H. R. McIlwaine and W. L. Hall, eds., *Executive journals of the Council of Colonial Virginia*, 5 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1925–45), 1:327.
11. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1695–1702: 74.
12. Discussed more fully by Rouse, *James Blair*, 86–87, 283 nn. 13–15. Blair subsequently purchased one hundred acres of the Richneck property in 1699 and lived there until his wife's

death in 1713.

13. Blair to Francis Nicholson, May 8, 1695, "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 275–76; Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:44.
14. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:42–43; Rouse, *James Blair*, 86, 88.
15. William H. Browne, ed., *Archives of Maryland: Proceedings of the Council of Maryland, 1693–1696/7* (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society, 1900), 20:235, 237.
16. Rouse, *James Blair*, 92, 94.
17. See esp. Blair to Nicholson, Feb. 12, 1697, in Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N. Y.* (Albany: Weed, Parsons, and Company, 1866), pt. 2:342.
18. The manuscript, located in the Lovelace Collection of Locke MSS, Bodleian Library, Oxford, remained unpublished until it appeared in Michael G. Kammen, ed., "Virginia at the Close of the Seventeenth Century: An Appraisal by James Blair and John Locke," *VMHB* 74 (1966): 141–69.
19. The report remained unpublished until 1727 when Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, *Present State of Virginia*, appeared with the William and Mary charter appended.
20. Ibid., ed. Farish, 70.
21. The "Memorial" is printed in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:10–29, and discussed at length in Rouse, *James Blair*, 101–08.
22. The Lambeth Conference is recounted at length in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:36–65. William Byrd II's "Vindication" survived in the Byrd Papers, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, and has been printed in Louis B. Wright, ed., "William Byrd's Defense of Sir Edmund Andros," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 2 (1945): 47–62.
23. Rouse, *James Blair*, 112–13.
24. The correspondence is summarized, ibid., 112–16.
25. Locke to Blair, Oct. 16, 1699, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:67.
26. "Papers Relating to Founding," 171–73; "Accounts of the College," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1900): 166–71.
27. Two excellent accounts of the design and construction of the first building, in some respects complementary to one another, are Kornwolf, "So Good a Design," 13–56, which is the fullest and most recent study, and Marcus Whiffen, *The Public Buildings of Williamsburg* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1958), chaps. 1–2.
28. Blair to Bishop of London, Jan. 21, 1698, in Herbert L. Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to the Early History of William and Mary ... ," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 19 (1939): 347.
29. Identified by Kornwolf, "So Good a Design," 26 n. 38, as possibly Linke Pocock. Blair noted at one point that he had been paid by Andros "to relinquish the work of the College" in order to enter the employment of the governor. See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 19, citing Lambeth MSS, William and Mary College Papers, folder 8, Bodleian Library, Oxford.
30. "Accounts of College," 169.
31. Reference to the College gardens first appeared in Ruth Bourne, "John Evelyn, the Diarist, and His Cousin Daniel Parke II," *VMHB* 78 (1970): 27. The identification of Road was made by Thomas E. Thome and William Pavlovsky from *The Wren Society* 4 (1927): 34. See also Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 26–27 n.19.
32. "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 275–76.
33. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections* 1:54–55.
34. Wormeley to William Blathwayt, Aug. 16, 1695, Blathwayt Papers, CWF Archives; McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Executive Journals*, 1:334.
35. "Accounts of College," 167–71.

36. PRO/CO 5/1309.
37. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:44, 54–57; Blair to Bishop ofLondon,Jan. 21, 1698, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 19 (1939): 347.
38. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:112.
39. Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 49–56, is especially helpful. It also reproduces the Michel drawing, 42, and a modem drawing of the east (front), north, and west elevations and a first floor plan by William Pavlovsky, 50, 51, 54.
40. The original plat and survey of Williamsburg, prepared by Theodorick Bland in 1699, is in the Public Record Office, London, and is dealt with as pertains specifically to the College building by Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 35, and Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 19, both of which reproduce the sketch of the building that clearly shows the projected quadrangle with the two wings that were not being built identified by dotted lines. Beverley, *History*, ed. Wright, 266, contains a reference to the uncompleted quadrangular plan.
41. This account follows Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 49–56, which corrects earlier studies on some details of the first building.
42. Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia*, ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 67.
43. Peter Martin, *The Pleasure Gardens of Virginia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 21. Robert Beverley's account is in PRO/CO 5/1314.
44. Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 56.
45. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 32–33.
46. On the Wren attribution, see ibid., 28–32; the quotation is from Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 67.
47. See Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 109–1 1, and app. 2, 163–71, which provides a summation of the conclusions of all recent students of the question. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 28–32, has been more skeptical, although he has agreed in a letter to Kornwolf that he may have been too critical of Hugh Jones and that the sending of the gardener James Road to Virginia by the Office of Works makes its association with the whole project more likely.
48. Rouse, *James Blair*, 1 18; McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Joumals of Burgesses*, 1695–1702: xxx, 135, 161, 162, 165.
49. "Speeches of Students," 323–37.
50. Blair to Archbishop Tenison, Feb. 12, 1700, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:112.
51. [Nicholson], *Papers Relating to Affidavit*, 50; the contents of the library are listed in a memorandum reproduced in Mary R. M. Goodwin, comp., "Historical Notes: The College of William and Mary" (Research Report, CWF Library, 1954), 42–45.
52. John Oldmixon, *The British Empire in America*, 2 vols. (London, 1741), 1:437.
53. PRO/CO 5/1312. A Swiss traveler to Virginia in the same year noted about forty students, "Report of the Journey of Franz Ludwig Michel," trans. W.J. Hinke, *VMHB* 24 (1916): 26.
54. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:120.
55. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1695–1702: 197, 199, 200; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 2:197, 419–32; Rouse, *James Blair*, 1 18, 122–23.
56. He did, however, serve as a founding trustee of King William's School (1696), the predecessor of St. John's College, located on the Statehouse Circle in Annapolis. John W. Reps, *Tidewater Towns: City Planning in Colonial Virginia and Maryland* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 131.
57. Ibid., 142–43, 310 n. 8.
58. Ibid., 146.
59. See Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 8–11, for a brief summary and Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, chap. 7,

for a detailed account.

60. Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 170.
61. McIlwaine and flall, eds., *Executive Journals*, 2:21; Rouse, *James Blair*, 124.
62. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 34–36.
63. McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Executive Journals*, 2:61.
64. Ibid., 2:109–337; McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Joumals of Burgesses*, 1695–1702: xxxv, 205; 1702/3–1712: xx, 43.
65. "Journey of Michel," 125–29, provides the only detailed account of the event.
66. The break between Blair and Nicholson has long received major attention from historians, among them Richard L. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1960), 1:376–88.
67. Mar. 29, 1693, in Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of StatePapers*, 1693–96: 227.
68. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:76–77.
69. McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Executive Journals*, 2:146.
70. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:134
71. Ibid., 1:125; Nicholson Affidavit of Mar. 3, 1705, PRO/CO 5/1314.
72. July 13, 1702, Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:125.
73. The principal sources for the incident include: "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 8 (1900–1901): 143–46, 260–63, 370–71; Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:137–38; Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers*, 1704–1705: 111–13; "Memo of Francis Nicholson," Mar. 3, 1705, Nicholson Papers, CWF; "A Modest Answer to a Malicious Libel Against ... Francis Nicholson ... ," folder 11, College Archives.
74. Beverley's statement is in *History*, ed. Wright, 105; Fouace's affidavit is in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1 :87–93.
75. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:80–81.
76. For Blair's statements, see ibid., 1:93–112, 131–38.
77. This confusing sequence of events is traced in Rouse, *James Blair*, 154–67. Apart from the anti-Nicholson statements sent from Virginia and previously cited, the key developments can be followed in Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers*, 1704–1705: 166, 370, 397–402, 411–28, 429–37, 477–78, 485.
78. [Nicholson], *Papers Relating to Affidavit*.
79. Nicholson to Tenison, May 27, 1700, Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:120.
80. On his philanthropy, see [Nicholson], *Papers Relating to Affidavit*, 49–50, and Bruce T. McCully, "Governor Francis Nicholson: Patron Par Excellence of Religion and Learning in Colonial America," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 39 (1982): 317–18. For the suspension of Blair's salary, see "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 8 (1900–1901): 264–65.
81. Blair's plan is reprinted with an introductory comment in Samuel Clyde McCulloch, "James Blair's Plan of 1699 to Reform the Clergy of Virginia," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 4 (1947): 70–86. It also appears, erroneously attributed to the Reverend Alexander Forbes, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:334–44. See also Rouse, *James Blair*, 143–48.
82. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:115–19. For a critical comment on Nicholson's cultivation of the clergy, see Philip Ludwell II to Philip Ludwell, Mar. 11, 1703, PRO/CO 5/1314, cited by Rouse, *James Blair*, 148.
83. Rouse, *James Blair*, 148–51.
84. Ibid., 170–74, summarizes the proceedings. The complete record of the convocation is in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1: 141–82.
85. Inglis to Nicholson, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:139–40; Inglis to Rector and Gentle-

men [i.e., Visitors], *WMQ*, 1st ser., 6 (1897–98): 87–88; a third and similar version of Inglis's charges, including a statement that "Mr Blair & his partys" were "making a stalking horse of the College," appears in "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 7 (1899–1900): 391–93.

86. "Papers Relating to Nicholson," *VMHB* 8 (1900–1901): 377–81.
87. "Depositions As to the Burning of William and Mary College, 1705," *VMHB* 6 (1898–99): 271–77.
88. "Supplementary Documents," 70, 74; "William and Mary College: Recently Discovered Documents," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 10 (1930): 250.
89. Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers*, 1704–1705: 741.
90. Diaries and Collections of Thomas Hearne, Oxford Historical Society, Oxford, copy in folder 11, College Archives.

3

YEARS OF DESPAIR, YEARS OF HOPE
1706–1743

William and Mary faced imminent collapse on more than one occasion throughout its long history, but its prospects were never more ominous than at the end of 1705. The College was without a building, without a faculty, and almost without students; its financial resources were depleted; and the debilitating effects of the animosity between James Blair and Francis Nicholson limited any hopes of revival. Yet recovery slowly began. If one were to look only at the peaks of its history over the next four or five decades—to perhaps the middle of the century—a second building on the ruined walls of the first, successful transfer of the charter in 1729, construction of the Brafferton, the chapel, and the President's House, and the filling out of the faculty with a corresponding increase in students might seem to suggest steady progress.

In reality, those peaks alternated with periodic decline into controversy, weakness, and lack of direction. Nonetheless, in the process William and Mary did come to fill a valued place in the provincial culture. Also, as enrollment grew modestly, a larger number of those who had studied at the College—if only for two or three years, often divided between the Grammar School and the faculty of philosophy—made their entry into the public life of the colony. The College thus began to fulfill the more secular of its original purposes. If the Indian School and training in divinity lagged along less successfully, a predominantly English and clerical faculty and a beginning of instruction in divinity still gave some expression to the second and more religious and imperial purpose embedded in the charter.

A Second Try, 1706–18

Accounting for the gradual recovery from the debacle of 1705 is not easy. The College had few resources left beyond its lands and James Blair's iron will, the latter of which some might have perceived as being more the problem than the solution. Some of its crown and provincial revenues were continuing, but they could hardly meet normal operating costs, let alone the expensive construction of a new building. On this occasion Blair announced no new grand designs or promotional trips to England, and, for a few years at least, there was no governor capable of providing strong support on the one hand or, on the other, presenting a useful foil for the president's ambitions.

Indeed, Blair's lack of a major political opponent in the governor's office for more than a decade may have been vital in affording the president time to concentrate his considerable energies on the precarious situation of the College. Nicholson remained something of a problem, since his term as rector did not expire for some months after his removal as governor, and he continued as a trustee until his death some years later. But as Blair turned to the task of rebuilding, Nicholson had finally left the colony, and Blair's longtime ally, Philip Ludwell, had succeeded to the position of rector.[1] The new governor, Edward Nott, enjoyed Blair's good opinion, but he lived only a year after taking office, succumbing to a fever in August 1706 before the relationship with the president had time to sour. The capture on the way to Virginia of his designated successor, Robert Hunter, by the French during Queen Anne's War, caused the colony to remain for four years under the acting governorship of Edmund Jenings, the aged and ineffective president of the council. Blair started out on good terms with the next governor, Alexander Spotswood, who arrived in 1710 and immediately proved a firm supporter of the College during his first years in office; the all but inevitable break with Blair was still some years away.[2]

When Blair turned to the work of rebuilding, his first task was to find new financial support. On this occasion he sought to set an example, informing Archbishop Tenison that to support the effort, "I have fully parted with my salary . . . , though I had an undoubted Title to it, being named President under the Great Seal of England and that during my natural life."[3] In truth he had lost the salary by an action of those trustees who opposed him in June 1705, but he now indeed served without stipend until 1721, when the remaining trustees, having become more sympathetic, secured a ruling from the lord chancellor that provided him with two thirds of the £150 specified by the charter, to be paid "from 1718 until the College be founded." With the transfer of the charter accomplished in 1729, the College was adjudged to be "founded," and he then began to receive the full stipend.[4] More important, Blair's self-congratulation at the surrender of his salary occurred in the context of a letter that he sent to Tenison primarily to seek the archbishop's help in gaining support from Queen Anne. She responded with a grant of £500 from the quitrents and a promise to match money raised in Virginia. The queen then added an additional £500 in 1710 upon receipt of a second appeal. The president also won a renewal by the General Assembly of its export tax on skins and furs.[5]

Within four years of the fire, the trustees resolved to proceed with the new building, even though not all of the needed funds were yet in hand. William Byrd II recounted a meeting on August 4, 1709, at which the members present "at last determined to build the college on the old walls and appointed workmen to view them and [compute] the charge." Six weeks later, on September 13, they debated the question once more and stood by their original decision, although Byrd joined a minority who voted in favor of a fresh start on another location. Then, at the end of October, John Tullitt, who had supplied brick for the capitol a few years earlier, offered to carry out the building work if he could cut wood from College lands and if the institution would bear the cost of bringing workers from England. The trustees agreed to his terms on December 8, and construction began to go forward.[6]

It is less dear what the College was doing to remain in operation during the rebuilding. Byrd identified the meeting place of the trustees on one occasion as the "school house," suggesting that once again the Grammar School had found temporary quarters. In 1706 Arthur Blackamore replaced Inglis as grammar master, serving, although not without controversy, until discharged in 1717. As early as October 1709, the College in the words of William Byrd "agreed to turn Mr. Blackamore out . . . for being so great a sot," but the master gained another chance when he petitioned that "if the governors of the College would forgive him what was past, he would for the time to come mend his conduct" That was the last of neither his lapses nor his self remorse, but in the end he seemingly paid a higher price for his support of Governor Spotswood than for his alcoholism, once Blair had resumed his warfare on colonial governors.[7]

Despite his problems Blackamore was a man of interest and talent, as J. E. Morpurgo rightly observes, the College's "pioneer man of letters," who seemed able to move freely among the social elite of Williamsburg. He produced a Latin poem, *Expeditio Ultramonte*, in 1716 to celebrate Governor Spotswood's famous journey to explore the Virginia mountains and the land beyond with a group of associates whom he dubbed the Knights of the Golden Horseshoe. The poem served in that year as one of the Latin quitrent poems that the College had to present to the governor each November 5th. After his return to England, Blackamore published in 1720 a collection of three novels, *The Perfidious Brethren: Or the Religious Triumvirate Displayed in Three Ecclesiastical Novels*, dedicated to Spotswood, and in 1723 *Luck at Last*, with an appealing dedication to one of his Virginia students, David Bray:

> Several years are now passed, since I had the honor to be first acquainted with your worthy parents and, by consequence, to have some familiarity with yourself, being then a minor, the growing and only hopes [*sic*] of their family, and living more directly under their roof. I need not recount to you the effect of that acquaintance, nor how a closer correspondence was cultivated between yourself and me as you grew up. I am confident it is so fixed in your memory as not easily to be forgotten.[8]

In the same year of Blackamore's appointment, 1706, the College, moving at last to fulfill the terms of the Boyle bequest, appointed Christopher Jackson as master of the Indian School. Thus far it had done little to attract Indian youths, apart from the compulsory enrollment of a few captive Indian children originally bought as slaves.[9] As Francis Nicholson had attempted earlier, Spotswood made a strong point of encouraging the development of the Indian School from his first arrival in the colony. He possessed a broad vision of Indian policy, a mixture, to be sure, of his economic interest in increasing trade, strategic concern with lessening hostility between colonists and Indians, and some genuine philanthropic and religious feelings.[10] Taking advantage of his various conferences and negotiations with Indian leaders, he had secured by July 1712 the enrollment of some twenty Indian boys, including the son of the queen of the Pamunkey people. Spotswood noted that "they have a Master to teach them and are decently cloathed and maintained, so that they seem very well pleased with the change of their condition." On another occasion he reported that "there are several that can read and write tolerably well, can repeat the Church Chatechism, and know how to make their responses in the Church."[11] His success, in fact, outran the resources of the Boyle funds, but his strong efforts to persuade the burgesses and council to help with additional support met only stubborn resistance. He complained bitterly that the burgesses would not even allow a debate of his proposal, and to the Board of Trade he accused the legislators of being only interested in "extirpating all the Indians, without distinction of Friends or Enemys."[12]

Christopher Jackson remained as Indian master until 1716, but Spotswood shifted much of his effort after 1715 to the support of an Indian school that he established at his trading post, Fort Christanna, south of the James River. The governor hoped that the school there might prepare some students to go on to William and Mary, for Charles Griffin, the teacher whom Spotswood had hired, proved popular and attracted a number of young scholars.[13]

During the recovery of the College between 1706 and 1715, it also proved possible for the first time to fill one of the philosophy chairs by the appointment of Tanaquil Le Fevre as professor of natural philosophy and mathematics. The effort was ill-fated, for he lasted only for a few months in 1711 and 1712. By Spotswood's report he arrived in the company of an "idle hussy" who was forced to return to England at the governor's expense. Even without that distraction, Le Fevre "appeared negligent in all of the posts of duty and guilty of some other irregularitys that the Governors of the College could no longer bear with him," although he showed some signs of reform and found a place in the colony as a private tutor.[14] Thus, the first effort to introduce instruction at William and Mary at a more advanced level came to nothing.

The accomplishments of the first decade after the great fire of 1705 were indeed modest, but they were enough to keep the Grammar School in operation, to give some vitality to the Indian School even in the face of the indifference of Blair, the Visitors, and the leaders of the General Assembly, and slowly to carry forward a second building. By about 1715 or 1716, one could sense a quickening of energy and an effort by Blair and the Visitors to make William and Mary the force in the life of the colony that it could hardly become while it remained exclusively a grammar school.

Once again the College building in itself became a compelling symbol of recovery. At least by 1716 it was possible to reoccupy the structure and use it for some activities. By 1721 the two original wings, the main one on the east and that housing the hall, were complete. The progress can be measured by two payments totaling £900 to the undertaker John Tullitt in late 1711 and early 1712 and at the same time a resolution of the Visitors approving the purchase of iron beds for the scholars and an order to England for furniture for the kitchen, brewhouse, and laundry, plus a bell of eighteen inches diameter.[15] Other orders before the end of 1712 included "1 Ingine for Quenching Fire" and "Sash Glass" for fitting into the window frames of the hall.[16]

Just as Francis Nicholson had played a prominent part in the work on the first building and the first town plan for Williamsburg, Alexander Spotswood figured significantly in the design and construction of the second building and in revising the

Nicholson town plan and carrying through the completion of some of the remaining public buildings. The Reverend Hugh Jones, who joined the College faculty during the last stages of work on the second building and hence had perhaps more firsthand knowledge of it than he did in attributing the first building to a design by Sir Christopher Wren, wrote with undoubted accuracy that the new structure "has been rebuilt and nicely contrived, altered and adorned by the ingenious direction of Governor Spotswood."[17]

The building that by 1721 stood complete, apart from the later addition of its chapel wing, although retaining the surviving walls of the first building and therefore some of its dimensions, was in other respects altered. The elimination of a third full story, the raising of the ground level by three feet on the east front, and a smaller cupola all made for a lower, though still imposing, facade. The east front lost one of its balconies, and the elimination of the third story required a different roof treatment on the west side, adding a series of transverse roofs. It is this building in its two forms—original and restored—that has graced the campus for two-thirds of the long history of the College.[18]

At this early stage of the building, when it was barely completed, we know less than can be determined in later years about the uses to which specific rooms were put. Apart, however, from the fact that the hall doubled as the chapel until the third wing was constructed, there were probably few changes. The Grammar School had its classroom on the first floor to the right as one entered through the main door on the east front. The kitchen was in the basement under the hall. The order that had been placed for beds suggested that students had once again moved into the building, probably on the top floor, and there were rooms for the few faculty members yet appointed and for President Blair. The grant of permission for William Levingston to use the mathematics room at the southeast corner of the first floor "for teaching the Scholars and others to dance untill his own dancing school in Williamsburg be finished" might suggest that there was still room to spare in the rebuilt structure.[19]

The approaching completion of the College building was but one indication that the College was reviving, even moving toward full implementation of the terms of the charter. Since Philip Ludwell, a Blair ally, had replaced Nicholson as rector, it became easier to present a united front in College affairs. With the more favorable political climate during the first years of Spotswood's administration, Blair moved to claim the seat in the House of Burgesses that the charter conveyed, even though he was as yet unable to meet the requirement that to elect its own burgess the College be "a body Politick and incorporate, in Deed and Name," that is, have filled its full complement of six masters and secured the transfer of the charter.[20] In 1715 the "President and Masters," which at that time comprised only Blair and the grammar and Indian masters, elected Peter Beverley, former speaker of the House of Burgesses, to the College seat. But the Committee on Privileges and Elections reminded the president that he had earlier declined to elect a representative because of the lack of sufficient masters and the failure to achieve transfer of the charter, and denied Beverley's right to sit.[21] With no better claim Blair was able, however, to manage the election and seating of John Custis in 1718 and

Thomas Jones in 1720 by taking advantage of the growing opposition of the burgesses to Governor Spotswood.[22]

Blair and the Visitors also made a more systematic effort to increase and strengthen the faculty than at any earlier time. After John Robinson had been consecrated as bishop of London and appointed in 1714 to a term as chancellor of William and Mary, Philip Ludwell, rector of the Board of Visitors, sought his assistance in finding a suitable appointee for the chair in natural philosophy and mathematics. Robinson responded with the recommendation of a recent recipient of a master of arts from Jesus College, Oxford, the Reverend Hugh Jones, who had already declared himself "fully bent for the American plantations."[23] The attention that Jones gave to the College in his *Present State of Virginia* (1724) , which extended far beyond his having made the first attribution of the College building to the genius of Sir Christopher Wren, has made him justifiably appear as one of the most important members of the faculty in the colonial era, despite a comparatively brief tenure of five years. In that time he emerged as an active, shrewd spokesman for the faculty and the Virginia clergy and another in the growing list of James Blair's bitter opponents. While his description of Virginia and the College, published in England after he had resigned, was undoubtedly colored by his increasingly adversarial relationship with the president, it remains one of the most perceptive and revealing accounts of the early College.[24]

Hugh Jones arrived in Virginia in the spring of 1717. His youth—he was only twenty-four—proved no bar to his ready acceptance in the colony, not least of all by Governor Spotswood himself, of whom Jones wrote "that it is difficult to be determined in which respect he chiefly excelled, either in being a compleat gentleman, a polite scholar, a good governor, or a true churchman."[25] Almost immediately after his arrival, the governor took him on a journey to his trading post and school for Indians at Fort Christanna, where Jones gained his first experience with American natives. There he discussed their education at length with Charles Griffin, the master of the school that Spotswood had founded. Thereafter, Jones displayed a growing interest of his own in the education and Christianization of the Indians.[26] The following year on April 23, 1718, the House of Burgesses chose him as its chaplain, and at times he also "had the favour of being lecturer" at Bruton Parish Church.[27] Within two years Jones also began to serve Blair's old parish at James City, agreeing to preach on two Sundays out of three.[28]

Clearly, Hugh Jones also took his teaching responsibilities seriously. His emerging interest in Indian education was one indication. We also know from a deposition which he gave many years later that after Bishop Robinson had promised him the Virginia appointment, he took additional instruction in algebra, omitted in his earlier education, under the tutelage of a master or fellow of Christ Church, Oxford.[29] Although appointed to the professorship of natural philosophy, he concurrently served in the demanding appointment of Grammar School master for several months, an additional duty which, he reported, "I easily perform."[30]

After his return to England in 1721 and before he once again came to the Chesapeake, although never again to the College, Jones not only published *The Present State of Virginia*, but also another work, *An Accidence to the English Tongue*, which was essentially a textbook of grammar and rhetoric intended for the use of such disadvantaged groups as boys in the colonies, "the Female Sex," and the "Welch, Scotch, Irish, and Foreigners." He also prepared similar works on mathematics and the Christian religion that seem not to have been published.[31] However strong the tone of condescension in Hugh Jones's sense of the purpose of these works, in both the *Accidence* and an appendix on Virginia education in *The Present State of Virginia*, he outlined a serious, carefully conceived plan of education, the latter focusing especially on the improvement of William and Mary.[32] Later in his life, from the mid-1740s into the 1750s, Jones also wrote several essays arguing from his mathematical knowledge in favor of reform of the calendar, an equivalent rationalization of British coinage, weights, and measures, and the use of eight rather than ten as the base of arithmetic. Although he anticipated the adoption of the New Style Calendar by Parliament in 1751, neither his mathematical work and the association it brought him with Philadelphia intellectual circles nor the educational texts he had written earlier marked him as a scientific or mathematical scholar of note. Rather, he was more nearly a well-educated, competent, and conscientious teacher, and colonial William and Mary was to see relatively few of those among its faculty.[33] Hugh Jones was also one of a relatively limited number of the early faculty who took their religious faith with total seriousness. Although realistic about the easygoing ways of Virginia Anglicanism, Jones was satisfied as to the commitment of Virginians to the established church, a view mirrored in his often-quoted statement that "Virginia may be justly esteemed the happy retreat of true Britons and true churchmen for the most part; neither soaring too high nor drooping too low."[34] His writing was replete with evidence of his own deep personal piety, and he had plans and hopes for the improvement of the church in the colony no less than of the College. Upon his return to the Chesapeake in 1725, he served as rector of four parishes, one in Virginia and three in Maryland, over more than thirty-five years, until his death in 1760.[35] In effect, he devoted far more of his long life in the colonies to his religious than to his educational concerns.

However, in that brief period from 1717 to 1721, when Jones was professor of mathematics and natural philosophy, he put his mark on the College. In truth the first serious occupant of either of the two philosophy chairs, given Tanaquil Le Fevre's fleeting and inconsequential presence, Jones was central to the seeming recovery and improvement of the institution, and his departure was one of the circumstances that once again dashed those hopes. In his beliefs, in his close association with Governor Spotswood, and in his plans for the improvement of William and Mary, he provided another example of the imperial and Anglican vision for the College. And that made an eventual conflict with James Blair all but inevitable.

Hugh Jones's virtues serve as a reminder that at about the time he arrived in Virginia to take up his duties, Arthur Blackamore was nearing the end of his tenure as Grammar School master, his promised reform never having come to pass. He had decided to try the course of returning to England to take holy orders, but according to Blair, even as he prepared to come before the Visitors so that they might send him home with some sort of reference, "that very day he was so in his cups, that he did not think fit to appear, and to sollicit his own business." Blair complained that the years he had "spent in scandalous acts of drunkenness, admonitions, endeavours of amendment, and relapses" had gone on under a patient Board "till at last the [Grammar] School was dwindled away to nothing." The president explained, "there were not ten scholars left . . . and there was no way to retrieve the School, but by changing the Master."[36] As a solution Blair turned to his old opponent, the original Grammar School master, Mungo Inglis. He now returned for three years, remaining until his death in 1720.[37]

Inglis had at the least been a competent teacher. Having him and Hugh Jones serve together and the position of master of the Indian School filled—in 1716 by the appointment of Christopher Smith in place of Christopher Jackson—gave the College by 1717 the largest and strongest group of teachers it had yet attracted. With the second building nearing completion, a good working relationship established between Blair and the Visitors, and a College representative seated in the House of Burgesses at least for 1718, there seemed enough good news to offset the decline of the Grammar School under Blackamore and a continuing lack of resources. At least until the departure of Hugh Jones in 1721, improvement in instruction must have continued.

Blair Bags Another Governor, 1718–22

Yet, the modest success that the College seemed to have achieved proved transitory, and by the early 1720s, William and Mary was once again in crisis. Hugh Jones had observed that after the fire of 1705 the College had "Phoenix-like as the city of London, revived and improved out of its own ruins," but as much as he wanted to see such an "important foundation" prosper, his more considered assessment was far bleaker:

> For it is now a college without a chapel, without a scholarship, and without a statute. . . . There is a library without books, comparatively speaking, and a president without a fixed salary till of late: A burgess without certainty of electors; and in fine, there have been disputes and differences about these and the like affairs of the college hitherto without end.[38]

The only question that one might raise about Jones's gloomy description is why he did not also label it a College without a faculty. With his departure neither philosophy post would again be filled until almost the end of the decade, and even the post of Grammar School master, which Jones had apparently also filled after the death of Mungo Inglis, remained vacant until the arrival of Joshua Fry in 1724.[39]

The Indian School, to which Spotswood had given so much encouragement, continued to languish. Even though Hugh Jones thought the Indian School, like the rest of the College, could be reformed and made effective, he clearly believed that it had so far failed in its mission. Young Indians had been difficult to recruit, they had died in some numbers from disease or neglect, and they had all too often fallen "into the worst practices of vile nominal Christians" or returned home without baptism to "follow their own savage customs and heathenish rites." In truth, Blair and the colony leaders, whether acting as burgesses and councillors or as governors of the College, never proved forthcoming with support for the education of Indians, exerting no more effort than the minimum required to keep the income from the Boyle bequest flowing. Nor had the governor's efforts to find additional religious and philanthropic support in England fared any better. The final blow came in 1717, when the Privy Council repealed Spotswood's 1714 Indian Act. On this had rested his educational and mercantile efforts at Fort Christanna and, in many respects, his broader efforts to pursue an evenhanded Indian policy.

Even before that news could reach the colony, a new Indian master at the College, Christopher Smith, who arrived in 1716, turned out to have so few Indian scholars that the Visitors agreed to supplement his meager income from student fees with free pasturage for his horse and firewood for his College rooms. They also allowed him "the liberty of [the] teaching of such English Children as shall be put to him" and provided "that a partition be erected at the charge of the College to separate the said English Children from the Indians."[40] This pioneering experiment in segregated education may have been the most telling of all of the College's largely unsuccessful experiments in the education of Indians. Even the appointment in 1720 of Charles Griffin, who had been the popular and effective teacher at Spotswood's school at Fort Christanna, could not entirely reverse the poor fortunes of the Indian School.

While these problems of staffing and recruitment were very real ones in their own right, undergirding them and contributing heavily to the difficulties that the College continued to face was President Blair's increasing preoccupation with undermining yet another governor of the colony. The fight with Alexander Spotswood arose in large part from a variety of political issues with which the College itself was not centrally involved.[41] James Blair, however, was. He and his family allies, who comprised a majority of Spotswood's council, became early leaders of the opposition to the governor. The contest came in time to center particularly on ecclesiastical affairs and therefore to involve Blair as the commissary. Once again Blair's diverse roles as councillor, commissary, and president inevitably drew the College into the fray, even when it scarcely served its best interests.

Conflict developed slowly, even though Spotswood set out from the first to advance what he regarded as the interests of the empire, often showing himself to be disdainful of provincial politicians. Opposing them on a variety of issues, especially land grants, tobacco regulation, and Indian policy, he particularly antagonized the powerful alliance of the Harrisons and their relatives, Blair included. By 1718 the opposition broadened to include a majority of the members of the House of Burgesses, who voted to send an address to the king that they hoped might undermine Spotswood at home.[42] In defending himself to crown officials, the governor poured out his distaste for James Blair, "a Staunch Achitophel," and his powerful knot of relatives. But it was Blair himself, Spotswood charged, who was recognized by everyone as the author of all the "Letters, Memorials, Remonstrances, and whatever else they design."[43] By 1719 the lords of trade had essentially backed the governor, and Spotswood in turn was at pains to convince royal officials that he had restored harmony in the colony, although he did so largely by yielding to Virginia interests and indeed joining with them in the appropriation of huge land grants for himself.[44]

However, no truce was possible with James Blair, for the two men were determined to fight on over ecclesiastical affairs. The issue was an old one. Spotswood, like several of his predecessors, wanted, first, to appoint clergy to vacant parishes without a recommendation from the vestry and to "collate," that is, approve, appointments made by the vestry, and, second, to induct parish rectors who had served with good behavior but whose vestry refused to make their appointments permanent. Blair as commissary once again sided with the Virginia laity in seeking to deny the governor such powers, while Spotswood gained the support of the larger body of Anglican clergy against their presumed leader. In earlier years, while the relationship between the two remained harmonious, Spotswood had not forcefully asserted his authority over the church, even permitting Blair to accept an appointment by the vestry as rector of Bruton Parish in 1710 without raising the issue of his right of collation. Over the next six years, Spotswood moved, apparently without great opposition from vestries, to appoint clergy to most of a dozen or so vacant parishes. In the first heat of the more general conflict that erupted by 1718, Spotswood grew more aggressive and Blair more resistant.[45] The governor refused to induct two clergymen recommended by their vestries, one of them being Blair himself, who had arranged for his vestry to present him precisely in order to create a test case for the courts. After the lords of trade had backed him, Spotswood then moved ahead to induct two other clergymen whom their vestries opposed.

The confrontation reached its climax in a convocation of the Virginia clergy that Blair called for April 1719 in the hall of the College building—a further indication that the rebuilt structure was fully ready for use. While the stated reason for the gathering was to pursue an inquiry by John Robinson, the bishop of London, into the validity of the ordination of some of the Virginia clergy, it turned into a full-scale contest between Blair and a majority of his fellow clergy who opposed him. Of the thirty-seven clergymen then assigned to the colony, twelve were absent, eighteen were present in opposition to their commissary, and seven sided with him.

Since Hugh Jones, who had not yet left his post as master of natural philosophy, quickly emerged as Blair's leading opponent, the controversy became one that was in part a College affair. Jones was in the forefront of those who challenged the validity of Blair's own ordination, charging that it was Presbyterian and not Anglican despite his license from the bishop of London.[46] The meeting turned increasingly tumultuous. Blair sought to defend himself, but his opponents stood their ground. Hugh Jones attacked a sermon he had delivered earlier at the convocation, and the majority adopted a statement supporting Spotswood, reiterating their doubts about the commissary's ordination, and deploring the state of the church in the colony. While Jones failed in a move to ask the governor to suspend Blair as commissary, Blair's seven defenders were reduced to adopting after adjournment a minority address. To this Blair added two lengthy papers reviewing the history of the dispute over clerical appointments in the colony.[47]

Although a handful of disgruntled clergy, frustrated at the frequency with which they were at the mercy of determined Virginia vestries, was hardly a source of power in the colony or even of influence with their English superiors, Spotswood, with their support added to his recent vindication by the lords of trade and his newly established harmony with the General Assembly, must have thought that he had Blair for the first time on the defensive. Moreover, he had by now secured a favorable ruling from the solicitor general in England on his full right of collation to use as a further weapon against Blair. If so, he reckoned without his opponent's tenacity. When Spotswood confronted the council with the solicitor general's ruling on December 9, 1719, Blair and Philip Ludwell countered with an opposing opinion upholding the vestries that they had obtained from the British attorney general.[48]

Although both sides agreed to a court test of the conflicting interpretations, based on Spotswood' s refusal to induct Blair at Bruton Parish, Blair did not choose to wait on the outcome of what might have been a protracted case, working its way through the General Court and then to England on appeal. Instead, he embarked in the spring of 1721 on his fourth trip to England. Spotswood noted suspiciously that his mission was "(as he gives out), about the college affairs," although Blair had demonstrated scant concern about the declining state of the College during the accelerating controversy of the previous three years.[49] Blair even had the cheek to offer to perform any service for the governor while in England, prompting Spotswood to remark that "I shall be contented with his not offering to do me any Disservice."[50] Although Blair's old English patrons were largely gone, he seemed to have no difficulty accomplishing his true mission of securing the removal of Spotswood. The accumulation of controversy around the governor, some dissatisfaction among crown officials over his self-interested reversal of position on Virginia land policy, and the eagerness of the new prime minister, Robert Walpole, to place one of his own friends in the appointment were this time likely to have been more important than Blair's efforts. But James Blair had his victory, which came in the end as no surprise to Spotswood, who had begun to hear reports that he would be replaced and that Blair had drawn the new lieutenant governor, Hugh Drysdale, under his influence even before they sailed for Virginia on the same vessel. In one of his characteristically astute observations on Blair, the outgoing governor noted that "Parson Blair was likely to act as Prime Minister" in the new administration.[51]

By the time he returned in October 1722 from a final and successful Indian diplomatic mission in New York, Spotswood found that Drysdale had arrived. Apart from a six-year return to England beginning in 1724, Spotswood continued to live in the colony, developing his lands and iron works at Germanna in the new county of Spotsylvania that he had helped create. He could afford not to hold grudges and at his death in 1740, provided in his will that his books and scientific instruments should go to William and Mary.[52]

As for the College, Blair's victory offered no immediate boon. It is true that he devoted some of his time during the trip to England to finding new resources for the institution, yet he had helped to undermine another governor, one whose support for the struggling College in the preceding decade had outweighed in some respects that of Blair. Even in the midst of his fight with the legislature in the stormy sessions of

1718, one of the few bills that Spotswood had not vetoed was one that appropriated £1,000 to the "Visitors and Governors" of the College "for the maintaining and educating such and so many of the ingenious scholars, natives of the colony, as they shall think fit."[53] Four years later Blair may well have wondered where scholars, ingenious or otherwise, might be found, or, for that matter, with the departure of Hugh Jones, who would instruct them. Perhaps the only consideration that made the situation less desperate than the near collapse of 1705 was that William and Mary had a newly completed building, even if there were few to occupy it.

The Charter Fulfilled, 1722–29

James Blair, as three governors had learned, was a man of resolution and force when he chose to pursue an objective. If the College had not always been for him the most urgent of those objectives while he maneuvered for political and ecclesiastical power and social and economic position, circumstances now changed. Whether Blair had consciously decided that he had to give priority to the College if it were to survive or whether his accumulated power freed him from the necessity of further political confrontation, he now turned his full attention to reviving the institution he had worked so hard to create.

The social and political elite of Virginia which the College served had itself undergone a further transformation and maturation. Its leaders, now more often second or even third generation Virginians, were more confident, more prepared to devote some of their resources to gentility and learning, preferably learning that had some practical application. The College had a role to play in that pursuit, not, to be sure, by the promotion of advanced scholarship but, as the charter had stated, by the encouragement of "pious educating of youth in good Letters and Manners." The establishment of the scholarship fund of £1,000 in the midst of the controversies just ended was a harbinger of such concerns, having come by the vote of the political leadership.

But it was Blair on whom fell the responsibility for reviving the College. Although the urgent needs were those of faculty, students, and money, he was no more able than many modem university presidents to resist the attractions offered by the highly visible monument of new buildings. In addition to some further work toward completion of the Main Building, Blair brought to completion in 1723 a new structure to house the Indian School, named the Brafferton in recognition of the Yorkshire manor from which the income for Indian education was derived.[54] If there seemed to be almost no Indians to occupy it in the beginning, for the first time the College had paid attention to its obligations to the Boyle bequest. Yet Blair may have had in mind, too, other uses of the space, such as housing the library, for the Brafferton was never occupied solely by the young Indian scholars and their teachers.[55] If nothing else, in 1723 completing any new building was an act of consummate boldness.

The president turned his attention as well to financial problems. Governor Drysdale, who served only four years before dying in office, was willing to help but was not capable of taking the strong part that Nicholson and Spotswood had before their breaks with Blair.[56] Blair more than ever had his solid link with the provincial leadership, including men like Sir John Randolph, who despite an early death served at one time or another as burgess for the College, speaker of the House of Burgesses, and attorney general; and Robert "King" Carter, a rector and Visitor of the College, member and president of the council, acting governor after Drysdale's death, and probably the wealthiest Virginia planter of his time.[57] More than most of his contemporaries, Carter had strong ideas about education, championing a very traditionalist view that "kept in the old way of teaching the Latin tongue" and employed "the old school books that we and our forefathers learned."[58] While Carter did not depart from an earlier preference for educating his sons in England, he now began sending the younger boys to William and Mary before they completed their schooling abroad.

The most tangible evidence of growing support for the College was the assembly's passage, with support from Carter and Governor Drysdale, of a 1726 act levying a duty of one pence per gallon on liquors imported into the colony, the proceeds estimated at about £200 per year to be paid to the College semiannually. To make the law acceptable to British authorities who would review it, the duty applied only to spirits not imported from Britain. The president, masters, and others at the College were to get their alcohol duty free, a considerable inducement to a faculty not always distinguished in the colonial period by its temperance.[59]

With the liquor duty passed but still needing royal assent, Blair now prepared for still another journey to England. It was his fifth and, since he was now past seventy years of age, proved to be his last. Lobbying for approval of the new duty was, however, only a part of his mission. The "Humble Address" to the king that he and the Visitors prepared before his departure was an appeal for substantial new support from the royal bounty. No less important, Blair was determined at last to accomplish the transfer of the charter into the hands of the president and masters and to recruit the additional faculty members that would be necessary to satisfy the condition that the faculty must be at full strength before the transfer from the trustees could be made.

By this time the "longest livers" of the eighteen original trustees numbered only three: Blair himself; his old ally Stephen Fouace, who had now been in England for many years; and, finally, the enemy of both men, Francis Nicholson, who had recently retired from his last governorship in South Carolina because of ill health and was now residing in London. Not surprisingly, the governor turned out to be a major problem, for the news of the proposed liquor duty had aroused his antagonism even before the more important issue of consenting to the transfer could be raised. Nicholson was determined in particular to block the use of any of the proceeds of the duty for salaries of the president and masters so long as the College buildings remained incomplete. He poured out his objections in his own memorial to the lords of trade and succeeded in securing a ruling that the duty should be approved only with the restrictions on the use of the revenue that he sought.[60] The assent of the crown was delayed by the death of George I, but his successor George II gave his approval early in the new reign.

Nicholson remained determined, however, to use his position as a surviving trustee to block the transfer. It was probably Nicholson who arranged for the publication in 1727 of the old 1697 report to the Board of Trade that Blair, Henry Hartwell, and Edward Chilton had prepared but never published. In their effort to undermine the governorship of Sir Edmund Andros, the authors had gone out of their way to praise Nicholson for his conduct in his first term as governor of Virginia. He was, they wrote, "their good Governor, who had been the greatest Encourager in the Country" of the College.[61] At the same time, Nicholson determined to have his revenge for never having been allowed to present his case in the hearing that led to his removal, for he now published anonymously a lengthy collection of all the papers and documents that he had assembled to defend his conduct. *The Papers Relating to an Affidavit ... against Francis Nicholson, Esq.* left historians a more complete record of the arguments in that earlier controversy and added some details to the history of the College that might otherwise have been lost, but it proved of no effect in blocking the transfer. In March 1728 Francis Nicholson died, and Fouace and Blair could have their way without further difficulty.[62]

While the possible confrontation with Nicholson was still developing, however, Blair and Fouace were sufficiently optimistic about the ultimate transfer of the charter to turn to an important preparatory task. Relying in part upon "mature deliberation" with William Wake, the archbishop of Canterbury and current chancellor of the College, the two trustees prepared a detailed body of statutes that would carry out, and to some extent expand upon, the provisions of the charter affecting governance, faculty structure, curriculum, student discipline, and the like.[63]

The statutes reaffirmed the position of chancellor, thereby preserving a link with British ecclesiastical authority, and continued to provide for a faculty consisting of the president and six masters—a complement that was yet to be achieved. The tripartite division of the schools—grammar, philosophy, and divinity—and, in addition, the Indian School, likewise remained. The curriculum and requirements for each, however, received further definition. Scholars in the Grammar School were expected to complete four years of Latin and two of Greek and to stand an oral examination before the whole faculty at the age of fifteen before they could enter the School of Philosophy. There students would study rhetoric, logic, and ethics under the professor of moral philosophy and study physics, metaphysics, and mathematics under the professor of natural philosophy. Those who completed two years in the School of Philosophy were eligible for the degree of bachelor of arts, presumably after examination, and there were provisions as well for awarding the master of arts. The method of instruction was that of disputation and the presentation of "Declamations or Themes on various Subjects" rather than by tutorials. The professor of moral philosophy was explicitly required not to confine himself to the traditional study of Aristotle, but also to introduce modem writings "such as those derived from Newton and Locke"—a rare concession to modernity in the statutes. The two divinity professors were required to employ similar teaching methods and, and in the case of one of the professors, to teach Hebrew and the Old and New Testaments, while the other was to emphasize the "common places of Divinity, and the Controversies with Hereticks."

Students were, as in English universities, divided between scholarship or free students, who had to take their lodging and food in the College, and students who paid their own way with the option of boarding where they chose or of renting available College rooms, apparently somewhat better than those provided the scholarship students. The statutes specified a strict moral code for the younger Grammar School students and also required that they receive religious instruction. Philosophy students enjoyed the privilege of wearing caps and gowns, but nothing was said about requirements for moral conduct and good behavior, an oversight of which they were at times to take full advantage.

The Indian School, which had no English counterpart, had its own requirements of reading and writing, vulgar arithmetic, and religious instruction. In effect, the classical education of the Grammar School was not duplicated, and Indian scholars could not have progressed to the philosophy school. The statutes also repeated the arrangement made a few years earlier for Christopher Smith that permitted the Indian master to accept white boys from Williamsburg for tutelage—an implicit recognition that the number of Indian students was unlikely to provide their teacher with full employment and an adequate salary .

In fixing the College calendar, the statutes followed the English custom of three annual terms, using Oxford nomenclature but specifying a duration for two of the terms that had no English counterpart. Hilary term opened the calendar year on the first Monday after Epiphany and ran until the Saturday before Palm Sunday, which followed English precedent After a brief vacation, the Easter term opened on the second Monday after Easter, ran only a few weeks, and closed with another break. An interminable Trinity term began the Monday after Trinity Sunday and dragged through the summer and on to mid-December—small wonder that students might stage a ”barring out” of the masters to win an early Christmas vacation.

The statutes set no specific academic requirements for the faculty, although a preference for Anglican clergymen was already established in custom. Masters were required to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles, the statement of doctrine contained in the Book of Common Prayer, and to take an oath of allegiance to the English monarch. They were also required to remain single, presumably so that they might reside in the College and supervise the students more closely, since even those in the philosophy school were often no more than sixteen or seventeen years old. The masters with the president constituted the faculty and were reaffirmed in their right to elect a representative to the lower house of the General Assembly, a right that with the transfer of the charter could be expected to be exercised with regularity.

The president unlike the faculty could marry but had to be in holy orders and at least thirty years of age. The statutes stripped away many of the powers that Blair had exercised, denying future presidents the right to dismiss faculty on their own or to decide larger questions of policy without a vote of the full faculty, in which the president had only a single vote. Blair at his advanced age seemed to look ahead to successors whom he did not wish to see as powerful as he had been, and he no doubt anticipated also the prospect of a full complement of faculty rather than the skeleton faculty, usually the grammar and Indian masters, that had so far prevailed.

On the important matter of College governance, the statutes, if anything, added further complication to the uncertain division of authority between faculty and Visitors that the charter had provided. As the charter had specified, the faculty would with the completion of the transfer decide many day-to-day matters and manage College finances. But the Visitors perhaps gained a specific power or two beyond the broad mandate that the charter had already provided them. In particular, they gained the explicit right to amend or otherwise change the statutes, provided that such alterations were considered at two meetings before adoption. Moreover, they retained the right to appoint faculty, although the question of who might dismiss them remained unclear and would in the future become a bitterly fought question between faculty and Visitors.[64] Blair remarked at the time of the adoption of the statutes "that after the Transfer the Govrs of the College will have a greater power and I less," although that comment referred to the unambiguous diminution of his own authority, not to that of the faculty collectively.[65]

Like the charter itself, the new statutes followed a mix of English and Scottish precedents. In such matters as the calendar, the award of the baccalaureate as the initial degree, insistence on a bachelor faculty, and division of students between those on scholarship and those who paid in full, they followed English precedent. The instructional method of disputation was more characteristically Scottish, and the modest updating of instruction by introducing more recent authorities, such as Newton and Locke, also had a Scottish cast to it, since the Scottish universities had moved beyond those in England in modernizing their course of study.[66] Affirmation of extensive powers for an external governing board likewise more generally followed Scottish examples. Innovative perhaps only in their eclecticism, Blair and those who advised him put together provisions that they thought workable in a colonial society, and if not answering every question that would arise in the future, they added some clarity and additional structure to the very general stipulations of the charter.

When Blair and Fouace completed their work, the statutes were signed and witnessed on June 24, 1727. There was still much to do before the transfer could be completed, but Blair, evidently thinking there was now more to be accomplished in Virginia, quickly embarked on the return voyage. At this point Nicholson was still alive and a threat to the undertaking. Blair sought to manage this by sending Sir John Randolph, already a prominent figure in College affairs, to deal with the old governor. As Blair explained in a letter of introduction to the bishop of London:

> Mr Randolph is one of the Governours of our College; he was one of the earliest Scholars in it, and has improved himself so well in his Studies, that he is now one of our most eminent Lawyers. By his Acquaintance & interest with General Nicholson he hopes that he can prevail with him to joine in the Transfer of the College. I hope your Lordship will favour him with your best advice and Assistance.[67]

Nicholson died, however, before he and Randolph could meet, but it was evident that

Blair counted upon Randolph also to handle the larger business of the transfer, as he now proceeded to do.

In one respect, at least, Blair had met only partial success while in England. If he were to secure the transfer, he faced the necessity of assembling a full faculty of six masters, something that in the past three decades he had never come close to achieving. Now in 1726 and 1727, while energetically pursuing other objectives, he had found only one new master, the Reverend William Dawson, who had attended Queen's College, Oxford, and received ordination in 1729 just as he departed for Virginia. The extent of Blair's remaining problems, even with Dawson hired and the statutes completed, was apparent from an undated "Memorandum For His Excellency," perhaps addressed to Governor William Gooch and written no earlier than late 1729, which gave a bleak assessment of the state of the College even as the transfer was being completed:

> There is one master only his name is Fry & lately come over & one usher. The present Master in the Colledge is a very Young man but a good Schollar[;] he teaches the boys Gramar & Writing &ca there is [*sic*] no more than 22 or twenty three schollars in all. And no Indians at all. In the whole the Colledge is in all Respects in a very declining condition.[68]

There was, in fact, more than a little smoke and mirrors involved in completing the remaining appointments with five men—three clergymen, one layman, and one postulant for holy orders—who were already in the colony, although four had received their education in Britain. They were, as colonial William and Mary faculty went, reasonably well qualified, only one, who served a brief time, proving incompetent. The real problem was, as Morpurgo observed, that "they meet together in the histories but, almost certainly, they were never gathered together in one room."[69] Yet, as one moved into the 1730s, they constituted the largest faculty Blair had yet assembled.

William Dawson, apparently the single recruit who came directly from England, proved to have the longest association with the College, serving as professor of moral philosophy until 1743 and then succeeding Blair as the second president until his death in 1752. The other requisite chair for the advanced instruction that had so far lagged at the College, that in natural philosophy, was filled by Alexander Irvin, traditionally described as an Edinburgh graduate. He came to Virginia in time to join William Byrd as a member of the group chosen to survey the Virginia–North Carolina boundary line in 1728, an expedition recorded by Byrd, in two versions, neither published in his own lifetime and both filled with unflattering descriptions of those who accompanied him or whom they met along the way. Irvin did not escape Byrd's withering comments in the more secret and critical of his accounts. Initially, Byrd noted that he appointed Irvin when friends of the professor insisted that his "Fame for profound learning would give a grace to the undertaking and be able to silence all the mathematics of Carolina" and also because upon coming to the College, he had "so very few scholars that he might be well enough spared from his post for a short time." Taking a great dislike to him, however, as weak, frequently drunk, and incompetent as a mathematician and surveyor, Byrd bestowed the nickname of Orion upon him in sarcasm and concluded, "The truth of it is he had been much more discreet to loiter on at the College and receive his salary quietly (which he owes to his relation to the pious Commissary) than to undertake a business which discovered he knew very little of the matter."[70] Given Irvin's absence with Byrd's surveying party and his death in 1731, he could have done little to assist Dawson in getting the philosophy school on a sound footing.

Blair filled the two divinity chairs for the first time by appointing two clergymen already serving parishes in the colony. One was Bartholomew Yates, a graduate of Brasenose College, Oxford, rector since 1700 of Christ Church Parish, Middlesex County, and a former Visitor of the College. The other was Francis Fontaine, an Irish born member of a Huguenot family who had received his bachelor of arts degree in 1713 and his master of arts degree in 1719 from Trinity College, Dublin.[71] Fontaine held the second divinity chair, frequently referred to at the time as the professorship in Oriental languages, and served concurrently as rector of Yorkhampton Parish in nearby Yorktown, a post frequently filled by members of the faculty.

Divinity students were infrequent in the early history of the College, but there was at least one at this time who also became master of the Indian School. John Fox began his studies at the College in 1724, became usher of the Grammar School in 1729, and usher of the Indian School in the following year. He then replaced as Indian master Richard Cocke, who was mentioned in the transfer as holding the post but who never reappeared thereafter. Fox, who was thus the first alumnus to join the faculty, simultaneously pursued divinity studies as well, eventually going to England for examination, possible additional study, and ordination. Blair wrote to the bishop of London enthusiastically endorsing Fox "as a sober, grave, studious young man, and very exemplary in his life and conversation."[72] Fox returned in eighteen months, resumed his faculty post, and remained until he resigned in 1737 to accept an appointment as rector of Ware Parish, Gloucester County.[73] The Grammar School obviously continued to operate after Mungo Inglis's death in 1720 and Hugh Jones's resignation in 1721, but the first record of a new appointment is that of Joshua Fry (whom Gooch had praised), who is listed in the position at the time of the transfer. He seems to have come to Virginia as early as 1724, immediately after attending Wadham College, Oxford.[74] With the death of Alexander Irvin in 1731, Fry moved to the chair in natural philosophy and held it until the early 1740s, when he moved to Albemarle County. Fry, one of the small number of laymen on the colonial faculty, has become better known for his collaboration with Peter Jefferson, the father of Thomas, on a major survey of Virginia's boundaries and in the preparation of a highly regarded map of the colony, first published in 1751. Fry became a central figure in the development of the Albemarle region and in Indian diplomacy and frontier expansion, but his almost two decades at William and Mary, where he was respected for his teaching and mathematical skill, placed him among the longest-serving and most capable members of the entire colonial faculty.[75]

If these appointments, apart from that of Dawson, were a matter of making do with persons whom Blair could find in the colony, all apart from Fox were educated at British universities. They firmly established as well the tradition of a predominantly but not exclusively clerical faculty—Fry in this case being the exception—and a related custom, for better or worse with respect to College duties, of the clerical faculty concurrently holding an appointment in a parish church. Blair had already established that precedent for presidents, and the two divinity professors, who undoubtedly had light duties at the College, followed suit. With Irvin's death this faculty achieved, too, a completeness and a continuity of service, especially in the divinity and philosophy chairs, that made a promising beginning for more advanced studies at the College.

At a time when Blair was awaiting the outcome of the transfer of the charter, he had to face what must have seemed a serious challenge to William and Mary from an altogether unexpected source. George Berkeley, Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin, dean of Derry in Ireland, and one of the most respected philosophers of his day, paid an unplanned visit to Virginia and to Williamsburg in the spring of 1729. He was on a voyage to Rhode Island when his ship was driven off course by a storm and put into Virginia waters. Berkeley was engaged in an effort to found an Anglican college in Bermuda, in some major part for the conversion of Indians, and he planned to purchase land in the New England colony to supply his institution with provisions. He had already secured a royal charter in 1725 for what was to be St. Paul's College. Two years later he had been successful in securing by act of Parliament the promise of a generous grant of support from public funds, far more than had ever come to William and Mary. While awaiting the resumption of his voyage, Berkeley journeyed to Williamsburg for the day, visiting the College and dining with Governor Gooch.

The famous philosopher was undoubtedly the most prominent visitor ever received by William and Mary in the colonial era, but Berkeley's intentions must have taken some edge off the visit. Nor did he seem to take any real notice of the institution that was already in existence and conducting an Indian school, even if only to learn from its difficulties. While it is dear that he met James Blair, Berkeley left only one surviving comment on the unplanned stop in Virginia. In a letter to his patron, John Perceval, Viscount Perceval, he simply noted that he had "received many unexpected as well as undeserved honours from the Governor and principal inhabitants." He had begun, moreover, to think of transferring his projected college to a mainland colony, an even more direct challenge to William and Mary.[76] Whether Blair made any response to Berkeley is uncertain, but one defender of the College who did not have an opportunity to meet Berkeley "on his exceeding short visit" did. William Byrd, a regular correspondent of Perceval, received an inquiry from him about the philosopher's intentions. In his response to the idea, Byrd "took the liberty to call it a very romantick one." Byrd continued, "The dean I may venture to say is as much a Don Quixot in zeal, as that renown'd knight was in chivalry." Perceval made an effort to defend Berkeley, but, as matters turned out, the Virginian need not have worried. British politicians never came forward with the promised money, and after a few years in Rhode Island, Berkeley returned to Ireland as bishop of Cloyne and abandoned his ambition for an American college.[77]

While James Blair carried out his efforts to complete the faculty, John Randolph remained in England from the middle of 1728 to handle the details of the transfer. With the statutes completed a year earlier, the faculty now appointed, and only the two favorably disposed trustees still alive, Randolph able to complete his business and to return to present the charter itself to President Blair and his faculty on August 15, 1729. At their next meeting, Blair and his colleagues met the formal requirements of the statutes by subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles and swearing allegiance to George II. Taking advantage of their new financial powers, they voted a payment of fifty guineas to John Randolph and twenty pounds to Stephen Fouace for their services in the effort.[78]

The date of the completion of the transfer has no significance in the calendar of modem William and Mary. For the colonial college, however, Transfer Day on August 15 became a major event, celebrated with a formality resembling that now attached to Charter Day, the anniversary of the original grant of the charter by King William and Queen Mary. The celebration was not misplaced, for to those connected with the colonial college the transfer must have seemed, as it has sometimes been termed, a second founding, a time when William and Mary might at last begin to fulfill all the objectives outlined in the charter and reaffirmed by the statutes and the transfer.

The Completion of the College Buildings

Even while Blair was attempting to build the faculty and complete the transfer, he had already concerned himself with a further physical expansion of the College, especially the chapel wing of the Main Building, which must still have appeared incomplete with its unbalanced L-shape. He was soon able to enlist a powerful ally, the new governor of the colony, Sir William Gooch, in the effort.

Hardly more than a few weeks after Blair's own return from England, Gooch arrived in Williamsburg with his family on September 8, 1727. The president invited them to stay as his guests at the College while the Palace was readied for them. Gooch described the College building as "very large and well built, with gardens and outhouses proportioned," and he remarked as well on Blair's courtesy and kindness. "But even yet," Gooch continued with a note of apprehension, '"I can't think him sincere." Some months later he expanded on his suspicions in his often-quoted remark, "The Commissary is a very vile old FFellow [*sic*] , but he does not know that I am sensible of it, being still in appearance good Friends; the best Policy will be to kill him with kindness, but there is no perplexing device within his reach, that he does not throw in my way."[79] Even in his seventies, Blair was obviously unable to resist any opportunity to reach for power and influence.

When he made his perceptive observations, Gooch had already committed one act of kindness by agreeing with Blair on the desirability of completing the College chapel. "We are going to build the Chapell as fast as we can," Gooch informed the bishop of London.[80] Twice in 1729, in June and September, Blair reported to the bishop that the work was far advanced, but it took another three years before Professor William Dawson could write "that on June 28th 1732 our new chapel was opened with great solemnity. The Governor and his family were pleased to honour us with their Presence, and, it being the assembly time, the members of both Houses came in great numbers."[81] Almost immediately thereafter, at the end of July 1732, construction began on a president's house that the 1727 statutes had promised "so soon as the College Revenues will bear these expenses." It was by no means certain, in fact, that the £650 in estimated costs were available, but the president and four of the masters gathered on July 31 to lay the foundation, each laying one of the first five bricks.[82] In October 1733 the building—and with it the major construction of the colonial College—was finally complete.

There is no reason to think that the College buildings underwent any extensive exterior alterations for the duration of the colonial period; indeed, the Main Building was clearly in need of major renovation by the 1770s from lack of careful maintenance. Surviving sketches and an early daguerreotype from sometime shortly before the fire of 1759 do not suggest any significant differences in that building, although the President's House had to be rebuilt after it burned in 1781.

In the case of the Brafferton, Hugh Jones described it in his *Present State of Virginia* as simply "a good house and Apartments for the *Indian Master* and his scholars," although he left the College too soon to see it as completed.[83] The general conclusion has been that its builder was probably Henry Cary, Jr., on the logical assumption that he had recently completed the Governor's Palace and would over the next decade build the chapel wing and the President's House.[84] The exterior dimensions of the Brafferton were fifty-two by thirty-four feet, and the height from ground to chimney caps was also fifty-two feet, making the north and south elevations a square. Each of the main floors of the Brafferton contained a single large room to the west with a center chimney and two smaller rooms to the east, each with a comer chimney. Although there is no clear proof, the larger chamber on the first floor would have almost certainly served as the Indian schoolroom. The one above it must have served from the beginning—or at the least soon thereafter, when Blair used Brafferton funds to enlarge the collection—as the library for the entire College. The two small rooms on one of the main floors probably provided an apartment for the Indian master, faculty living in the Main Building being provided with a two-room suite. Indian students, who had formerly been boarded in town, were likely to have slept on the third floor.[85]

The chapel wing had been part of the plan for the first building and its successor. The possibility of constructing it had come up on many occasions before Gooch made his firm commitment in early 1728. Although an Anglican college that did not have a chapel for four decades was an anomaly, the delay had been feasible since the hall did double duty as a chapel. As early as 1705, Blair had explained the multiple uses of the room to a visiting Quaker and observed, "Here we sometimes preach and pray, and sometimes we fiddle and dance, the one to edify, and the other to divert us."[86] Hugh Jones had even suggested that "there is as yet no great occasion for the hall, so that it might be made a chapel and divinity-school, for which purpose it would serve nobly with little or no alterations."[87] But less than a decade after Jones made his observation, the College had its chapel, in the new south wing that closed a third side of the court to the west of the building. On the exterior it resembled the hall, apart from an absence of basement windows because of the burial vault under the chapel. The hall was now shortened to sixty-four feet in length, and the chapel constructed at the same length.[88]

The interior appearance of the eighteenth century chapel is far more problematic, with little evidence on which to base a conclusion. Stone paving of the center aisle is described in an early nineteenth century letter.[89] Several surviving documents provide proof of the existence of pews at the rear of the chapel and of a pulpit at the center of the main aisle in front of the Communion table—an unusual feature for collegiate chapels. An early reference in College accounts to the payment of twenty five shillings "for new covering the Chappel Forms" suggests that much of the seating was not in pews. Although "Forms" can describe both the traditional choir stalls with backrests that are a common feature of collegiate chapels and are reproduced in the restored chapel, the word was more often used in the eighteenth century to describe a backless bench. Whatever its exact furnishings, the College now had a chapel dedicated solely to religious worship, in which students attended compulsory morning and evening services daily.

The President's House was clearly intended to balance the Brafferton. To the casual observer the two structures do look very similar, but the President's House is four feet longer on each dimension—height, length, and depth. Most of the additional height was devoted to the windows and chimneys so that its exterior walls are only a foot higher. The placement of windows is likewise different in that they are closer to the corner of the building on the north elevation and to the central door on the south. The builder, Henry Cary, also reduced the width of the north door and inside devoted all of the additional space to the rooms, thus leaving a hallway of the same width as that in the Brafferton. The first and second floors each had four main rooms rather than three; those on the south fronting the College yard were slightly larger. President Blair, now an aging widower, can hardly have needed all the space that the building provided, but he had always wanted his due—and somewhat more. To be more charitable, he may have been looking ahead to those who would follow him in the presidency.[90]

To gain a somewhat fuller impression of the physical setting of colonial William and Mary we should look, too, now that all the buildings were completed, at their relationship to each other and to the gardens and yards that surrounded them. The Bodleian Plate, found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford during work on the restoration of colonial Williamsburg, is the only known eighteenth century representation of the entire complex. While it does, if studied closely, afford a good impression of the buildings and the grounds, it also distorts—somewhat necessarily to achieve the balance that it sought—the placement of buildings in relation to one another.

When the first college building was constructed—before there was, of course, a Williamsburg or a Duke of Gloucester Street—its east front ran along a nearly true north-south line. The subsequent town plan for Williamsburg, however, placed the main street on an axis that ran several degrees off a due east-west course, although not in itself a sufficient deviation to prevent an impression that the building directly faced the street at a right angle. By the time the Brafferton was constructed, it was, however, located on a line with the street and not at an exact right angle to the Main Building. Construction of the President's House made the problem of preserving an impression of balance among the buildings and yet reasonable convergence with Duke of Gloucester Street more acute. The solution followed was neither that of building parallel to the Brafferton nor on the same angle with the Main Building, but rather to build it at a right angle to the Main Building. The slight irregularity, like the differences in the two flanking buildings, is not easily detected; and, as Marcus Whiffen has observed, "it gives the group of buildings a life it would otherwise lack."[91] In their classical and baroque style and in their placement of a central edifice flanked on the front by lesser structures, the College buildings marked a shift from an ecclesiastical to a domestic architecture. It could be said that the College at last had a completed group of buildings that gave expression to the ambitions those in the colony had for the institution.[92]

From the first construction of the original building in the 1690s, there had always been concern with the appearance of the surrounding grounds, evidenced initially by the dispatch of the English gardener James Road to direct the landscaping of the College. All the earliest references mention in one way or another, as Hugh Jones did, "good courts and gardens" about the piazza, thus specifying that the gardens lay on the west side of the building. They are likely as well to put some emphasis on the utilitarian purposes of the plantings—in some part they were, in effect, kitchen gardens. [93] No specific comments on the appearance of the grounds to the east facing the main street survive any earlier than 1727, when Robert Carter, in recounting the reading of a proclamation on the College green to welcome the arrival of Governor Gooch, described the grounds as presenting "a sward of grass, not flower beds."[94] Gooch's own enthusiastic reference to the College as "very large and well built, with gardens and outhouses proportioned" is less helpful, since in all likelihood he was describing the garden area to the west.[95]

The construction of the Brafferton, the chapel wing, and the President's House almost certainly brought more attention to the College yard opening on Duke of Gloucester Street. A 1729 document relating to the transfer of the charter described the College as "adorned with a handsome garden … [laid out] all in courts, gardens, and orchards," although the writer failed to distinguish between the eastern and western elevations.[96] By 1732 William Dawson provided the first specific information about the gardens on the east. Writing to the bishop of London to inform him of the laying of the foundation of the President's House, he went on to explain that the two buildings to the front of the main structure would frame an existing "Garden planted with Ever-Greens kept in very good Order." He also referred to a "Kitchen-Garden" on the west, confirming the long-standing accounts on the grounds there.[97]

The Bodleian Plate, engraved sometime after the completion of the President's House, corroborates Dawson's description, clearly depicting a formal planting of clipped evergreens and bushes framing the paths and grass plots and an absence of large trees in the College yard. Nor does a much later description of the grounds in 1777 by the New York bookseller Ebenezer Hazard suggest any subsequent alterations for the remainder of the colonial era; he, too, observed on the east front of the College "a large Court Yard, ornamented with Gravel Walks, Trees cut into different Forms, & Grass" and on the west, "a Court Yard and a large Kitchen Garden."[98] Peter Martin remarks:

> Both Hazard and the Bodleian Plate reveal a symmetrical, formal garden treat-

> ment such as Europeans felt was appropriate for a public building. There is no hint whatever of irregularity or variety. The design conveys firmly that this is a building of importance in the town. … From the windows of the buildings, the view of the garden would have presented ideas of order and grace—an emblem of what the college stood for in the New World.[99]

The highly developed condition of the College gardens, as well as the completion of the three main buildings, provided a further indication that the period of the transfer of the charter had brought to a successful conclusion both the organizational and the physical structure of William and Mary. Neither accomplishment in itself guaranteed, however, a comparable realization of the College's educational purposes. That task still remained for an aging president and his successors to face.

Blair's Final Years

If James Blair was able to declare optimistically in January 1735, "Our College thrives in reputation and numbers of Scholars, and handsom buildings," he had to recognize in the same letter to the bishop of London "a fatal blow of late in our revenues." Still, enrollment had increased to about sixty by the mid-1730s—a figure around which it hovered with an occasional rise and fall for much of the remainder of the colonial period. That constituted, however, a significant gain from the twenty or thirty students who had attended a decade or two earlier, and it included some number of advanced students under the tutelage of the philosophy masters. Following John Fox there were divinity students as well, probably a somewhat larger number than once was thought to have been the case.[100] Faculty positions generally remained filled for the remainder of Blair's presidency. William Dawson continued to hold his philosophy chair until 1743, and Joshua Fry and John Fox remained until 1737. There was more interruption in the divinity chairs with the death of Bartholomew Yates in 1734, and only an intermittent appearance in the records of Francis Fontaine until 1741. After Fry had transferred in 1731 to moral philosophy, his replacement in the Grammar School, the Reverend William Stith, seemed to promise the addition of another strong master. Stith was allied to the powerful Randolph family through his mother, who was a sister of Sir John Randolph and for a time the College housekeeper, and by his own marriage to a cousin. He had attended the Grammar School, then studied at Queen's College, Oxford, and received ordination before he returned to Virginia. Although later to be a much more controversial figure in both College and provincial affairs, he seemed an outstanding choice for the Grammar School. Indeed, Blair noted in a letter to the bishop of London that "the School has thriven much under his care," and expressed some disappointment—and maybe a little impatience—when writing less than a year later that Stith "is weary of the School and intends to take a parish."[101] The parish turned out to be Varina, the one in which Blair had begun his Virginia career. It was here that Stith found time to complete his pioneering History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia, noted for its extensive and critical use of documentary sources.[102] Edward Ford, a friend and later correspondent of William Dawson, seems to have filled the post for at least a part of the time between Stith' s departure and the appointment in 1741 of Thomas Robinson. Ford was appointed at a meeting of the president and masters on June 26, 1738, and also appeared at a meeting in July 1741, while Robinson arrived in 1742 and remained for fifteen years, becoming one of those involved in the bitter controversies between faculty and Visitors in the 1750s.[103]

With Fox's resignation as Indian master, the faculty journals recorded the appointment of Robert Barret as his replacement, but in the following year on June 26, 1738, William Dawson's brother, Thomas, is recorded as Indian master, a year after receiving an appointment as usher for the Grammar School. Dawson remained in that post until 1755. Another faculty member, John Graeme, subscribed to the Thirty-nine Articles on August 9, 1737, and attended a faculty meeting on June 26, 1738. He does not otherwise appear in the records, but presumably succeeded Joshua Fry in the chair of natural philosophy; Fry was no longer recorded as attending a faculty meeting after Graeme's arrival.[104] Even with the small flurry of faculty changes in the late 1730s, a relatively stable and generally competent faculty served from the transfer to Blair's death.

Blair's last years at the College were, on the whole, quiet in other respects as well, in part a consequence of a decline in his physical vigor as he moved into his eighties. Too, Gooch's popular administration and a lack of close imperial supervision of the colonies in these years created a period of calm in Virginia politics that freed the College from the round of disputes in which the president had so frequently involved it.

The peace that the College enjoyed did not necessarily improve its traditionally strained finances. In August 1732, while the President's House was still under construction, Blair complained to the bishop of London that the proceeds of the one pence per pound tobacco export tax were "now extremely sunk by such bold frauds, as we are not able to redress without some assistance from the Crown."[105] The faculty, Governor Gooch, and the General Assembly joined to no avail in an effort to move against evasion of the duty that resulted in a second trip to England on behalf of the College by Sir John Randolph.[106]

At the same time, Blair and the faculty were facing the problem of improving the College library, a necessary adjunct to all the other steps taken in the course of the transfer of the charter, and Randolph also carried with him to England instructions regarding this point, a list of books to be acquired, and a letter of credit for the purchase of books. In the face of the obvious lack of funcls, Blair turned to the one underutilized source of funds, the Boyle bequest, which at the time contained a surplus of some £500. And so he and the faculty joined in a somewhat disingenuous but ultimately successful proposal to house the library in the Brafferton and to purchase the new books needed for "a well chosen library " from the bequest. They stressed the great benefit that would accrue to the Indian students from having books for the teaching of Latin, Greek, Hebrew, philosophy, mathematics, and divinity—a curriculum vastly richer and more advanced than that specified in the statutes for Indian scholars.[107] The library gained, too, from the assembly's 1734 renewal of the tax on liquors with a stipulation that some of the income should be used for books that would be marked as a gift of the legislators. [108]

Yet, the debt would not go away. Blair reported it at £1,000 in 1735, when he addressed another appeal to the bishop of London for stronger imperial support. What he particularly wanted was a diversion of a much more lucrative tobacco duty than the one the College already received on tobacco exported to other colonies. The president now asked that the long-standing duty of two shillings per hogshead on tobacco exported directly to Britain, which was much the larger part of the crop, be removed from control by the governor and his council, who used it for general expenses of the government and especially for the governor's salary.[109]

The move was perhaps a mark of the president's desperation, and its hardly unexpected failure the token of changed circumstances in British ecclesiastical and imperial affairs that made extensive aid for the College an increasingly remote possibility. Edmund Gibson, the bishop of London throughout the period of rebirth of the College in Blair's last years, and William Wake, archbishop of Canterbury from 1716 to 1737—the two bishops who alternated the chancellorship between them from 1721 to 1748—were certainly well disposed toward the College and helpful at times. Yet Blair lacked the intimate acquaintance with them that he enjoyed with some of their predecessors, who had been chancellors in the College's formative years before 1714. Nor did Gibson and Wake have quite the same political influence at a time when domestic concerns outweighed imperial affairs. The College's evolution in the direction of a more provincial institution owed something to what church and empire would not do, as well as to what Virginians did.[110]

From the late 1730s, in the last half dozen years of life, Blair persisted in all his offices—president, commissary, councillor, parish rector—although not always able to perform their duties. Blair's early antagonist, William Byrd, had long been a friend and active supporter of the College who frequently dined with Blair at the President's House on trips to Williamsburg.[111] He provided the most graphic account of these final years for the old president. On one occasion Byrd noted that in his mideighties—Byrd said eighty-nine—Blair's "understanding is still very good, but he is so deaf that he is incapable of one part of his duty, which is to sit as chief justice of our supream court of judicature." Byrd described being "forc't to perform in his stead, being next oars, while he now and then nods in his chair."[112] William Dawson was clearly performing most of his presidential duties, as well as those as rector of Bruton Parish. But Blair insisted on his right as president of the council to serve as acting governor in 1740 while Gooch was away on a military expedition to the West Indies, hosting the annual king's birthday ball at the capitol in October and bargaining sharply with Gooch as to the share of the salary that he would receive.[113]

Finally, on April 18, 1743, at age eighty-eight James Blair died, his last illness caused by the gangrenous state of a rupture from which he had long suffered. From his large estate, left mostly to his nephew, John Blair, and to his brother and sister, he provided that his books should go to the College library and, in addition, he established a scholarship of £500 to support the education of a clergyman. Although the crypt under the

College chapel already contained the grave of Sir John Randolph, who had died at age forty-four in 1737, Blair evidently chose burial beside his wife in the Jamestown church yard.[114]

Despite his search for personal wealth and power and his long service in his other offices in both church and state, James Blair's monument was above all else the College over which he had presided for fifty years, a span that is difficult to comprehend in today's era of brief college and university presidencies. The record had its negative side. The College remained, even after all that had been accomplished at the time of the transfer, a fragile institution, but might have been less so without the effects of Blair's struggle for personal power and influence, in the course of which he often embroiled William and Mary when its interests were not always at stake. Although he undoubtedly lectured, preached, and examined students, it is not clear that in an institution with six masters (and some of those positions vacant at many times), he ever taught, even though he would have been fully competent in the chairs of divinity and moral philosophy. Nor did he ever command the loyalty of the larger number of the Virginia clergy and the College faculty who, weak as they were, often constituted the strongest voice of the church in the colony.

Yet, if Blair left behind an institution that was still struggling, William and Mary owed its existence more to him than anyone else, not so much to his educational vision, although he must have had one, as to his sheer will and determination. Although he had been the ranking cleric in the colony and certainly used his ecclesiastical connections to advance the welfare of the College, Blair was preeminently a powerful political figure, an ally of the Virginia elite, and therefore a frequent opponent of governors and the imperial authority they represented. For a long time, he seemed to dominate the Board of Visitors as well, especially when he served as rector from 1723 to 1729, in the critical years leading up to the transfer. In many respects, Blair had not only built the College but had also made it a more provincial and less imperial institution.

NOTES

1. Morpurgo, *William and Mary,* 59.
2. For Nott's brief Virginia career and for the arrival of Spotswood, see Morton, *Colonial Virginia,* 1:393–99; 2:410.
3. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections,* 1:183–84.
4. Governors and Visitors to the Archbishop, William and Mary College Papers, 1721–1818, DLC; [Nicholson], *Papers Relating to Affidavit,* 32; Rouse, *James Blair,* 181.
5. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large,* 3:356–58.
6. William Byrd, *The Secret Diary of William Byrd of Westover,* 1709–1712, ed. Louis B. Wright and Marion Tinling (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1941), 67, 82, 99, 116. Just prior to the September 13 meeting, Byrd also recorded that he agreed to a request from Blair that he write a letter to the lord treasurer, presumably to seek additional support for construction, and that Queen

Anne's second grant of quitrent money came the next year.

7. Ibid., 98, for his early misdeeds. Blair's subsequent letter to the Bishop of London on May 14, 1717, explaining Blackamore's ultimate discharge was not entirely unsympathetic, even supporting his candidacy for ordination upon his return to England. Reprinted in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 19 (1939): 372–75.
8. *Luck at Last* is reprinted in William H. McBurney, ed., *Four Before Richardson: Selected English Novels, 1720–1727* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1963), 1–81; the dedication to David Bray, later a merchant and member of council, appears on p. 3, and a sketch on Blackamore on p. 5 n. 4. It is unclear whether David Bray was Blackamore's student at the Grammar School or was tutored privately, but he is recorded elsewhere as having been a student at the College. The *Expeditio Ultramonte* is reprinted in *WMQ*, 1st ser., 7 (1898–99): 32–37. A translated version with an anonymous note stating that it was presented as a quitrent poem appeared in the *Maryland Gazette*, June 17, 24, 1729.
9. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 66; Robert Beverley, *The History of Virginia*, 2d. ed. (London: B. and S. Tooke, 1722), 231–32. See also an undated instruction from Francis Nicholson seeking to find Indian students; Fulham Palace Papers, 14:181.
10. For fuller discussions of Spotswood's Indian policies, see Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:425–38, and Leonidas Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood: Governor of Colonial Viginia*, 1710–1722 (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), chaps. 3, 5.
11. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:437; Alexander Spotswood, *The Official Letters of Alexander Spotswood, Lieutenant-Governor of the Colony of Virginia*, 1710–1722, ed. R A Brock, 2 vols. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1882), 1:174; 2:91.
12. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:129, for his address to the burgesses; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ed. Brock, 1:128–29, for complaints to English officials.
13. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:436–37. Griffin's efforts are favorably noted in John Fontaine, *The Journal of John Fontaine*, ed. Edward Porter Alexander (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1972), 9192, and Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 59.
14. Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ed. Brock, 1:103, 156.
15. Byrd, *Diary, 1709–1712*, ed. Wright and Tinling, 434, 476; "Proceedings of the Visitors, 1716," *VMHB* 4 (1896–97): 170–71.
16. "Proceedings of the Visitors, 1716" 173, 175.
17. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 67. The full range of Spotswood's activities is covered in Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 67–114, and Reps, *Tidewater Towns*, 175–79.
18. Kornwolf, *"So Good a Design,"* 44–47, 56–58, discusses the form of the second building, while at 60–66 he discusses the restoration of 1928–31.
19. "Proceedings of the Visitors, 1716," 169.
20. Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, *Present State of Virginia*, ed. Farish, 78, 93–94.
21. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1712–26: 127, 130, 134, 138.
22. Ibid., 1712–26: 178, 257. The College seat was not consistently filled until the election of George Nicholas in 1730, after the transfer of the charter. Thereafter, the lists of burgesses for each assembly through 1775 (ibid., passim) include a College representative: Nicholas, 1730–34; Sir John Randolph, 1734–38; Edward Barradall, 1738–44; Beverley Randolph, 1744–49; Peyton Randolph, 1752–61; Mann Page, 1761–65; John Blair, Jr., 1766–70; John Page, 1771–73; and John Randolph, 1774–75. The House of Burgesses did not sit in 1750 and 1751.
23. Ludwell to Bishop of London, July 10, 1716, Fulham Palace Papers, 14: 1480. Richard L. Morton, "Editor's Introduction," to Jones, *Present State*, 3–44, provides a full account of Jones's life. His statement of intent to come to America appears in a letter to William Whitmore of London, May 9, 1716, in Rawlinson MSS, bundle 376, fol. 1 16, Bodleian Library, Oxford, cited in

Grace Warren Landrum, "Which Hugh Jones?," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 23 (1943): 480.

24. See esp. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 66–69 and 108–16.
25. Ibid., 124.
26. Ibid., 59.
27. Ibid., 69–70.
28. Jones to Bishop of London, May 30, 1719, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1 :246.
29. Deposition of Hugh Jones, Penn v. Baltimore, Depositions, Annapolis, 1740, 1–16 (Lib. G, fol. 4, Int. 7, fol. 5), MS, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, excerpted in "Editor's Introduction," Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 31.
30. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:247.
31. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 81, 202 n. 117.
32. Ibid., 16–18, 83–116.
33. "Editor's Introduction," ibid., 34–41.
34. Ibid., 83, 117–18.
35. "Editor's Introduction," ibid., 20–43.
36. Blair to Bishop of London, May 14, 1717, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:119.
37. Ibid. for Inglis's reappointment.
38. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 108.
39. This statement accepts the argument of Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 86, that Fry came as early as 1724 rather than the traditionally accepted date of 1729, when the surviving minutes of faculty meetings begin and when the faculty was brought to full strength in order to accomplish the transfer of the charter.
40. Hugh Jones's observations are in *Present State*, ed. Morton, 114–15. Spotswood's Indian Act is discussed in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:435–36, 454–55. The information regarding Christopher Smith appears in "Proceedings of the Visitors, 1716," 172. See also Margaret Connell Szasz, *Indian Education in the American Colonies, 1607–1 783* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1988), 67–77.
41. These controversies are fully discussed in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2: chaps. 1–8, on which the ensuing discussion in large part rests.
42. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1712–26: xxxviii-xxxix, 228ff.
43. See esp. Spotswood to Lords Commissioners of Trade, June 24, 1718, in Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ed. Brock, 2:284, and to the Earl of Orkney [the titular governor of Virginia], July 1, Dec. 22, 1718, PRO/CO 5/ 1318, fol. 533–34, 541–55, 567–71. In the Bible, Achitophel was a counselor to King David who committed the treacherous act of joining Absalom, the enemy of the king.
44. To Lords Commissioners of Trade, Jan. 16, May 5, 1720, PRO/CO 5/1318, fol. 9–20, 147.
45. The battle between Spotswood and Blair over clerical affairs is best followed in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2: chap. 7, which is good on the general issues involved, but Rouse, *James Blair*, 200–207, treats the critical clerical convocation of 1719 that Morton did not address.
46. Blair had been ordained by a Scottish bishop of Edinburgh at a time when the Church of Scotland was episcopal in its governance, but a 1662 Virginia statute had stipulated that any clergyman officiating in the colony must have "received his ordination from some Bishop in England." Blair emphasized his receipt of a license from Bishop Compton. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 2:46. Cf. Rouse, *James Blair*, 201. See Fulham Palace Papers, 15:233, for a copy of Blair's certification.
47. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:199–242, reprints the records pertaining to the convocation, and Hugh Jones comments on his doubts about Blair's ordination, ibid., 1:246.

48. McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Executive Journals*, 3:517, 524–25; Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:314–15; Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ed. Brock, 2:335.
49. Spotswood to Bishop of London, May 26, 1721, Rawlinson MSS, H376, fol. 260B, cited by Rouse, *James Blair*, 206.
50. Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood*, 273. Note, too, John Custis's observation in his letter to the merchant Micajah Perry arranging for Blair to draw funds while in England that he had gone "to seek his just right." Cited by Rouse, *James Blair*, 298 n. 63.
51. Quoted in Dodson, *Alexander Spotswood*, 281.
52. Spotswood evidently wrote his will shortly before his death, while staying in the Brafferton Building at the College during a trip to Williamsburg. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:531 n. 41.
53. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 4:74–75
54. "Recently Discovered Documents," 248–50.
55. The Brafferton receives further attention below, p. 73, in the context of the completion of the entire complex of colonial buildings at William and Mary.
56. Drysdale's brief Virginia career is summarized in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:490–97; see also Madaleine C. Kadubowski, "The Administration of Lieutenant-Governor Hugh Drysdale, 1722—726" (MA thesis, William and Mary, 1976).
57. There is a full discussion of Carter's strong links to the College in Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 76–77. His epitaph included a statement that he had "sustained the College of William and Mary in most trying times."
58. Letter of Jan. 28, 1724, cited in Fairfax Harrison, "The Will of Charles Carter of Cleve," *VMHB* 31 (1923): 39 n. 2. Robert Carter was not, however, in this instance specifically discussing instruction at the College but rather giving directions for the teaching of one of his sons in England.
59. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 4:143–48.
60. Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers*, 1726–27, no. 523, p. 265.
61. Hartwell, Blair, and Chilton, *Present State of Virginia*, ed. Farish, 70.
62. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 80, notes that Blair had written, or more likely arranged to have written on his behalf, a rebuttal to Nicholson, "A Defence of Mr. Blair; and a Confutation of an Anonimous Pamphlet, lately dispersed by General Nicholson," which survives in manuscript in the Christian Faith Society Papers, Lambeth Palace, London.
63. The first published version is *The Charter, and Statutes, of the College of William and Mary, in Virginia* (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1736); there is a modern printing of a later revised edition of 1758 in Edgar W. Knight, ed., *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860*, 5 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949), 1:500–528.
64. Herbst, *From Crisis to Crisis*, 34–35, concludes that the 1727 statutes, like the original charter, established the dominance of the Visitors in the governance of William and Mary. Although, as I have suggested, the statutes increased their authority in some respects, I would still argue that enough ambivalence remained that the faculty fought hard in the late colonial period to establish its own power.
65. Blair to Bishop of London, June 8, 1728, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:134.
66. Cf. Emerson, "Scottish Universities."
67. Blair to Bishop of London, June 8, 1728, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:134.
68. Printed in "Recently Discovered Documents," 248, but apparently misdated as the early 1720s, since a description of construction on the College chapel is also included that could not have been made earlier than late 1729. A short time before, in the same letter of June 9, 1728, to his brother in which he called Blair a "very vile old FFellow," Governor Gooch discussed sending his son Thomas back to England for his education because "there is no good school in the

Colledge, which from its foundation was intended by the Commissary to make a penny of." Quoted in Rouse, *James Blair*, 248.

69. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 84–88, discusses the group fully. The quotation is at p. 87.
70. William Byrd, "The Secret History of the Line," in Louis B. Wright, ed., *The Prose Works of William Byrd of Westover* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1966), 49, 57. I have followed Wright's spelling of Irvin in his index, although there are several variations in the spelling, including two in Wright's volume.
71. The exact date of Fontaine's arrival in the colony and employment at the College is complicated by confusion with his brother John, a friend of Governor Spotswood and the chronicler of the Golden Horseshoe expedition, and his father. James, who like Francis was a clergyman and may before the appointment of Hugh Jones in 1717 have been offered the chair in natural philosophy. See Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 85, and Spotswood, *Official Letters*, ed. Brock, 2:166.
72. June 10, 1731, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940):115.
73. Aug. 15, 1737, ibid., 129. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 84–85, fills out and corrects earlier accounts of Fox's career.
74. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 86–87.
75. See esp. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:553–54, 580.
76. Feb. 7, 1729, in A. A. Luce and T. E. Jessop, eds., *The Works of Berkeley*, 9 vols. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1948–57), 8:190. Governor Gooch also wrote to the bishop of London, June 29, 1 729, regarding Berkeley's visit and agreeing the continent would be a better place than Bermuda to carry out the plan; Fulham Palace Papers, 13:153.
77. Marion Tinling, ed., *The Correspondence of the Three William Byrds of Westover, Virginia, 1684–1776*, 2 vols. (Charlottesville: The University Press of Virginia, 1977), 1:403, 422.
78. Journal of the Meetings of the President and Masters of William and Mary College, 1729–1784," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 1 (1892–93): 132–33.
79. Gooch 's statement on Blair's hospitality is from a letter to his brother Thomas Gooch, September 8, 1727, and quoted in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:501; his later criticism is from a letter, also to his brother, June 9, 1728, and quoted by Rouse, *James Blair*, 247.
80. Feb. 14, 1728, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 19 (1939): 456.
81. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1901): 220, reprints Dawson's account; Blair's statements are in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser, 19 (1939): 460–62, 467.
82. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 1 (1892–93): 137.
83. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 26.
84. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 107.
85. Ibid., 111–12.
86. Quoted ibid., 119, from *A Journal of the Life of Thomas Story ...* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1747), 387–88.
87. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 111.
88. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 119–23, is the fullest discussion of both the interior and exterior of the chapel wing, but see Kornwolf, "So Good a Design," 39–40, on its length.
89. Elizabeth B. Kennon to Samuel Mordecai, June 4, 1812, *VMHB* 34 (1926): 123.
90. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 123–25, is again the fullest discussion.
91. Ibid., 126.
92. Kornwolf, "So Good a Design," 140–46. See also Paul Venable Turner, *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge: Haivard University Press, 1984), 31–37. Kornwolf, 141, also advances the argument that "the three major buildings that comprised the campus of the Col-

lege by 1732 marked the beginning of a uniquely American campus tradition," one which was repeated in virtually all subsequent construction at other colonial colleges.

93. Jones, *Present State*, ed. Morton, 67; Martin, *Pleasure Gardens*, 19–21.
94. Diary of Robert Carter, 1722–27, entry of Sept. 11, 1727, UVA
95. Martin, *Pleasure Gardens*, 40, quoting from the Gooch Papers, Benacre Hall, Suffolk.
96. Martin, *Pleasure Gardens*, 41, quoting *The History of the College of William and Mary*, 1693–1870 (Richmond, n.p., 1874), 21.
97. Aug. 11, 1732, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1901): 220.
98. "The Journal of Ebenezer Hazard in Virginia, 1777," ed. Fred Shelley, *VMHB* 62 (1954) : 405.
99. Martin, *Pleasure Gardens*, 41. He also identifies and discusses, 40–41, what is known of the career of the gardener, Thomas Crease, who came to the College about 1726 after having served as the palace gardener for Governor Drysdale and who remained at least until early 1738.
100. James Blair to Bishop of London, Jan. 15, 1735, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:122; on the training of clergy at William and Mary, see esp. William Dawson to Bishop of London, July 27, 1750, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:145, in which Dawson stated that the College had trained some clergy who were as good as any from England.
101. To Bishop of London, July 7, 1735, and June 18, 1736, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:170, 15:55. On Stith generally, see Thad W. T
102. William Stith, *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (Williamsburg: William Parks, 1747).
103. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 1 (1892–93): 219–20; ibid., 2 (1893–94): 50–51. Ford was evidently absent in England for some of the time, according to James Blair to Bishop of London, May 12, 1739, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:53.
104. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 1 (1892–93): 132, 219. William Dawson to Bishop of London, June 2, 1740, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1900–1901): 223, referred to Fry as the "late Professor of Mathematics."
105. Aug. 14, 1732, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 118
106. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 1 (1892–93) : 137, 214–18.
107. Ibid. The idea was at the same time broached to the bishop of London in a letter written by William Dawson, excerpted in John M. Jennings, *The Library of the College of William and Mary in Virginia*, 1693–1793 (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 43–44. This is the authoritative account of the history of the library throughout the colonial era.
108. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 4:432.
109. Jan. 15, Sept. 18, 1735, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser. 20 (1940): 122, 124.
110. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, provides at three points, 98–99, 103–4, and 114–15, a discussion that can be brought together to provide a perceptive and more detailed analysis of the effects on the College of a changing relationship of the church and the empire with the colonial world in these critical years.
111. Rouse, *James Blair*, 223, provides an appealing account of these visits as Byrd described them in his diaries.
112. William Byrd to Major Francis Otway, Feb. 10, 1741, in Tinling, ed., *Correspondence of Three Byrds*, 2:577.
113. Blair to Bishop of London, Oct. 11, 1740, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 134.
114. The details of his death and of the estate are recounted fully in Rouse, *James Blair*, 254–56.

4

A COLLEGE IN TURMOIL
1743–1768

For almost a decade after the death of James Blair, the placidity in College affairs that had marked the old president's final years continued under his successor, William Dawson. That circumstance not only owed something to the conciliatory style of both Dawson and Governor William Gooch, but also to a continuing lack of divisive issues in either provincial or imperial affairs. The deaths of both men within a year of one another, their replacement by more controversial and less able successors, and, above all, the inauguration of a period of intense political conflict in the Virginia colony introduced a period of turmoil in the life of the College. Throughout the 1750s and 1760s, the faculty engaged in a series of bitter disputes with an increasingly vocal Board of Visitors, and sometimes with Virginia political leaders and royal governors as well, while a series of presidents looked on helplessly. Yet, if the consequences were sometimes damaging to its academic program and to its reputation, William and Mary continued to educate a growing number of Virginia leaders, including many of those who were to take a prominent part in the Revolution.

Before the Storm: The Presidency of William Dawson, 1743–52

The ease of William Dawson's accession to the presidency gave no hint of the troubled years that lay ahead. The letter that John Blair, the nephew of the deceased president, wrote to the bishop of London to report his uncle's death made it clear that James Blair had hoped and expected that Dawson would succeed him in many of his preferments, although each appointment rested in the hands of different authorities.[1] And although Dawson did not receive the rectorship of Bruton Parish, which went instead to his brother Thomas, his election as president was a foregone conclusion. Quickly approved by the Visitors, it was nevertheless fully acceptable to the faculty. Bishop Edmund Gibson lost no time after he received John Blair's letter in naming Dawson commissary on July 18, 1743. Appointment to the governor's council took a little longer, but it came in 1753.[2] The new president gained further recognition when Oxford University conferred upon him in 1747 the honorary degree of doctor of divinity.[3]

Dawson was a mild man, perceived as devout, and appreciated as a conciliator. Given the stormy history of the College both earlier and later, Dudley Digges, sometime Visitor and rector of the College, understandably looked back on Dawson's administration as "the halcyon days of peace."[4] The goodwill that he enjoyed extended to the members of the burgesses, who were especially generous to the College in these years. In 1745 the General Assembly voted to renew the duty on tobacco exports to other colonies, the act being accompanied by statements in which the governor and the legislators sought to outdo one another in their praise for the College, with particular emphasis on its "present good Order, Decency & Discipline.[5] Three years later they also enacted a revised version of the export duty on skins and furs.[6] The College continued, however, to face difficulty in getting the expected proceeds from these duties and also from the licensing of county surveyors (of whom George Washington was one, qualifying for his license in 1749).[7] The essential harmony between College and provincial authorities even survived another spectacular Williamsburg fire, the burning of the first capitol in 1747, an event that once again required sharing the Main Building of the College with the offices of government for five years.[8]

The new president could not match his predecessor's reach into British ecclesiastical and political affairs, although even Blair's influence had been slipping during his last years. Bishop Gibson, who had proved a firm supporter of Dawson, died in 1748. His successor as bishop of London, Thomas Sherlock, served as chancellor of the College from 1749 until his death in 1761 , notwithstanding the term limit of seven years in the statutes. He was, however, a rigid Anglican traditionalist, unsympathetic to the lax ways of the church in the colonies, and incapacitated at times by severe gout. While he perhaps fulfilled his essential responsibilities as chancellor, he lacked the political power of many previous bishops of London. Indeed, the political and intellectual climate in England had changed sufficiently that even a more active bishop might have lacked influence.[9]

Dawson's elevation to the presidency left vacant the chair of moral philosophy, to which William Preston was appointed in 1744. Preston's initial reputation was that of perhaps the sternest puritan to serve on the colonial faculty, typified by his objections to a student performance of Addison's *Cato* and his intrusion into a rehearsal where he ripped down the curtains around an improvised stage. Preston stayed on for more than a decade, until he found himself on the receiving end of charges of immorality and intemperance and resigned. A second candidate for a faculty appointment in 1748 presented a different problem. Alexander Spencer, a self-professed deist who "did not believe the Scripture," sought the post in mathematics and natural philosophy. Despite his heterodoxy and the common knowledge that he "set up whole Nights at Dice," Spencer asked to be sent back to England for ordination. The College, however, declined to pursue his appointment.[10] The next year Dawson did succeed in making two appointments, Richard Graham, a well regarded graduate of Queens, Oxford, in the chair of natural philosophy and John Camm, who would stay for almost three decades in one of the divinity chairs, until forced out for his Loyalism.

Dawson tolerated a growing tendency of the faculty to violate the College statutes forbidding the faculty to be married. Both William Preston and Thomas Robinson took wives sometime before the spring of 1748, while Dawson himself remained single. An old friend and colleague, Edward Ford, hearing of the marriages of the two, chided the president for his "Perseverance in a State of Celibacy in the warm Latitude of 37 Deg. &

amidst so many tempting Objects," urging him to "come into the Fashion, & take some pretty Turtle to be yr. Mate." Dawson took his friend's advice by wedding Mary Stith, the sister of the former Grammar School master and niece of Sir John Randolph.[11]

As the College entered the decade of the 1750s, it had thus remained relatively free of divisive controversies for some two decades, during which its faculty had been brought to full strength and its buildings completed. If William Dawson had not added significantly to what Blair had accomplished, neither had he lost any ground, apart from some weakening of the faculty of the School of Philosophy by the loss of Joshua Fry and the substitution of the less able William Preston for himself.

The College did seem to receive more favorable notice than had often been the case, although largely from those with a stake in its success. The great English evangelical preacher, George Whitefield, had visited Williamsburg in 1739 and proclaimed William and Mary as "near in the same Order and under the same Regulation and Discipline, as in our Universities at Home." But Blair had received Whitefield hospitably, even inviting him to preach at Bruton Parish; and Whitefield had found two of his Oxford contemporaries on the faculty.[12]

A more backhanded compliment appeared in the *London Magazine* of July 1746, in which an anonymous author reported that the students lived "in an academical Manner" and that "the Masters were Men of great Knowledge and Discretion." He went on, however, to declare that William and Mary "can't yet vie with those excellent Universities . . . of the *Massachusetts*," explaining that students in Virginia were "pamper' d much more in Softness and Ease." Charles Stewart, a merchant involved in Virginia trade was, however, more complimentary when he wrote to an Antiguan correspondent:

> Our Colledge has lain under reflections for some Time, but of late has somewhat retrieved its Character, altho' it does not answer the Expectations that might be had from so great a foundation and noble an Endowment. There are at Present not above 70 Scholars in it, but that is in a great Measure owing to the Gentlemen of the Country who generally prefer private Schools, and from our Personal Acquaintance with all the Masters of the Colledge, we have reason to believe that the reflections that are thrown on them are unjust, and that they are Sufficiently capable to lay the foundations of a Youth's Knowledge.[13]

Governor Gooch had always been full of compliments for William and Mary, never more so than in his remarks at the time of the renewal of the tobacco duty in 1745 when he praised it as "that Seminary of Learning, and Ornament to *Virginia*."[14] William Dawson added his own note of praise when he wrote in 1750 to Gooch, who had by then returned to England for reasons of health, that "the College thrives in Reputation, and Numbers of Scholars, being now almost 60."[15] Gooch died in little more than a year on December 17, 1751, and Dawson, seven months later in July 1752. For the College the "halcyon days of peace" were at an end. Even before William Dawson's death, Gooch's successor, Robert Dinwiddie, had stirred the first of the series of controversies in which faculty, presidents, and Visitors found themselves embroiled for the remainder of the colonial era.

The Battle Lines Are Drawn, 1752–55

Periods of turmoil in College affairs had always coincided with comparable times in provincial and imperial politics. The crisis that now opened at the middle of the eighteenth century was no exception, although underlying circumstances to some extent differed. For one thing, by the late 1740s, a new, tough-minded group of political leaders had come to power in Britain. They were men who were determined to regulate far more closely than before the commerce and political administration of an increasingly valuable empire, but who were far less concerned with furthering such cultural ends as religion or education in the colonies. Their objectives conflicted with those of an entrenched, experienced, and frequently unified Virginia elite determined to resist the new imperial policies. While these imperial issues were often sharply drawn, the colony was at the same time experiencing a less well formed series of strains in its internal social and political order, among which were a sense of economic decline among the great tobacco planters, the emergence of dissenting religious groups who directly challenged the Anglican establishment, and a need to accommodate the structure of provincial government to rapid population growth concentrated in newly settled western regions of Virginia.[16]

In some respects College involvement in the contests produced by these tensions was predictable. In particular, the faculty, as had long been the case, were likely to be among the most vocal of the Anglican clergy of the colony and to take a leading part in defending the interests of the church and its ministers against provincial politicians and, now, religious dissenters. They remained a strong—sometimes the only—voice from within the colony in support of a forceful imperial policy. While at times motivated by concern for their own economic well-being as ministers paid out of public taxation, they clearly continued, too, to think of the College as a bastion of church and empire, the exemplar in Virginia of traditional English culture.

Yet, in other respects circumstances at William and Mary were much altered. First of all, there was no longer a James Blair. His successors, whatever the personal qualities of some, were rendered ineffective by circumstances sometimes beyond their control, but as often by their own limitations. None of the five who served over the three decades after Blair's death achieved a vestige of the power that he exercised in provincial politics, even when they sometimes held the same combination of offices. Nor could they establish effective authority over, or command respect from, their faculty. Blair, of course, had never endeared himself to most of those who taught under him, but he usually confronted a single master, an Inglis or a Hugh Jones, in an unequal contest. Since the transfer of the charter, the faculty had become a larger, more coherent group, able to defy the president and outvote him in the meetings of the faculty and masters that had now become a more regular feature of institutional life.

The decline in presidential authority effectively destroyed the ability of Blair's successors to bridge the tension between the Visitors and faculty, a tension built into the charter and statutes and exacerbated by the differing ambitions for the College of the two groups. The result was a clash between the powerful leaders of the colony who dominated the Visitors and an increasingly vocal faculty. While faculty more than ever inserted themselves in broader political issues and always against the provincial leaders, the struggle increasingly became one over the destiny of the College itself. Small and fragile as it was, William and Mary became for both sets of contestants a central instrument for fulfilling their differing conceptions of education and the cultural order. The resultant conflict was bitter, often petty, and unyielding on either side, but underneath it lay issues of substance regarding the character and purpose of William and Mary.

The round of controversies at the College began with a dispute in August 1752 over the election of a successor to William Dawson as president, in which a political dispute that had developed a few months earlier between provincial leaders and Governor Robert Dinwiddie played a significant part. Thus, from the beginning, the politics of the colony and the affairs of the College became enmeshed, although the alignments in this dispute differed from those in the subsequent battles. Dinwiddie had reached Virginia in November 1751 to take up his office. The new governor was no stranger to Virginia, having made it his base when he previously served as surveyor of customs for the mainland British colonies south of Pennsylvania, and having proved generally popular. He was, however, a zealous imperial bureaucrat with a particular interest in financial affairs. Almost the first move that Dinwiddie made was to institute a fee of one pistole (a Spanish coin in wide circulation in the British colonies) for affixing his seal to land patents. His action stirred a surprisingly sharp attack from a number of Virginia leaders, especially prominent members of the House of Burgesses. The controversy, commonly labeled the Pistole Fee Controversy, dragged on for several years, raising the issue of taxation by imperial authorities in terms that foreshadowed the later Stamp Act fight in 1765.[17]

The Pistole Fee Controversy had just gotten under way shortly before the Board of Visitors turned in April 1752 to the election of the new College president. Dinwiddie became even angrier at the criticism of his policy when he learned that the person whom he regarded as primarily responsible for instigating the attack on the pistole fee, the Reverend William Stith, was a contender for the presidency. The people of Spirit entered into a High Priest, who was supported by the Family of the Randolphs."[18] Stith, as Dinwiddie correctly noted, was a Randolph kinsman, a cousin and political ally of Peyton Randolph and Richard Bland, two leading opponents of the pistole fee and powerful burgesses. Stith was, of course, an old College hand as well, an alumnus and former Grammar School master, who numbered some of his former students among the members of the Board of Visitors. Thus, he had the backing of powerful provincial leaders for the presidency.[19]

Stith was also the brother-in-law of the late President That relationship proved of no advantage, however; one of his opponents for the presidency was William Dawson's younger brother, Thomas, rector of Bruton Parish Church, the master of the Indian

School, and the senior faculty member in length of service. A third candidate for the post, the Reverend William Robinson, was the great-nephew of John Robinson, a former bishop of London and chancellor of the College. All three were educated at Oxford, while Robinson and Stith were Virginians. Robinson proved to have insufficient support to be a serious candidate, but Thomas Dawson emerged as a formidable challenger. He drew the support of the governor, who was determined to block Stith; of John Blair, who was an ally of Dinwiddie, a member of the governor's council, and deputy auditor general of crown revenues; and almost certainly of the faculty, who could be expected to distrust Stith's Virginia political connections.

The infighting got under way immediately. Within five days of William Dawson's death, John Blair began the campaign for Thomas Dawson, whom he described to the bishop of London as a "truly pious & diligent Pastor, and an able Divine." In contrast, he attacked Stith as lacking "that sweet engaging Temper that Mr. Dawson has; being, I think, of a too overbearing, Satirical and Domineering Temper (too incident to schoolmasters); of which I have known many Instances in his Conduct"[20] Dinwiddie joined the attack almost immediately. In his letter to Bishop Sherlock, the governor labeled Stith "a very improper Person," who had opposed him by "low Insinuations, contrary to Truth" and attempted "to make a Party of the lower Class of People" against him.[21] The choice of a president came to a vote at a meeting of the Visitors on August 13, 1752, with both sides well represented. After a second count and with the tiebreaking vote of Rector Dudley Digges in favor of his old teacher, Stith gained the victory.[22]

Blair and Dinwiddie had still another battle to fight, for they had a chance to keep Stith from receiving the appointment as commissary that by now seemed logically to go with the presidency. Stith lost no time in approaching Bishop Sherlock to claim the office as a customary right and to defend himself from the *"Virulence and Fury"* of those who sought to "starve" him in the single post of president. Dinwiddie and Blair had, of course, directed their earlier letters to the bishop, not because he had the authority as chancellor to influence the election of a president, but because he would have to choose his new commissary. Employing a combination of arguments, especially accusations of Stith's religious heterodoxy and complaints that the pistole fee fight revealed him to be a "violent Incendiary," the two men fired off a new round of letters to Sherlock. Thomas Dawson also made his own bid for the post, praising Dinwiddie as "a sincere Friend to our Church, Clergy, & Seat of Education" and promising to "exert my sincere and constant Endeavours faithfully and conscientiously to discharge that important Trust." Dinwiddie also reminded Sherlock that since Dawson had inherited responsibility for his brother's two children and for a sister and her four children whom William Dawson had brought over to Virginia, he would be "much Straitened in Supporting of them, unless he has Yr: Lordships Favor in appointing him Comissary."

This time Dinwiddie and Blair were more successful, since the bishop chose Thomas Dawson. He also reprimanded Stith for his conduct in opposing the pistole fee and gave credence to the accusations of heterodoxy. Stith defended himself vigorously on both counts, although his statement could not mask his genuinely latitudinarian religious principles and his deep commitment to the constitutional liberties of "my Country," as he referred to Virginia. The bad feeling continued between Blair and Stith, as did their mutual letters of recrimination to Bishop Sherlock.[23]

William Stith's victory was both bitter and partial, nor did his brief tenure as president before his death on September I0, 1755, go particularly well. He gained some of the financial security he sought—and escaped the near impossibility of serving a parish sixty miles distant from Williamsburg—by his election as rector of Yorkhampton Parish in nearby York County. His political ties also won him appointment as chaplain to the House of Burgesses, where, according to John Blair, he continued his "black work" of inflaming opposition to Dinwiddie.[24] Resident now in a more academic environment, he gave some thought to continuing the work on Virginia history he had begun while at Varina, but in the end confessed his reluctance to resume the hard work of searching old records and papers. Inside the College Stith's narrow margin of victory and lack of faculty support took its toll. He may have been unduly optimistic when he wrote a year into his presidency that "the College is at present in a very peaceable & thriving Way, & has now more Scholars in it, than it has ever had from its first Foundation, with a fair prospect of its still farther increasing."[25] Some years later in 1767, his strong advocate Dudley Digges remembered Stith's presidency as a difficult one when he observed: "Mr. Stith was not only a Man of Learning, but was known to have Spirit and Resolution enough to carry him through his Duty in every Station of life; but all Matters in the College being determinable by a Majority of Voices, and the President standing single, he could do nothing."[26] Nor did Stith have an opportunity to name any new members of the faculty, since those who were in place at the time of William Dawson's death—Thomas Dawson, William Preston, Thomas Robinson, John Camm, and Richard Graham—continued in their appointments.

Evidence of issues on which the faculty blocked Stith is scarce. The president seemed to get his way in putting into effect on his own authority a stricter disciplinary code for students and in ordering the faculty to enforce it. Among other things the regulations stipulated that no student should "saunter away his Time" on any of the College steps or play during school hours. Students were also to eat their dinner and supper in the hall unless ill and were forbidden to go into the kitchen. There were also warnings against the boys engaging in horse racing.[27] At the same time, Stith set out to enlist the Visitors in a revision of the statutes of 1727 to reconcile the conflicting additions that had been made over a quarter century. The Visitors, where he enjoyed more support, agreed to form a committee for the purpose, but the president did not live long enough to bring the matter to completion. The Visitors continued their work, however, adopting the revised statutes on March 29, 1756, and ordering them to be printed with the charter and the transfer. The result was the 1758 edition, printed by William Hunter.[28] For all the brevity and ineffectiveness of his presidency, Stith was a significant figure in the history of the colonial College. Given the publication of his history of Virginia, he was one of its most accomplished alumni. Even his unsuccessful presidency marked a certain milestone. His was the first closely fought election of a president, and the event was, in a way, the opening chapter in the seemingly ceaseless round of controversies that gripped the College after 1750. His own views and the circumstances of his election, with the exclusive support of Virginia laymen and the opposition of the faculty, made more explicit than ever the question of whether the College would be shaped by imperial or provincial culture. There was no question which side Stith favored. We do not know what Stith actually envisioned in enlisting the Visitors to overhaul the College statutes, but we do know that such a revision became a centerpiece of the Visitors' effort over the next two decades to establish their dominance of the faculty.

The Battle Is Joined, 1755–58

On November 1, 1755, six weeks after Stith's death, Thomas Dawson slipped quietly into the College presidency. Since he retained his appointment as commissary, although still without a commission, and by now also held membership on the council, he was able to combine the three offices that Blair and William Dawson had held. Thomas Dawson, however, proved too ineffective and was too overwhelmed by the problems that immediately beset him to achieve any of the power and influence that his offices potentially conveyed. Those problems would have severely tested a stronger president, but they destroyed Dawson, who died a hopeless alcoholic within five years.

Indeed, Dawson found his first crisis-in-the-making as he assumed the presidency. In October 1755 the General Assembly, responding to a severe failure in the tobacco crop and an astronomical rise in its value, passed "An act to enable the inhabitants to discharge their tobacco debts in money, for the present year." In the standing laws of the colony, the salaries of public officials and other public obligations were fixed at a specified number of pounds of tobacco, based on the normal and relatively low price of the crop. With the massive crop failure and resultant high prices, those who, like the Anglican clergy, received their pay in tobacco or its equivalent value, stood to reap an enormous increase. The Two-Penny Act, as the recent legislation came to be called, sought relief for taxpayers by commuting the obligation to the more normal value of tobacco, two pence per pound, for the year of the short crop.[29] One clergyman who did not oppose the emergency legislation calculated that payment of his stipend of seventeen thousand pounds of tobacco at the abnormally higher rate would have more than doubled what he would normally have received. Thus, the gain was substantial for the frequently hard-pressed clerics.[30]

A number of Anglican clergymen determined to take advantage of the windfall and to insist on their legal right to the larger amount. After failing to persuade Governor Dinwiddie to veto the Two-Penny Act, they then asked Thomas Dawson as commissary to call a convocation of the clergy in order to press an appeal to the bishop of London. Failing in that effort as well, a group of eight clerics on November 29, 1755, addressed their own petition to Bishop Sherlock. Four of the signers, including the probable author, John Camm, were members of the College faculty, making it clear that the faculty stood at the center of the agitation that soon became known as the Parsons' Cause. The language of the petition seemed almost certainly a reflection of Camm's high view of the place of church and empire, for it moved beyond the single question of fairness to reiterate the dependence of the colonies on the mother country and to defend the power of the king and his councillors over any colonial legislature.[31] A second communication from ten clergymen, only one a sign er of the earlier one, went out to the bishop on February 25, 1756. In addition to laying great stress on the vulnerability of the clergy, the petitioners, although none of them were faculty members, went on to assert that the act had "a threatening aspect upon all useful seminaries of Leaming particularly the College of William & Mary in this Colony, founded by Royal Charter, in which Seminary our youth are educated in several useful branches of learning & some trained up for the ministry."[32] By a letter of the same date, Dawson informed Sherlock that as "always a lover of peace & quieteness," he preferred a "private report" on the act to any public protest, a clear indication of his discomfort at being caught in the middle of the dispute brewing between the clerics and the political leadership.[33]

With an improvement of the tobacco crop in both 1756 and 1757, the political controversy surrounding the Two-Penny Act was muted for a time, but not the tempo of affairs at the College. There was a momentary lull in 1756, affording enough time in April for the College to confer an honorary degree of master of arts upon Benjamin Franklin, which he received in the presence of President Dawson and five members of the faculty. So far as we know, this was the first degree William and Mary had awarded to anyone, although Franklin himself had already received similar recognition from Yale and Harvard.[34]

By the following spring, the faculty had involved themselves in another contest with the leaders of the provincial government. Their immediate cause was that of an embattled clergyman, the Reverend John Brunskill, Jr., rector of Hamilton Parish, Prince William County. For the clergy larger principles were also at stake in the suspicious atmosphere after the fight over the Two-Penny Act and a growing pattern of confrontation between ministers and their vestries.[35] Brunskill stood charged by his vestry with "monstrous immoralities, profane swearing, drunkenness and very immodest actions." Dinwiddie sided with his accusers, remarking himself that Brunskill had committed "every Sin except Murder and the last he had very nearly perpetrated on his own Wife by ty'g her up by the Legge to the Bed Post and cut'g her in a cruel Man'r with Knives." The clergy came fully to Brunskill's defense. Weak as the position of Thomas Dawson was, he had attempted on this occasion to champion his clergy and to try to keep the matter within his authority. Dinwiddie had insisted that jurisdiction belonged to the governor and council sitting as the General Court, which had tried the case and removed Brunskill, forbidding him to officiate in any church within the colony. Dawson declined to sit on the trial, and Brunskill refused to recognize the legality of the court's decision. A number of clergymen, several faculty members among them, sided with him, especially the combative John Camm, who invited the embattled cleric to preach in his parish in defiance of the General Court and rallied his faculty colleagues in support of an effort to call a clerical convocation.

Since the issues involved in the Brunskill affair concerned the faculty in their capacity as ordained clerics who in several instances also served parishes, they did not directly affect the College. Yet the contest had completed a process that the Two Penny Act had begun , namely, to bring the faculty, and therefore the College, into a more direct confrontation with both the governor and the provincial leadership. The governor was particularly vehement in his counterattack, charging that in their abortive effort to summon a meeting of the clergy, the faculty members "had rid about the country and taken incredible pain by notorious falsehoods to inveigle as many as possible in their cabals." He went on to accuse them of refusing to aid Thomas Dawson during a long illness or even to attend Bruton Parish while he was rector. The faculty, so the governor declared, had "quite ruined" the College and discouraged parents from sending their children "till there is a new set of professors."[36]

The deeper roots and the pervasive nature of the conflict between faculty and provincial authorities became more apparent in a conflict that developed simultaneously with that over Brunskill, one within the College and specifically over matters of education and discipline. It broke into the open in May 1756 when the faculty dismissed two students, Matthew Hubard and Cole Digges, "not only for their remarkable Idleness & bad Behaviour in general, but particularly for whipping the little Boys in the Grammar School—for Obstinacy & Disrespect to the Grammar Master & for refusing to answer before the President and Masters the Complaints made against them." Matthew Hubard's older brother James, an alumnus who was serving as usher of the Grammar School, stood outside the door as the faculty interrogated the offenders and, upon hearing the verdict, broke into the meeting "in a most scandalous, impudent, & unheard of Manner," denounced the faculty, and took his brother away. Declaring that he had acted in "the Heat of Passion, excited by brotherly Affection," James Hubard apologized the next day and was pardoned, but the verdict against the two students stuck.[37]

Although faculty members must have known that they were punishing sons of two prominent families, they could hardly have expected that the Board of Visitors would react quite so punitively against what appeared to be serious breaches of discipline. The Visitors turned first against the master who brought the charges, Thomas Robinson, who had by now served for fifteen years as the Grammar School master and who had only recently recovered from an illness. Complaining of "his bodily Infirmities" and his neglect of his College duties in favor of his parochial responsibilities, the Visitors voted for his dismissal. The action assumed a power of dismissal not explicitly granted to the Visitors in the 1727 statutes, and a part of the indictment seemed untrue. Robinson was one of only two masters who did not hold a parish living, although he sometimes went on Sundays to preach for a friend. Despite their attack on his competence, the Visitors asked Robinson to stay on for six months, but, significantly, they also agreed to ask the bishop of London to find a layman as his replacement.[38] The Visitors had made a calculated move to establish their clear dominance over the faculty and to reduce clerical influence at William and Mary.

Thomas Dawson proved to be a cipher in the contest, as indecisive as ever. With the position of the faculty so vulnerable, William Preston, the professor of moral philosophy, grew afraid and offered to resign in order to return to England. The Visitors, however, wanted more blood, leaving it to Governor Dinwiddie, who was one of their number, to prepare an escalated group of charges against Robinson and to add Preston to the indictment. Both stood accused of "having scandalized the Visitors of the College and indeed the country in general" by immoral conduct, including excessive drinking and neglect of duty. Although the College authorities had consistently tolerated marriage by faculty in violation of the 1727 statutes, Dinwiddie now raised that issue as well.[39]

Dinwiddie's charges were dated September 12, 1757, and on the twenty-seventh the faculty returned to the case of the Hubard brothers and Cole Digges, dismissing James Hubard as usher on the grounds that he "continues to behave very ill in his Office, and is the occasion of the present Disorders in the College."[40] The Visitors countered by appointing a committee to investigate the usher's dismissal, only to meet uncompromising resistance from the remaining faculty. John Camm as usual took the lead, according to a report of their meeting of November 4, in insisting that by the terms of the statutes "the sole Power of appointing or removing an Usher, is in the President and Masters . . . which Power he thought absolutely necessary for the good Government of the College, and Education of the Youth." The other faculty followed his lead, stating that they "were of the same Opinion." The contest, which had now dragged on for six months, must have wrecked the long Trinity term. Now, after reviewing the statutes and reasserting their powers of dismissal, the Visitors determined to discharge the remaining masters, John Camm, Richard Graham, and Emmanuel Jones, the latter having come as Indian School master when Thomas Dawson succeeded to the presidency. William and Mary was, once again, as Hugh Jones had found it forty years earlier, a college without a faculty. Emmanuel Jones, a consistent trimmer in his long tenure at the College, began to think better of his decision and, after admitting his error, gained reinstatement.[41]

Graham and Camm, joined by Thomas Robinson, who had never accepted his dismissal, stood their ground–quite literally, since they refused to vacate their College rooms. At their next meeting on February 7, 1758, the Visitors instructed President Dawson and Jones to order the housekeeper to deny the dissidents provisions and the servants not to obey any of their orders. The three were also to turn in their keys.[42] Dawson and Jones in turn demanded a week later that they comply, calling in the housekeeper and the writing master as witnesses.[43] When they continued to resist, Dawson and Jones lost their nerve and voted to seek legal advice. A month later Dawson also attempted to get Richard Graham, who served as bursar, to turn over the College accounts, to which he responded that he would do so "when the Weather was warmer" or when "there was a Society [i.e., a duly constituted faculty] to examine them."[44]

For the moment the dispute seemed to have come to an impasse. Dawson had proved entirely unable to deal with the yearlong struggle, and the faculty had demonstrated its contempt for him. Cole Digges gained reinstatement, but James Hubard did not return as usher. The Visitors found three new appointees for the two philosophy chairs and the Grammar School but chose to do without anyone in either divinity chair, a further demonstration of their growing hostility to the church to which they nominally adhered. Camm, Graham, and Robinson finally yielded their rooms, although they proceeded with an appeal of their case to the Privy Council. If the Visitors had seemed to carry the day, their victory was far from complete. In some respects Thomas Dawson was the real loser, condemned to suffer more than two additional years as president without either influence or respect from either side. Also, the College itself had paid a heavy price, and its troubles were only beginning.

The War between Visitors and Faculty Continues, 1758–64

If in 1758 the Visitors and the president were satisfied that they had rid themselves of a troublesome faculty and found abler replacements, they faced some unpleasant surprises. On paper, the three new faculty members were the intellectual superiors of many of their predecessors, but their tenure, brief in two cases, only brought a new round of controversies to the College.

William Small, who enjoys a particularly high reputation in the history of the colonial College as Thomas Jefferson's respected mentor and the ablest scientist to serve on the faculty, became the new master of natural philosophy. He was one of the rare laymen on the faculty, the last, in fact, before the American Revolution, and held a master of arts degree from Aberdeen.[45] Goronwy Owen, the new Grammar School master, perhaps deserves a rank equivalent to Small's, although in literature rather than in science. He was an accomplished linguist and poet as well as a clergyman. Owen's attendance at Jesus College, Oxford, was brief, but he had already received an excellent classical education at Friars School, Bangor, in his native Wales.[46] Jacob Rowe, who completed the new appointments by filling the chair of moral philosophy, had gained admittance to Oxford by competitive examination and came recommended by the bishop of London as a man of learning.[47]

Just as the new faculty members were settling in, the colony suffered a second year of failure of the tobacco crop, prompting another Two-Penny Act that again commuted payment of public obligations to two pence per pound of tobacco for one year.[48] The act passed at the beginning of the term of a new governor, Francis Fauquier, who had replaced an ailing Dinwiddie the preceding June.[49] Fauquier, educated as were many of the William and Mary faculty at Queen's College, Oxford, was a person of markedly greater intellectual accomplishment than the typical colonial governor, a consequence of his education, musical interest, and scientific curiosity. Much about his interests might have suggested that he would take an active part in College affairs.[50] Indeed, William Small and, for a time, Goronwy Owen were among the circle of companions often invited to the Governor's Palace. Like Dinwiddie, however, Fauquier was sympathetic to the colonists regarding the Two-Penny Act and thoroughly angered by the resistance mounted by the "hot Headed Leaders" of the clergy, including those at the College.[51]

With the passage of the Two-Penny Act, Fauquier gained his first experience with the political activism of the College faculty. Even while the General Assembly had the second two-penny legislation under discussion, the new professor of moral philosophy, Jacob Rowe, angrily declared that all who might support its provisions were "scoundrels" and that if any such member, "wanting to receive the Sacrament, was to apply to him, he would refuse to administer it." A report of the incident led the House of Burgesses on September 21, 1758, to bring Rowe before it in the custody of the sergeant at arms. Rowe apologized and escaped a fine, his statement revealing that he had made his reckless threat in a private conversation at a friend's house when "provoked by some rude Expressions used by some of the Company, against that sacred Order to which he belongs."[52]

John Camm, the principal clerical spokesman in the initial dispute over the 1755 act, was not so easily intimidated. Still a parish clergyman while his dismissal from the faculty was on appeal, he again took the lead in urging Thomas Dawson to call a convocation to organize clerical opposition. The president characteristically refused to roil the waters, and about half of the seventy-odd clergy in the colony, including all of the faculty except Dawson, gathered on their own. With a single dissenting vote, the group determined to send Camm to England to seek repeal of the two-penny legislation. Within a few weeks of Fauquier' s approval of the second act, Camm departed, carrying a "Representation of the Clergy of the Church of England" and also the materials necessary to his case and that of his two colleagues, Graham and Robinson, for reinstatement to the College faculty. Camm, whom Fauquier termed "a Man of Abilities but a Turbulent Man who delights to live in a Flame," remained as intransigent as ever, denouncing the legislation as a defiance of royal authority. While both sides waited out the lengthy process of Privy Council review, the issue continued to fester and feed into the ongoing struggle between the faculty and Visitors.[53]

The next chapter of that saga centered on Goronwy Owen, the Grammar School master, and Jacob Rowe, who had apparently abandoned the contrition that he had earlier exhibited before the burgesses. The issue, however, was not one of political principle or interest, but rather of personal conduct and character. The two had become notorious for appearing on the streets of Williamsburg and Yorktown inebriated, shouting profanity, and worse, until the Visitors complained of their "horrid oaths and execrations in their common conversations—by which practices the youth are likely to be corrupted." They stood accused as well of promoting conflict between the president and the masters.[54]

In the most spectacular incident, for which Rowe received the blame, although Owen may have been an equal participant, the professor of moral philosophy led the students in a fight with the town apprentices. It was described by Rowe's accusers as "a pitched battle with pistols and other weapons." Rowe, moreover, held a pistol to the breast of two men who sought to intervene. One was Peyton Randolph, Visitor and recent rector, longtime College representative in the House of Burgesses, attorney general of the colony, and strident opponent of the Parsons' Cause. On the day following, Rowe attacked President Dawson for conducting an inquiry among the students without calling together the full body of masters; he also insulted the rector when he ordered Rowe to keep the students in on the next night. Rowe had little chance of escaping punishment for these offenses and, indeed, made little effort to do so, choosing instead to heap abuse on Dawson. By the end of September 1760, he had been dismissed and ordered off the College grounds.[55] Goronwy Owen fared no better. Arriving in Virginia as a widower with young children—his wife and one son had died on the voyage to America—he must have commanded some sympathy. Then he had married Dawson's sister, who was the College housekeeper. But the problems with his drinking and "other flagrant improprieties" persisted until he had to leave, although he was permitted to resign. Fauquier found him a place as rector of St. Andrew's Parish, Brunswick County, a remote area south of the James River, where he remained until his death in 1769.[56]

Shortly before the fate of Rowe and Owen had been settled, the Parsons' Cause had entered a new and more combative phase. On August 10, 1759, the Privy Council disallowed the two-penny legislation, and a few weeks later, the king issued a reprimand to Governor Fauquier for having approved the second act. John Camm was appointed to bring the official documents to the colony, but while he delayed his departure for several months, unofficial reports of the outcome reached Virginia and immediately began to stir opposition. As a further irritant, Camm had also instructed his attorney in Virginia to bring a suit for his back salary.

Thus, when Camm finally returned from England on June 20, 1760, the dispute was well advanced. He must have taken particular pleasure in delivering the official documents in person to Governor Fauquier, although he waited a week after his arrival to do so. Fauquier was enraged, believing that Camm had misrepresented him in London, and also offended that the much-delayed document was "open, dirty, and worn out at the Edges and Folds." Calling in his servants and slaves, and pointing to Camm, the governor ordered that he never be admitted to the Palace again, although Fauquier later sent word that he would receive written communications.[57]

By taking a leading part in the clerical suits against some of the parish vestries and by joining battle in the pamphlet war with Virginia spokesmen, Camm once again placed himself at the center of the Parsons' Cause, which dragged on until Camm lost a last appeal of his suit to the Privy Council in 1767.[58] Camm's rush to engage himself further in the Parsons' Cause only added to the woes of the hapless Thomas Dawson. The president was already in the midst of his difficulties with Jacob Rowe and Goronwy Owen, and Camm now pressed Dawson without success to call a convocation of the clergy so that he might report on his activities in England. By the fall of 1760, Rowe and Owen were gone, and then on November 29, Dawson died. Recognizing the great tragedy of Dawson's ineffectiveness in the face of the bitter divisions that had gripped the College, Fauquier praised him in an obituary in the *Maryland Gazette* for "moderation, meekness, forgiveness, and long suffering" and lamented that he had become "a victim to . . . repeated marks of ingratitude and malice."[59]

Thus the Visitors, in the midst of other problems at the College, had to find a new president from an unpromising field. John Camm, although not yet reinstated to the faculty, apparently sought the backing of the chancellor for the appointment, but the Visitors were certain to resist that move.[60] The only active faculty at the time were William Small, a layman and hence ineligible for the presidency, and Emmanuel Jones, whom the Visitors were unwilling to appoint. They turned instead to the Reverend William Yates, an alumnus, the son of former divinity professor Bartholomew Yates, and rector of Abingdon Parish, Gloucester County. Yates received a somewhat tepid endorsement from Visitor Dudley Digges, who termed him "a Gentleman of learning, great Moderation and Piety." But John Camm's self-interested charge that Yates had "no kinds of pretensions to an office of the kind" and John Page's later complaint about his "arid teaching" demonstrated the general lack of enthusiasm for him. Bishop Sherlock had by the time of Yates's appointment already moved to appoint as commissary a close associate of Camm, the Reverend William Robinson. The Visitors and the governor managed, however, to put Yates on the council rather than Robinson, who never had the confidence of the governor. Yates also succeeded Dawson as rector of Bruton Parish. The faculty dissidents largely ignored Yates, while relying on Commissary Robinson to represent their interests. He had, of course, a more direct link to the chancellor; and he could also be helpful as a dissident member of the Board of Visitors.[61]

With the death on July 18, 1761, of Bishop Sherlock, after twelve continuous years as chancellor and slightly longer as bishop of London, the faculty lost a champion of its interests. William Robinson's continuation as commissary also became uncertain. Fauquier had written just days after Sherlock's death to the Reverend Samuel Nicolls objecting, as diplomatically as he could manage, to Sherlock's appointment of William Robinson as commissary. Nicolls showed the letter to the new bishop of London, Thomas Hayter. In the fall of 1761, even before they knew that Hayter was to be the new bishop, both Camm and Robinson had written to advance the commissary's reappointment. Hayter had complied but then died in the following year. So Robinson renewed the effort to keep his office by writing to the new bishop, Richard Osbaldeston, on June 8, 1762, that he had been appointed by Hayter. Bishop Osbaldeston clearly took the hint, for Robinson wrote him a very long letter, undated but received in early 1763, returning his "humble thanks" for his reappointment and then proceeding to lay out for the new bishop the full history of the grievances of Camm and himself against Fauquier. The governor's letter to Osbaldeston a year later expressed his own bitterness toward Robinson, but conceded that the dispute between the two had calmed somewhat. By that time William Robinson had weathered the rapid turnover in bishops.[62]

The influence that Robinson had achieved over successive clerical chancellors obviously caught the attention of the Visitors. When Bishop Sherlock died, the Visitors had moved quickly to follow precedent by appointing Thomas Hayter as chancellor, but on Bishop Osbaldeston 's succession, they balked at choosing another prelate to that post. So great was their determination to bring an end to ecclesiastical influence over the College, they turned in August 1763 for the next appointment to a notoriously incompetent layman, Charles Wyndham, earl of Egremont, a privy councillor, who took no active role in the College in the few months before his death. As the second lay chancellor the Visitors next appointed a more prestigious British official, Philip Yorke, earl of Hardwicke, the lord chancellor of England. Seventy-three years of age and in poor health, he, too, died within a few months, apparently before learning of his election. The effort to laicize the governance of the College had proved an utter failure.[63] On October 24, 1764, the Visitors turned back to still another bishop of London, Richard Terrick-Richard Osbaldeston having died a short time after Hardwicke.[64]

The Visitors' lack of success in dealing with Commissary Robinson or in capitalizing on the rapid turnover in bishops of London and chancellors of the College between 1759 and 1764 did not deter their other efforts to reshape the College. They had found in the Virginia-born William Yates the compliant president they wanted. Now, once again, they had an opportunity to rebuild a faculty that was reduced to Emmanuel Jones and William Small, leaving divinity, moral philosophy, and the Grammar School unstaffed. In June 1761 they attempted to attract to the chair in moral philosophy a visiting clergyman, the Reverend Andrew Burnaby, who was making an extended trip through the colonies, from which he published *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America*. Burnaby had been in Virginia long enough to appreciate what he would be getting into and declined the offer. When the *Travels* appeared in 1775, he made all too clear his lack of regard for the colony and its College, observing that "the progress of arts and sciences in this colony has been very inconsiderable: the college of William and Mary is the only public place of education, and this has by no means answered the design of its institution."[65]

Lacking any other alternative, the Visitors turned to Richard Graham, one of the two whose dismissal was on appeal to the Privy Council. Since William Small now held his former post in natural philosophy, Graham agreed to fill the vacant professorship in moral philosophy. In 1762 the Visitors added another appointment, that of the Reverend James Horrocks as Grammar School master. Horrocks, one of the relatively few Cambridge men to teach at the College, appeared well qualified. He had finished sixth among mathematics scholars and had been immediately elected a fellow of Trinity College. Somewhat surprisingly, he chose instead to become usher at his old school, Wakefield, in Yorkshire, an academy to which Virginia students were sometimes sent.[66]

By the following year of 1763, just as the Visitors seemed to have the faculty reconstituted apart from the divinity chairs, which perhaps in their anticlerical mood they purposely left vacant, the Privy Council ordered John Camm and Richard Graham reinstated.[67] Thus, Camm regained his divinity post and a stronger base from which to continue his attack on the Two-Penny Acts and his defense of faculty powers against the Visitors. Graham and William Small now exchanged the two philosophy chairs, in order that Graham might reclaim his original appointment in natural philosophy. Small in his own way proved hardly less difficult for the Visitors than a faculty cleric like John Camm. A man of the Enlightenment, Small certainly had little interest in promoting the influence of the church on William and Mary . He seemed, however, to concern himself relatively little with faculty or student affairs, apart from his work with a few promising students like Jefferson. Soon after arriving he began to press for both salary increases and a lengthy leave with pay. His principal justification turned on a grant of £450 that the General Assembly voted in December 1762 for the purchase of scientific instruments for use in the instruction of students in natural philosophy.[68] Small may well have played a part in securing the funds, and now he sought to return to England for eighteen months to oversee the purchase of the equipment. The Visitors, suspicious of his ever coming back, were reluctant to grant his request, although they finally consented to a leave of eight months duration.[69]

Although this faculty was probably stronger as a group than any of a decade or more, its composition can scarcely have brought the Visitors satisfaction or offered much hope of a harmonious atmosphere at the College. Moreover, just as the full complement of faculty, except for one divinity professorship, had been restored, things again began to come apart. Late in 1764 President Yates died—there had now been three presidents over a single decade—and for the Visitors the field of candidates was again unpromising. William Small delayed his return to England long enough to advance his candidacy. Appealing as the prospect of a layman as president might have been to some of the Visitors, none were willing to violate the terms of the charter, especially to favor a man who had already caused them difficulty. For differing reasons Camm and Emmanuel Jones were out of the question. Richard Graham as senior faculty member thought himself entitled to the appointment, but he, like Camm, was tarred with his opposition to the Visitors. Finally, the youngest faculty member, James Horrocks, was the choice, although he succeeded only by hiding his sympathy for many of the positions taken by Graham and Camm and promising the Visitors that he would support their agenda.[70] Small now proceeded with his trip to England, from which, in fact, he never returned, while Graham resigned and also sailed for England. With the transfer of the new president from his old post as grammar master, the College was left with an Indian master and a divinity master, but with no one to teach the bulk of the students in the Grammar School or those in philosophy.

The five-year period that extended from the beginning of 1760 into 1764 lacked the flamboyant incidents of the 1750s, but it was nonetheless a turbulent interlude in College affairs, complicated by unprecedented frequency of turnovers in the presidency, faculty, and chancellorship. Only Commissary Robinson stayed in office throughout, despite an equally rapid turnover in the occupants of the see of London, to whom he owed his office. By keeping the bishops fully informed of the faculty perspective on the controversies that were unfolding, he was a major contributor to the continuing controversy. Moreover, the appointment of Richard Terrick as chancellor brought to the office a resolute supporter of the faculty and one who enjoyed a longer tenure. The Visitors, for their part, had only hardened their position, as their determination to maintain a puppet in the presidency initially suggested.

The Fight to Revise the Statutes, 1763–68

Nothing, therefore, in the circumstances that prevailed in 1764 made the Visitors any less determined to rein in the faculty and bring the College fully under the control of its external governors. Throughout the developing controversy, whether the immediate issue was student discipline, faculty conduct of College business, or the intrusion of the masters in the political affairs of the colony, the Board had increasingly concentrated on a full-scale revision of the College statutes as the vehicle for achieving the total subordination of the faculty.

The timing of the issuance of a new edition of the statutes in 1758 by the Williamsburg printer, William Hunter, suggests that its publication may have been an opening gambit, prompted by the Hubard dismissals. By the admittedly partisan testimony of William Robinson, the Visitors, once they learned that Camm and Graham were to be reinstated, moved in 1763 to enact a new statute that would establish their right to remove and replace faculty at their pleasure and require faculty to live in the College and not hold any other living or practice any other profession. Unexpectedly, they had been frustrated by William Yates, who had for perhaps the one time in his brief tenure stood against the Board, insisting that any such revision be reviewed by the chancellor before being implemented. But the statute obviously became for a time the centerpiece of the Visitors' strategy, as, for example, when Horrocks had to swear his acceptance of it to gain the presidency.[71]

In the letter that reached Bishop Osbaldeston at the beginning of 1763, Robinson had discussed at length another idea of the Visitors, that of curbing faculty responsibility for student discipline. He referred to "an order still subsisting in the book kept by the Visitors, which it seems is always to destroy the authority of the printed statutes." The order, Robinson related, would allow the president and the masters to go no further in administering discipline than to give an offending student two warnings and then, upon a third offense, to turn the student over to the Visitors for trial. The commissary then went on to advance a bold proposal for supplanting the powers of the Visitors with an entirely new governing structure, which placed ultimate authority in the hands of English ecclesiastical leaders:

> I think that if an authentic copy of the book kept by the visitors could be sent home by virtue of an order from England, there would want nothing else to shew the reasons why the College does not answer the end of the institution, & finally that if the College was really put under the care of the Bishop of London or the Arch-Bishop of Canterbury , who have been alternately Chancellors. … If, I say, either of these Prelates had the appointment of the President and masters & was enabled to protect them in their duty, it might be hoped that the College might become an instrument in such hands of diffusing Leaming, Morality, Religion & all due respect to those who have the authority over that part of his Majesty's dominions as well as over the Mother Country.[72]

Robinson clearly had in mind something far broader than simply faculty control of student discipline, for he had advanced his own counterproposal for a full-scale revision of the statutes, if not the charter itself. Thus, with Camm reinstated and presumably working closely with the commissary, and with Horrocks pledged to support the Visitors but working at times with his faculty colleagues, the issue of revising the statutes was now at the center of the controversy.

Amid problems of finance, staffing, and student misconduct, the ensuing struggle went on over the next five years or so, from late 1764 into 1768, both within the College and in the full glare of public attention. That it was in the end inconclusive did not make it any less bitter. In these same years, the imperial crisis entered a more critical phase as well, marked by the dispute over Parliamentary taxation through measures such as the Stamp and Townshend Acts. Many of the Visitors found themselves simultaneously engaged in opposing British policy and standing against a recalcitrant College faculty, who seemed no less identified with an aggressive British imperialism.

The Visitors unintentionally complicated their efforts to enact the 1763 statute when they chose Bishop Terrick as chancellor in 1764, for he became a resolute and influential advocate of the faculty. They encountered another obstacle when they called John Camm before them in 1765 to demand once again that he either give up his professorship or his parish; in typical fashion he stood his ground. Labeling the proceedings a court in which he stood accused, he demanded that a written "Defence," which he had prepared, be read by the clerk. After some interchange with the Visitors, he read the statement, "which contained free and severe strictures on every part of the Statute, with some reflections on the President, who was present, for having sworn obedience to the Statute; and concluded with an Appeal to the King as supreme Visitor of a College founded by the Crown." The Visitors hesitated, failing at that meeting and a subsequent one to vote for his dismissal. Camm clearly had the support of Commissary Robinson and the chancellor, who early in the next year, wrote President Horrocks to express strong opposition to the Visitors' assertion of power over the faculty. Horrocks made it clear in the fall of 1766 that the conflict was unabated.[73]

In the face of Camm's intransigence and the chancellor's disapproval, the Visitors in May 1766 offered a revision in the proposed statute. The new version asserted that no new powers were being conveyed to the Visitors, but that only an interpretation of the existing regulations was sought. Nevertheless, the new statement still claimed for the Visitors a general superintendency of matters of great moment and defined all powers of the faculty as delegated from the Visitors. As a gesture to John Camm, only new faculty would be required to swear under oath to obey the statutory prohibition on holding a clerical appointment in a parish.[74]

The contest between faculty and Visitors also complicated the concurrent efforts to rebuild the depleted faculty. The first effort to fill Horrocks's old post as Grammar School master proved abortive; Edward Hawtrey, or Hawtry, came from England in 1765, stayed only twelve weeks, and then returned home. Hawtrey's brother had talked to William Small in England about the College and had written before Edward Hawtrey's departure about such matters as salary, the irregularity with which students paid their fees, and the nature of the quarters with which he would be provided. Small had evidently reported that the faculty were "well satisfied with the homeliness of their appearance, tho' at first sight rather disgusting." Edward Hawtrey had found on arrival that he had sixty-four pupils and the assistance of two ushers. After his rapid departure, Horrocks freely admitted to the chancellor that while Hawtrey had the offer of a better post in England, he had also found discouraging the "unhappy differences" between the faculty and Visitors and the feeling between the "usurper President and the surviving Faculty."[75]

Hawtrey was, moreover, not the only disgruntled faculty member in England. William Small remained there after the expiration of his leave, giving no signs of returning. To the Visitors he complained about salary still owed him and, somewhat belatedly caught up in the cause of the faculty, now refused to return unless the Visitors respected the charter and the statutes, as he read them, by abandoning any claim to the right of dismissing faculty. To those in England who would listen, he openly proclaimed his low opinion of the College as it was being managed.[76]

Bishop Terrick made another offer to help with staffing the faculty in 1767 by recommending two new faculty members, Josiah Johnson for the Grammar School and William Halyburton for the chair in moral philosophy. Johnson arrived promptly and took up his post, but when Halyburton did not arrive, he sought to transfer to the moral philosophy appointment. In seeking the less remunerative but more prestigious chair, Johnson might have seemed filled with a laudable academic ambition, but it turned out that he had "the Misfortune to fall violently in love with a very pretty Object," as one of the Visitors, William Nelson, noted. To afford his marriage, Johnson wanted to take a parish at some distance from Williamsburg while filling a chair that would require him to spend less time at the College. President Horrocks and the Visitors were agreed equally on their suspicion of Johnson's motives and their unwillingness to grant his request. So Johnson stayed on as Grammar School master, eventually adding an appointment as rector of Bruton Parish from July 30, 1772, until his death the following April.

Halyburton, who had sailed to New York instead of Virginia, remained there for several months before writing Horrocks, confessing his lack of knowledge of the classics, or of anything "Academical." When he finally arrived in Virginia, no one wanted to admit him to the faculty, as the rector of the Visitors informed Bishop Terrick in no uncertain terms.[77] In such circumstances bringing the faculty back to full complement hardly seemed possible. The number of positions filled remained at three until 1770; John Camm single-handedly filled the two philosophy chairs, in addition to his regular, but hardly demanding, duties as professor of divinity.

In the meantime the small compromise that the Visitors offered in the revised statute of 1766 satisfied no one. Even their strong advocate, Governor Fauquier, was incensed, Commissary Robinson taking delight in reporting that the governor was "so far off his guard as peevishly to blame the Visitors for letting Mr. Camm lead them by the nose." Relations between the faculty and the Visitors had only grown worse by the summer of 1767. Horrocks reported in June that some Visitors now advocated the filling of faculty vacancies through recommendations from the London merchants trading to Virginia, an indication of a determination to appoint laymen and lessen the influence of the church and the chancellor.[78]

The continuing fights over the statute, the Halyburton affair, and the status of William Small seemed to have brought the rector, Dudley Digges, and a majority of the Board to a white heat. He wrote a scathing letter to William Small on June 25, bearing the news that the Visitors had no intention of meeting his demands or of bringing him back after his eight-month leave had extended beyond two years. Among other things Digges charged that Small's attacks upon the Visitors in several letters "were as unjust as they are ungrateful," and that his "Pretence of Regard for the good of the College, after what we know you have done is an Insult upon Common Sense & … a Continuance of your Hypocrisy." Small had already made plans to remain in England; his career at William and Mary had ended, although he left behind a legacy of having trained a select few of William and Mary's best students in the late colonial era.[79]

On July 15 Digges wrote on behalf of the Board a second angry letter, this time to the chancellor. He dealt with the cases of both Halyburton and Small, but he then went on at great length to review the whole history of the controversy with the faculty, tracing it back as far as the contest between William Stith and Thomas Dawson for the presidency. William Robinson reported that the account was "hasty, unweighed, inaccurate, crude, false, and invidious" and was the work of a committee of the Board chaired by Robert Carter Nicholas, a powerful political figure, prominent player in the affairs of Bruton Parish Church, and treasurer of the colony.[80] The Nicholas statement included what could be perceived as a rebuke of the chancellor because of the men he had sent to teach at William and Mary. It also charged that the faculty had behaved badly, even though they were received with "civility and Courtesy." Indeed, the statement continued, "they have been caressed, they have been courted so long as their Behaviour has answered the Expectations conceived of them."[81]

Commissary Robinson saw to it that the faculty received a copy of the statement that Nicholas had prepared, and the faculty laid plans to reply in a memorial that Horrocks, cooperating at this juncture with his faculty, agreed to take to England. Bishop Terrick made an uncompromising response to the Visitors' position, objecting to their personal attack on him and threatening to throw his weight behind a revision of the charter in favor of the authority of the faculty. The new rector, James Fontaine, wrote to Terrick on July 1, 1768, denying that Digges's earlier letter had intended any criticism of the bishop. The counterattack on the Visitors had its effect, however, for Fontaine also reported that they had offered some concessions to the faculty, while remaining firm on other points.[82]

Fontaine included with his letter copies of the minutes of the meetings of the Visitors between April 28 and July 1; together with faculty statements that were also sent to Bishop Terrick, they revealed a final, if inconclusive, effort to resolve the issues between faculty and Visitors. The faculty at a meeting on May 4 adopted a lengthy "Memorial for the better Government of the College," undoubtedly written by Camm and filled with his customarily sharp language. Objecting to the idea that faculty powers were delegated from the Board, the statement proclaimed, "We presume to think that we are not the servants of the Visitors; we have a Charter to incorporate us into a regular Society." Although recognizing the power of the Visitors to make statutes, the faculty stood their ground on their right to conduct the ordinary government of the College, administer discipline, award scholarships, and appoint College officers. They also claimed the right to counsel if called before the Visitors, and to hold other preferments. At meetings on June 16 and 17, the faculty agreed to some softening of language to which the Visitors had objected and on July 1, to a division of authority between the two bodies in the award of scholarships.[83]

On July 22 the faculty met once again and voted to send its own letter to the chancellor, together with a new statement. After thanking the chancellor for his support, the faculty went on to assert that the rector had only partly reported their position and to recite at length the manner in which the Visitors had continued to respond unsatisfactorily to their proposals. Their conclusion seemed as defiant as ever:

> It seems impossible for us, notwithstanding fair Words, to make any other Conclusion but that the Visitors mean to keep the grand Points of Power, on which the practical Utility of a College must turn, unsettled and in Confusion, and to leave us without the Authority which is necessary for obtaining that Discipline & Regularity which the Visitors are desirous should be enforced. … It is plain, we think, from this last Experiment, as well as many others, that the Remedy for the Disorders of which both the Visitors & we complain must come from some higher Power … whether that shall take its Rise from a Petition to the King for a new Charter, or from an Appeal to His Majesty as supreme Visitor of the College, which we suppose him to be.[84]

There the matter rested, and nothing further seemed to occur by way of direct confrontation between the faculty and the Visitors, although a round of controversy in the Williamsburg newspapers continued for several months. Earlier, in the spring of 1768, John Camm had become embroiled in an exchange with Arthur Lee, who took time out from his more frequent attacks on British policy to accuse Camm of heading an improper coalition against the legitimate authority of the Visitors. The next year Camm also came under attack for drawing an extra salary while he filled his own divinity professorship and the two vacant philosophy appointments. There was a more biting attack on Horrocks during the same year, one that challenged his academic qualifications rather than his role in the controversies with the Visitors, although it was not without political overtones. John Page called on the president as a mathematician to provide a calculation of the transit of Venus, an event that had attracted the attention of Virginia's gentlemen scientists, Page included. Page was clearly implying that Horrocks could not do so, and the attack touched off other newspaper pieces questioning his competence to translate Latin.[85]

Except for these few newspaper articles, the protracted and bitter dispute had come to an almost inexplicable end, since neither side had yielded its essential position, the Visitors having made only a few concessions, which the faculty rejected. Such an inconclusive termination to a hard-fought and fundamental contest is not easy to explain. One possible consideration was the death at the beginning of 1768 of Commissary Robinson. Although never a member of the faculty, he had actively abetted Camm and the others in their strong stand and served as the principal agent in winning the support of the chancellor. The faculty had lost its most effective ally. Moreover, Horrocks had won out over Camm in the contest to be the new commissary, destroying the working alliance between the two men that had prevailed during the later stages of controversy.[86] Yet, the Visitors made no move to take advantage of this situation. Even without the presence of Robinson as a dissident on the Board of Visitors, they still had to contend with the chancellor. In the end, what may have disarmed the conflict more than anything else was the deepening antagonism between Britain and the colonies, which affected both sides in the College controversy. Most of the Visitors were men who were increasingly absorbed in their leadership of the colony against imperial policy. While the heavy hand of the church and the clergy in opposing their effort to control the College could be seen as still another grievance against British authority, they had other pressing priorities. On the faculty side, Horrocks had to admit in early 1769 that the larger strategy of securing a revision of the charter that would favor faculty power had to be given up in the existing political climate.[87]

The College also found it necessary to close briefly in 1768, due to an outbreak of smallpox that caused the death of two students. The situation may well have proved sufficiently distracting to the combatants to turn them away from the controversy.[88] Even more compelling, however, was another death in 1768, one that obviously muted the debate. It was that of Governor Fauquier, who had remained a resolute supporter of the Visitors and a bitter foe of Camm and the late commissary. His death provided a last chapter in the dispute, when Camm was attacked for having refused a request to attend to the governor's spiritual needs as his end approached. Camm denied that he had received the message, but was told that the accusation had cost him the appointment as commissary.[89] More important, Fauquier's demise brought the appointment as the new governor of Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, who, despite the charged political atmosphere, immediately established himself as a conciliator both in the governorship and as a member and rector of the Board of Visitors.

The end of the affair had, however, produced what has been correctly termed a precarious balance, rather than a genuine resolution. The Visitors kept control over some finances and conceded nothing of their claim to ultimate authority over the College, but the faculty perhaps gained a little more. They continued to hold their professorships concurrently with other appointments as parish clergy, and some of them moved out of their College apartments without further challenge. The Visitors made no further attempts at dismissals before 1776, despite the frequent involvement of faculty in other public controversies. And the issue of what the mission of the College should be and how it should be discharged continued to evoke a lively debate.[90]

The Fate of the Students

By 1768 the turmoil in College affairs had dragged on without interruption for more than a decade. Student conduct had been an issue at two major junctures during the 1750s: the fight over the dismissal of the two Hubards and Cole Digges, and Jacob Rowe's leadership of a town-gown riot. Then, in the 1760s, the contest had turned increasingly to the authority of the Visitors and faculty in all aspects of College governance. Yet, who would administer student discipline remained an important aspect of the struggle for power. At a meeting on March 30, 1762, the president and masters took note of disputes that had arisen over the question of whether every master had authority to punish scholars, that is, the students in the Grammar School, and reaffirmed their right to administer punishment, with only William Small dissenting. Later that year, Commissary Robinson raised the question to a level of central importance, suggesting that the effort of the Visitors to take control of discipline—a clear reference to the fight over the Hubards and Digges—was responsible for a collapse of order among the students. Robinson may have conveniently forgotten the poor example of conduct that the faculty had often set; but, whatever the reason, he was correct that throughout the decade of the 1760s, student conduct was a problem.[91]

Two specific periods of marked student unrest, one throughout 1763 and another in 1766, appeared to preoccupy the masters. Early in 1763 they addressed a formal letter to Isabella Cocke, who had served as College housekeeper since August 1761, listing a series of complaints about her irregular performance of her duties—serving bad and inadequate food, failing to take proper care of the boys' laundry, showing special favors to some students, being absent too frequently, among others—and demanding better conduct for the future.[92] In this instance, the scholars appeared to have grounds for restiveness, and after Mrs. Cocke failed to improve her ways, she was dismissed. The removal of Mrs. Cocke did not, however, quiet the students. In May John Hyde Saunders was ordered to leave the College for impudent behavior, first toward the Grammar School master and then to the president and other faculty members. On October 6, three students, John Walker, Walter Jones, and James McClurg, the last of whom was to be appointed to the new chair in medicine in 1779, were sent home for a month on the charge of "injurious Behaviour … to a family in Town." Later, the faculty added William Thompson to those who had participated in the incident and expelled him when he refused to submit to discipline.[93] The difficulties in 1766 obviously ran even deeper, prompting not only punishment of another group of students from prominent families, but a series of efforts to tighten supervision both of students and the young men who served as ushers of the Grammar School. On March 11 the faculty provided for a roll call of boarding students at nine o'clock each evening in the hall, and on May 3 they also stipulated that ushers were to be present at all meals unless the president or a master was also there. Ushers were also required to attend church and chapel services regularly and visit student rooms after nine three nights a week, reporting any absences or other irregularities to the president.[94]

Misconduct only seemed to worsen. On July 22 the faculty found Mann Page, Sr., and Nathaniel Burwell guilty of indecent behavior toward the president. At the same time, they reprimanded Pages's cousins, Mann, Jr., and John, for "going off their Bounds without Leave" and frequenting taverns in Williamsburg. The first two were sent home for a month, although both returned and made their peace before their suspensions ended. The incidents prompted the masters to look more closely at the old problem of students visiting the local taverns. As a result they gave the president discretionary authority to punish boys from the Grammar School for the offense and requested tavern keepers to refuse to serve students or face College efforts to have their licenses suspended.[95] Before the year was out, another incident occurred in which Samuel Klug, the assistant usher, charged that the usher, John Patterson, had "kickd & beat him without the least Provocation." The faculty investigated, found Patterson's response unsatisfactory, and gave him a day to admit his guilt and promise to do better. When he persisted in defending his conduct, he was dismissed but eventually was given seven pounds, five shillings to pay the costs of his return trip to his home in Philadelphia.[96]

Before the decade ended, there were other incidents. Two sons of William Byrd III, who was at the time a member of the Board of Visitors, were brought before the faculty for serious disciplinary offenses. Thomas Byrd led a riot by the boys of the Grammar School that resulted in "uncommon Waste & Havock" in the hall. Young Byrd was required to submit to a whipping or be expelled. He chose the latter, not "without many violent & threatening Expressions against the President." The faculty stood its ground even when his father offered to administer the punishment if his son were readmitted. Later in the same year, William Byrd faced the necessity of dealing with the actions of another son, John, who had been recently admitted to the philosophy school and was now found guilty of threatening to whip a College servant and then the housekeeper when she intervened. Although the faculty had adopted a new regulation requiring expulsion for acts of violence, they allowed him to stay. Between the two incidents involving the Byrd brothers, another student, Robert Robinson, was expelled for theft of articles from a fellow student.[97]

It is perhaps difficult to believe that a College caught up in so much turmoil among Visitors, faculty, and students could operate in anything like a normal manner. Yet, if, on the one hand, the list of the students charged with serious violations of discipline in the 1760s reads like a Virginia *Who's Who*, this was also a decade in which many of the College's ablest students were enrolled. Jefferson had, after all, begun his two years under the tutelage of William Small in 1760. To judge from Edward Hawtrey's sixty grammar scholars, the number of students did not appear to decline. Classes were taught in all the branches of the College, although with a depleted faculty that required some doubling up by Horrocks and Camm. The faculty minutes regularly recorded the advancement of students from the Grammar School to that of philosophy. While the bishop of London recorded no ordinations of clergy trained at William and Mary in the early years of the decade, four divinity students were licensed between 1764 and 1768. John Blair, Jr., became bursar in 1760 and energetically attacked the College's always-serious financial problems. As the discharge of the unsatisfactory Isabella Cocke and provision for hiring both a College nurse and a live-in "Stocking Mender" might suggest, there was some effort to meet the physical and material needs of the scholars. The serious, still unresolved division over control of the College had undoubtedly exacted a price, yet both sides in the controversies must have thought William and Mary valuable enough to be worth the fight that they had mounted for almost two decades.

Notes

1. John Blair to Bishop of London, May 28, 1743, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 135–37.
2. Bishop of London to William Dawson, July 18, 1743, ibid., 212–13; McIlwaine and Hall, eds., Executive Journals, May 5, 1753, 5:423.
3. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 113.
4. Dudley Digges to Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:23.
5. "Governor Gooch's Message Concerning the College," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 7 (1898–99): 124–26; McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1742–49: 154–55.
6. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 4:540.
7. Washington's original license is lost, but it was recorded in Henry Howe, *Historical Collections of Virginia* (Charleston, S.C.: W. R. Babcock, 1845), 237.
8. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1742–49: 236.
9. For a more extended discussion of the waning influence of the Anglican hierarchy in colonial affairs, see Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 111–12, 114–15.
10. William Robinson to Bishop of London, July 27, 1748, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 218–19.
11. Edward Ford to William Dawson, Mar. 31, 1748, ibid., 217.
12. Rouse, *James Blair*, 228–30, recounts the incident and quotes Whitefield's observations.
13. *London Magazine*, July 1746, 329; Charles Stewart to Walter Tullideph [Tuledelph], Sept. 23, 1751, Charles Stewart Letterbook, vol. 1, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia (microfilm, CWF Library).
14. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1742–49: 154.
15. William Dawson to Sir William Gooch, Aug. 20, 1750, in Dawson Papers, DLC, quoted in Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 113.
16. These are complex developments that have in recent years received attention from a number of historians. I have sought to summarize them in more detail than I can provide here in Warren M. Billings, John E. Selby, and Thad W. Tate, *Colonial Virginia: A History* (White Plains, N.Y.: KTO Press, 1986), chap. 11. Morton (*Colonial Virginia*, 2:583–634, 751–832) traces the context of political events more completely than anyone else, but for an evocative account of the cultural dimensions that were involved, especially the force of religious dissent, see Rhys Isaac, *The Transformation of Virginia*, 1740–1790 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1982), esp. chaps. 7–11.
17. For a general summary of the controversy, see Glenn Curtiss Smith, "The Affair of the Pistole Fee, Virginia, 1752–55," *VMHB* 48 (1940): 209–21, and Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:621–34.
18. Robert Dinwiddie to Capel Hanbury, May 10, [1754], in R. A. Brock, ed., *The Official Records of Robert Dinwiddie*, 2 vols. (Richmond: Virginia Historical Society, 1884), 1: 154.
19. Tate, "Stith," 125–26, 130–33.
20. John Blair to Bishop of London, July 25, 1752, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:180.
21. Robert Dinwiddie to Bishop of London, July 28, 1752, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 230–31.
22. Dinwiddie to Bishop of London, Aug. 15, 1752, ibid., 234–35.
23. The various letters from John Blair, William Stith, and Thomas Dawson to Bishop Sherlock are in Fulham Palace Papers, 13:43, 179, 183; 14:144; 15:238.

24. John Blair to Bishop of London, Jan. 25, 1754, ibid., 15:238.
25. William Stith to Bishop of London, Aug. 18, 1753, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 525.
26. Dudley Digges to Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:23.
27. Journal of the President and Masters," Aug. 29, Sept. 7, 14, 1754, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 2 (1893–94): 123–25.
28. William Stith to Bishop of London, Aug. 18, 1753, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 524–25.; *The Charter, Transfer, and Statutes of the College Of William and Mary, in Virginia: in Latin and English* (Williamsburg: William Hunter, 1758).
29. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 6:568.
30. Ann Maury, ed., *Memoirs of a Huguenot Family* (New York: George P. Putnam and Co., 1853), 402.
31. Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:434–40.
32. Ibid., 1:440–46; the quotation is at 445.
33. Thomas Dawson to Bishop of London, Feb. 25, 1756, ibid., 1:44–48.
34. "Journal of the President and Masters," [Apr. 2, 1756], *WMQ*, 1st ser., 2 (189–94): 208–10; see also William Hunter [the Williamsburg printer] to Thomas Dawson, n.d., in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 1 (1921): 54, which supplied at Dawson's request information on Franklin's earlier honors.
35. In particular, there had been a spectacular confrontation in 1752 and 1753 between the Reverend William Kay of Lunenburg Parish, Richmond County, and his powerful antagonist, Landon Carter, a leader of the House of Burgesses. Kay was removed and then reinstated by order of the Privy Council. Although Thomas Dawson had defended him and John Camm was a personal friend, the faculty had not involved itself directly in this case, as with Brunskill. See Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:759–61.
36. Much of the documentary evidence of the Brunskill affair is in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:449–58; there are relatively full accounts in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:763–66, and George McLaren Brydon, *Virginia's Mother Church and the Political Conditions under Which It Grew*, 2 vols. (Richmond and Philadelphia: Virginia Historical Society, 1947, 1952), 2:278ff.; Dinwiddie's letter to the bishop of London attacking the faculty (September 12, 1757) is in Brock, ed., *Records of Dinwiddie*, 2:696.
37. "Journal of the President and Masters," May 3, 1756, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 2 (1893–94): 257–58.
38. Thomas Robinson to Bishop of London, June 30, 1757, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 20 (1940): 542; Minutes of the Meeting of the Visitors, May 20, 1757, ibid., 537.
39. Robert Dinwiddie to Bishop of London, Sept. 12, 1757, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:456.
40. "Journal of the President and Masters," Sept. 27, 1757, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 2 (1893–94): 258.
41. Meeting of the Visitors and Governors of the College, Nov. 1, 4, 1 1, 1757, in Ganter, ed., "Documents Relating to W&M," *WMQ*, 2d . ser., 20 (1940): 541–43; Jones's reinstatement occurred December 14, 1757, ibid., 544.
42. These minutes are missing from the regular journal of the meetings of the president and masters but are found in the Dawson Papers, reprinted in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 1 (1921) : 24–25.
43. Ibid., 25.
44. Ibid., 25–26.
45. Herbert L. Ganter, "William Small, Thomas Jefferson's Beloved Teacher," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 4 (1947): 505–11, provides the best account of Small's years at the College. For Small's influence on Thomas Jefferson, see esp. Dumas Malone, *Jefferson, the Virginian* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1948), 51–55.

46. See esp., John Gwilym Jones, *Goronwy Owen's Virginia Adventure*, Botetourt Publications, no. 2 (Williamsburg: Botetourt Bibliographical Society, 1969); also helpful on his full career is Branwen Jarvis, *Goronwy Owen*, in *Writers of Wales* (University of Wales Press, 1986). William Davis, who had been educated at St. John's, Cambridge, filled the Grammar School post temporarily before Owen's arrival.
47. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 135.
48. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 7:240–41.
49. John Blair, James Blair's nephew and an influential member of the Board of Visitors during the faculty dismissals of 1757, served briefly as acting governor in early 1758. Despite his sympathy for the Dawsons and alliance with Dinwiddie, it is not clear whether he was as active at this time in College affairs as he had been earlier. He was very much preoccupied in raising a second Virginia regiment for the Seven Years' War. See Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:710–13.
50. One of the first acts of his administration was his acceptance on June 12, 1758, of a congratulatory address from the president and masters of the College. The language was, of course, formulaic, but the College spokesmen were careful to inform Fauquier that they wished "to recommend the College, Church and Clergy, to your Patronage and Protection." In his response the governor praised religion as "the Cement of Government" and promised that "the College in particular, may always claim my Patronage." George Reese, ed., *The Official Papers of Francis Fauquier, Lieutenant Governor of Virginia, 1758–1768*, 3 vols. (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1980): 1:27–28. Reese's "Introduction," ibid., 1:xxxv–xlviii, is a good overview of Fauquier's background and his life in the colony.
51. See esp., Fauquier to Board of Trade, Jan. 5, 1 759, ibid., 1:144–45.
52. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1758–61: 16–18
53. These events can be followed in Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:784–88; Fauquier's comment on Camm is in his letter to the Board of Trade, Jan. 5, 1759, in Reese, ed., *Papers of Fauquier*, 1:145.
54. Proceedings of Visitors and Governors, Mar. 31, Apr. 25, 26, 30, May 2, Aug. 14, 1760, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:36.
55. Ibid.; "Journal of the President and Masters," Sept. 25, 1760, *WMQ* 1st ser., 3 (1894–95) : 130.
56. Jones, *Owen's Adventure*, 5–6, 30–31; Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:777, 779–80; Petition of St. Andrew's Parish, [ca. Aug. 25, 1760], in Reese, ed., *Papers of Fauquier*, 1:400–401; "Journal of the President and Masters," Sept. 25, 1760, *WMQ* 1st ser., 3 (1894–95) : 129–30, notes the election of William Webb as Grammar School master "in place of G. Owen, resigned."
57. Fauquier to Board of Trade, June 30, 1760, in Reese, ed., *Papers of Fauquier*, 1:383–85; William Robinson to unidentified bishop, Nov. 20, 1760, and to Bishop of London, [after Aug. 1762], in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:463–65, 476–77; Camm to Bishop of London, Sept. 8, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:188.
58. Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:784–819, provides a full discussion of the Parsons' Cause. Even after Camm' s suit was lost, there were some lingering efforts by clerics to keep the cause alive by reviving one of the other lawsuits.
59. Commissary William Robinson to Bishop of London, Aug. 12, 1765, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:517; for the quotation from the *Maryland Gazette* obituary and its attribution to Fauquier, see Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, 2:803.
60. John Camm to Bishop of London, Sept. 8, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:188ff., provides a later recounting by Camm of his difficulties.
61. Ibid.; Francis Fauquier to Samuel Nicolls, July 29, 1761, in Reese, ed., Papers of Fauquier, 2:551–54; William Robinson to Bishop of London, [received Jan. 1763], in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:473–74.
62. This complicated set of events can best be followed, although not easily, in a series of letters

written by Fauquier, Camm, and Robinson: Francis Fauquier to Samuel Nicolls, July 29, 1761, in Reese, ed., *Papers of Fauquier*, 2:551–54; John Camm to unidentified bishop, Oct. 23, 1761, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:17; William Robinson to unidentified bishop, Nov. 3, 1761, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:31; William Robinson to Bishop of London, June 8, 1762, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:154; William Robinson to Bishop of London, [received Jan. 1763] , in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:473–86; and Fauquier to Bishop of London, Feb. 20, 1764, in Reese, ed., *Papers of Fauquier*, 3:1086–87.

63. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 128–29, provides a full discussion of the two lay chancellors. For Egremont's election, see *WMQ* 1st ser., 2 (1893–94): 37; on Hardwicke's death before learning of his appointment, see ibid., 1st ser., 27 (1918–19): 238.
64. Terrick's certificate of election as chancellor, dated Nov. 21, 1764, is in Fulham Palace Papers, 14:44.
65. Andrew Burnaby, *Travels through the Middle Settlements in North-America, in the Years 1759 and 1760*, ed. Rufus R. Wilson and reprinted from 3d edition of 1798 (New York: A Wessels Company, 1904), 52. Appendix 3, 189–90, contains an interesting comment on the difficulties that the Indian School continued to have in attracting and retaining students. Burnaby recounted the story of a Cherokee youth of nine or ten who ran away and made the long trip to his people undetected. He also noted that at the time he wrote, the only Indian students enrolled were five or six youths from the nearby Pamunkey people, who were more accustomed to the manners of the English.
66. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 135–36; "Journal of the President and Masters," Mar. 30, 1762, *WMQ* 1st ser., 3 (1894–95): 196, notes the arrival of Horrocks in February.
67. W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council, Colonial Series*, 6 vols. (Hereford: H.M. Stationery Office, 1908–12), 4:530.
68. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1761–65: 151.
69. The principal source for Small's maneuvers is a subsequent letter of the rector, Dudley Digges, to the bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:23ff. Small is discussed at length in Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 136–40.
70. William Robinson to Bishop of London, Aug. 12, 1765, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:518; John Camm to Bishop of London, Sept. 8, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:188.
71. William Robinson to Bishop of London, Aug. 12, 1765, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:518; an undated copy of the Statute for the Government of the College appears in Fulham Palace Papers, 15:34. By far the most perceptive account of the struggle between the faculty and the Visitors from 1763 to the Revolution is Robert Polk Thomson, ""The Reform of the College of William and Mary, 1763–1780," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115 (1971): 187–213. For his specific discussion of the proposed statute of 1763, see 190–91.
72. William Robinson to Bishop of London, [received 1763], Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:473–74.
73. William Robinson to Bishop of London, June 6, 1766, ibid., 1:523–24. Robinson noted, too, that some of those who had opposed Camm came to him later and asked that he take over the instruction of their sons because of their dissatisfaction with President Horrocks, who was continuing to teach in the Grammar School until his replacement arrived. The bishop's letter to Horrocks, January 7, 1766 (Thomson argues in "Reform of the College," 192, that it should actually be dated 1767) , survives only in rough draft (Fulham Palace Papers, 13:172); but Robinson makes it clear he had written earlier as well. James Horrocks to Bishop of London (Sept. 20, 1766, ibid., 15:31) comments on the continuing tension between Visitors and faculty.
74. Revised statute adopted by Board of Visitors, May 1, 1766, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:33. William Robinson explicitly noted the concession to Camm in his letter to the Bishop of London, June 6, 1766, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:523–24.
75. Stephen Hawtrey to Edward Hawtrey, Mar. 26, 1765, *VMHB* 16 (1908): 209–10; Edward

Hawtrey to Bishop of London, Oct. 2, 1765, and James Horrocks to Bishop of London, Dec. 27, 1765, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:161, 152.

76. Although Small wrote several letters to the Visitors, they do not seem to have survived, and his dissatisfactions must be deduced from the letter of the rector, Dudley Digges, to the Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:23, and an exceedingly sharp letter from Digges to Small himself. June 25, 1767, in the Edgehill Randolph Papers, Alderman Library, UVA.

77. James Horrocks to Bishop of London, June 4, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:8; Minutes of Meeting of Visitors, June 11, 12, 1767, ibid., 15:28; Dudley Digges to Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, ibid., 15:23; William Robinson to Bishop of London, June 6, 1766, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:528–29; Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 212, 223–25. In 1767 the Reverend William Agar, who had accepted a parish in Virginia, also applied directly to Bishop Terrick for the chair in mathematics and natural philosophy, although a year later Horrocks professed to know nothing about it. Agar does not appear ever to have received a faculty appointment. William Agar to Bishop of London, Jan. 26, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:123, and James Horrocks to Bishop of London, Mar. 29, 1768, ibid., 15:29.

78. William Robinson to Bishop of London, June 6, 1766, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:523–24, on Fauquier; James Horrocks to Bishop of London. June 22, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:30, on the Visitors' interest in lay faculty.

79. Dudley Digges to William Small, June 25, 1767, Edgehill Randolph Papers.

80. Dudley Digges to Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:23; William Robinson to Bishop of London, Oct. 16, 1767, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:527, 528–29.

81. Dudley Digges to Bishop of London, July 15, 1767, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:23.

82. William Robinson to Bishop of London, Oct. 16, 1767, in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:529; James Horrocks to Bishop of London, Mar. 29, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:29; James M. Fontaine to Bishop of London, July 1, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 15:26.

83. The faculty memorial is printed in "Journal of the President and Masters," May 4, 1768, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 5 (1896–97): 83–89; for the meetings of June 16 and July 1, 1768, ibid., 188–89.

84. Ibid., July 22, 1768, 224–29.

85. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Apr. 7, Nov. 23, 1768; June 29, Nov. 9, 1769; (Rind), Sept. 7, 1769.

86. James Horrocks to Bishop of London, Jan. 11, June 28, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 13:19, 32; John Camm to Bishop of London, Sept. 8, 1768, ibid., 14:188ff. James Horrocks to Bishop of London, Nov. 1, 1768, ibid., 13:163.

87. James Horrocks to Bishop of London, Jan. 12, 1769, ibid., 13:156.

88. William Nelson to John Norton, Feb. 27, 1768, in Frances Norton Mason, ed., *John Norton and Sons, Merchants of London and Virginia* (Richmond, Va.: Dietz Press, 1937), 38–40. Nelson's specific comment (38) was that "some of the College youths carried it [smallpox] to Wmsburgh where two out of three have died." On March 2, the faculty authorized an advertisement in the *Virginia Gazette* that "the College is now clear of the Small-Pox." Appearing March 10 in both the Rind and Purdie and Dixon editions, the notice urged students to return. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 4 (1895–96): 192.

89. John Camm to Bishop of London, Sept. 8, 1768, Fulham Palace Papers, 14:188ff.

90. The conclusion reached here is essentially that of Thomson, "Reform of the College," 196.

91. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 3 (1894–95): 196; William Robinson to Bishop of London, [received Jan. 1763), in Perry, ed., *Historical Collections*, 1:473.

92. "Journal of the President and Masters," Feb. 9, 1763, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 3 (1894-95): 262–04.

93. Ibid., May 10, July 23, Oct. 6, Dec. 9, 1763, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 4 (1895–96) : 43–45.

94. Ibid., Mar. 11, May 3, 1766, 131.
95. Ibid., July 22, Aug. 2, 6, 1766, 131–32, 187–88.
96. Ibid., Sept. 30, Oct. 1, Nov. 6, 1766, 189–90.
97. Ibid., Apr. 12, Sept. 6, Nov. 16, 1769, *WMQ,* 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 21–22, 36, 133–34, 137.

5

THE COLLEGE AND THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

1769–1782

A decade that witnessed the climax of the political contest between the colonies and Great Britain inevitably saw major consequences for the College. The ultimate success of the Americans stripped William and Mary of its imperial and Anglican connections, thus resolving the long tension over the kind of institution it would be. Perhaps because William and Mary was a prisoner of events beyond its control, the resolution of such a fundamental issue occasioned less strife within the College than had prevailed in the two preceding decades. That is not to say the contest between faculty and Visitors ceased; it continued in a somewhat muted fashion to the end of British rule. And with the advent of independence, the institution paid a heavy price both from the loss of many of its resources and from the impact of the war itself. William and Mary entered the new era transformed in both its constitution and educational program, but nonetheless severely weakened.

The Faculty Sets the Course, 1769–74

None of these momentous results was at all apparent at the beginning of the decade, when the faculty had successfully withstood the determination of the Visitors to establish complete authority over the College. The masters then set out, with scant regard for the political climate in the colony, to institute their own plan of reform, one that would provide a greater academic rigor but also reinforce British traditions at William and Mary. In that effort they had the firm and effective support of Norborne Berkeley, Lord Botetourt, the first resident governor-general to come to the colony since early in the century. Raised to the peerage only four years earlier after a remarkably undistinguished career, he gave little hint of the popularity and respect he would win in a brief governorship that came at such a difficult time. He went out of his way to appear conciliatory, sociable, and interested in the colony and its people, but College faculty were particularly supportive, sensing that he would be more sympathetic to their interests than Fauquier had ever been.[1]

Elected, as governors customarily were, as a member of the Board of Visitors and rector, Botetourt immediately set out to act in a variety of ways as a patron of the College. It was apparent to him that, in addition to the severe problems of a decimated faculty and a demoralized group of students, the College buildings were, after forty years of heavy use, in a state of disrepair. No small part of their poor condition was the consequence of student vandalism—young Thomas Byrd's early 1769 wrecking of the hall was only the latest example. Working through a subcommittee, the Visitors set about in September of that year to survey the repairs needed and arrange for the work.[2] It was unlikely that the effort was completely successful, since the faculty continued to pass resolutions intended to stop further vandalism and punish offenders, until the masters finally determined in August 1772 to hire a watchman to prevent damage to the buildings and furniture.[3] The poor physical condition of the College seemingly extended as well to the excellent scientific apparatus that William Small had so recently purchased. A faculty member, John Dixon, in the *Virginia Gazette* in 1771, quoted from a letter which complained that the instruments "being suffered to lie in a Room like useless Lumber cause great Indignation in the Burgesses, who freely bestowed them for the Advancement of the Students in useful Knowledge."[4] Dixon sought to dismiss the charge by saying that such instruments were similarly treated in English universities; but at the same meeting at which the faculty agreed to appoint a watchman for the buildings, they also named Matthew Davenport to take care of the College apparatus.

The faculty were engaged, too, in an effort to raise academic standards and maintain discipline. Although no major steps were taken, the level of detail and frequency of attention to such matters in the faculty minutes from 1768 into 1770 contrasted with the relatively little notice given them in previous years. Students were forbidden to keep a horse or a dog at the College, and their parents were urged to see that they remained in attendance at all times when the College was in session. The roll was to be taken at all chapel services by one of the scholarship students. Examination of students for admission to the School of Philosophy was reaffirmed, and faculty votes permitting scholars to enter the "Moral and Mathematical School" were increasingly numerous. And there were renewed efforts to call in accounts due and to enforce collection of the fees and duties to which the College was entitled.[5]

In the effort to encourage and reward academic performance, the faculty voted on July 9, 1770, to admit Edmund Randolph and William Leigh to "first Studentships," and in the following year, Leigh's Transfer Day oration for 1771 was published. Then, on February 14, 1772, the president and masters agreed that students in the philosophy school should in rotation deliver "Latin Declamations, of their own composition" in the chapel after the evening service on alternate Thursdays.[6] By that time Governor Botetourt had made his own strong contribution to the effort by providing for the award of two medals annually to students in the philosophy school. One award was for classical knowledge and the other for scholarship in physical and metaphysical sciences, the faculty minutes coming to refer to them as awards in "Classical Learning" and "Philosophical Learning." A formal announcement of the competition was made as early as 1770, but the first recorded faculty selection of recipients came in 1772, when the winners were Nathaniel Burwell and James Madison. Presentation took place at the Transfer Day celebration, which included "academical Exhibitions of the Students," as well as "Entertainment" and "decent festivity." Faculty minutes recorded additional awards of the Botetourt medals for the three ensuing years, to David Stewart and Samuel Shield in

1773, Joseph Eggleston and Walker Maury in 1774, and John White and Thomas Evans in 1775.[7]

Botetourt and those who worked with him in establishing the medals must have hoped, too, that they might help stimulate students in the School of Philosophy to complete the examinations for the degree of bachelor of arts. The original terms of the award stipulated that "when the College shall appear to have a competent Number of young Gentlemen to be raised in succession to the Degree of A.B. then Prizes shall be appropriated to those who take the best Degree in the Arts and the Learned Languages." While Botetourt did not live to see this part of his plan executed, the College was able to award its first baccalaureate degrees in 1772 to the two winners of Botetourt medals, Burwell and Madison.[8]

By the spring of 1770, the College likewise succeeded in filling the three vacant faculty positions, another mark of recovery. At the beginning of the year, the Reverend John Dixon, an alumnus and rector of Kingston Parish, received an appointment to the chair of moral philosophy, but not long after, two clerics sent by the bishop of London, Richard Terrick, arrived. One, Samuel Henley, who had attended a well-known dissenting academy and ministered to a dissenting congregation before taking Anglican orders, was to be professor of moral philosophy. The other, Thomas Gwatkin, who had matriculated at Jesus College, Oxford, but did not take a degree at the time, was to hold the chair in natural philosophy. Dixon thereupon agreed to shift to the long-unfilled second chair in divinity. Like their colleague, John Camm, both new professors became thoroughly enmeshed in public controversies in Virginia, but both were also conscientious teachers who involved themselves in the efforts to reform the College.[9]

During his brief tenure as governor and rector of the Board of Visitors, Botetourt seems to have instilled a new vitality at William and Mary and to have achieved what William Nelson described as "success in his Endeavours to repress some Neglects & Irregularities in our College."[10] The governor's death on October 15, 1770, understandably brought a great outpouring of praise for his record in Virginia. It also occasioned an elaborate funeral, marked by the tolling of both the capitol and College bells, a march from the Governor's Palace to Bruton Parish Church where Horrocks conducted the funeral and preached, and then a procession, in which both faculty and students joined, from the church to the College for the governor's interment in the crypt of the chapel.[11]

In the year following Botetourt's death, poetic tributes appeared with regularity in the pages of the *Virginia Gazette*, and the General Assembly voted to honor his memory with a statue, appropriating 700 guineas to pay for it. A popular British sculptor of the day, Richard Hayward, executed the work, and it was placed in 1773 on the portico that joined the east and west wings of the capitol. With the removal of the capital to Richmond in 1780, the building suffered neglect with the result that the statue was vandalized and extensively damaged. In 1796 the architect Benjamin Latrobe, who was passing through a somewhat deserted Williamsburg, sketched it and noted in his journal, "A beautifull Marble statue of Lord Botetourt … is deprived of its head and mutilated in many other respects." Not long after, in 1797, the College purchased it for $100 and moved it in 1801 to the campus, where it stood in front of the Main Building for

157 years, apart from a period during the Civil War when it was removed for safekeeping. It now stands in the Earl Gregg Swem Library.[12]

The positive changes that the College experienced under Botetourt' s patronage could not alter one circumstance—the controversy between the faculty and the Visitors did not entirely abate. In 1769 two more masters, Josiah Johnson and the redoubtable John Camm, flaunted the frequently ignored statute forbidding masters to marry and live away from the College. Camm's wedding attracted the most attention, since at age fifty he deserted a long state of bachelorhood to take a young wife, Betsy Hansford, who was only fifteen years of age. The apocryphal story was that Camm initially approached Miss Hansford on behalf of one of his students, only to have her declare her love for him.[13] Many in the colony took a gossipy delight in Camm's marriage, and the news spread to England when Martha Goosley wrote to a friend asking "why may not an old Man afflicted with the Gout have the pleasure of a fine hand to rub his feet and warm his flannells, comfortable amusement you will say for a Girl of fifteen but She is to have a Chariot and there is to be no Padlock upon her mind." Some in the colony, especially the author of an essay in the *Virginia Gazette*, signed Tit for Tat, were more inclined to heap ridicule on the aging parson.[14]

The Visitors were less amused at seeing Camm once again defy them. At the time the removal of Camm and Johnson to residences away from the College left only Emmanuel Jones to supervise the students who lived in the College. Twice the Board struck back with resolutions, on the first occasion simply noting on September 1 that the two masters were acting "contrary to the principles on which the College was founded and their duty as Professors." Then, on December 14 they resolved that all professors subsequently appointed should reside in the College and that upon marriage they would be discharged. Just as they had bowed to the inevitable in exempting Camm from the prohibition against professors holding simultaneous appointment as rector of a parish, so they now yielded once more to the incumbent faculty, without whom they could hardly have kept the institution open.[15]

In a matter of a few months, however, the Visitors returned to the attack in a much more aggressive manner, by proposing once again to revise the statutes and to strip the faculty of its fundamental powers over discipline and academic requirements. First, the Visitors proposed, as they had on an earlier occasion, that students who were dismissed by the masters should have a right of appeal to the Visitors, who would possess the authority to make a final decision and hence overrule the faculty. A second proposal sought to provide that any youth with a knowledge of "vulgar arithmetic," whose parents so desired, should be admitted to the "Mathematical School." Such a regulation, if adopted, would have had the effect of eliminating knowledge of classical languages as a requirement for admission to advanced study at the College.

Whether the faculty affirmation of an examination for admission to the School of Philosophy on January 27, 1770, came in anticipation of the actions of the Visitors is not clear, but at its next meeting on March 27, the faculty referred explicitly to the two proposed statutes in resolving that John Camm and John Dixon prepare a statement objecting to them. They were at the time the only faculty members other than Emmanuel Jones and the president.

Since Dixon, a Virginian, proved in time to be supportive of the Board on weakening the requirement in classics, it seems almost certain that John Camm actually wrote the long faculty protest which provided the main order of business at a May 2 meeting. By this time Henley and Gwatkin had arrived and, on this issue, immediately joined forces with Camm, although Henley later supported lifting the requirement in classics.

Not surprisingly, Camm's statement for the faculty was uncompromising, first objecting to the right of student appeals to the Visitors and defending the masters as the best and most objective judges of student performance. His response was even more searching and outspoken on the lowering of standards for admission to advanced study. The College was not, the statement argued, an institution of learning for everyone, only for those who wished to pursue a regular plan of study "approved of in the most famous Universities," one based upon classical knowledge, natural and moral philosophy, and the sciences. "The' College is not design'd," the protest maintained, "to be the sole Place of Resort for Education in the Colony; but the best Place for training up Youth, who are intended to be qualified for any of the three learned Professions, or to become Gentlemen, and accomplish'd Citizens." It was necessary to avoid having the College divided so that it would "at best consist of Regulars & Irregulars[,] of real and nominal Academics, of serious Votaries of Science ascending to her Shrine by a natural Gradation, and idle Danglers about the Purlieus of a College." William and Mary should "make its Way in the simple and unperplex'd Plan laid down in the old Statutes, and agreeable to the Establishment of Experience in more antient Countries."[16]

Traditionalist, elitist, almost quixotic in the American colonies of the 1770s, the faculty statement nonetheless captured the conception of the College and of the social and cultural order for which this small group of faculty was contending against all the forces of change bearing down on them. However much their uncompromising stance outraged many in the colony and contributed to an impression that the College was in disarray, they were men of intellect who were doing their job as professors effectively. And they had thwarted another move by the Visitors to revise the statutes.

However, the debate over the proper course of study at William and Mary did not abate; rather, it expanded into the usual public discussion. The tone was at times biting, whether the faculty members were contending with each other or joining forces against their external critics. Yet it was, on the whole, an informative exchange that often served to define central, underlying educational issues. Early on, one writer leveled a specific attack on the divinity masters, Camm and Dixon, alleging that they contributed little to the College or the colony. Dixon undertook to defend himself and his colleague, insisting that they did teach other students. He gave ground, however, on the question of a more practical curriculum, conceding that "the Students have but little time to spare, which might be better employed in teaching them to survey a piece of land, or carry a ship to sea, to measure a piece of timber, or gauge a cask, &c. than in demonstrating the propositions of Euclid."[17]

Seeing his instruction in natural philosophy and mathematics as particularly under attack, Thomas Gwatkin lashed out at the implication "that I ought to confine myself entirely to a few branches of practical mathematics; and even those … to be taught in the most slovenly manner." Gwatkin objected that "the elements of Euclid so remarkable for conciseness and elegance, established by the consent of 2000 years, must be thrown aside" in order to give "young Gentlemen … the education of CARPENTERS and EXCISEMEN." At another time Gwatkin laid out in some detail the three-year syllabus that he followed in his teaching: all of Euclid, to be sure, but also plane trigonometry, logarithms, algebra, and "the properties of mechanical powers"; then practical mathematics, including bookkeeping and surveying; and, finally, physics, conics, solid geometry, and some attention to astronomy.[18] If indeed Gwatkin held to the plan that he had outlined, he had raised instruction in science, at least mathematics and physics, to the highest level it had yet attained at the College, apart from the small group of students over which William Small had exerted so much influence. Gwatkin was admittedly not an enthusiast for the use of laboratory apparatus, but at the settlement of the estate of James Horrocks, Samuel Henley had purchased for the College a group of major works in mathematics and physical sciences from the late president's library, heretofore a serious gap in its collections.[19]

The debate over the proper course of study at the College continued and expanded into a public discussion in the Williamsburg newspapers. This wider group of critics ranged well beyond the Visitors' rather narrow and somewhat self-interested proposals; they challenged the faculty's whole conception of a proper course of study and criticized what they regarded as the low standards of the College. The campaign, carried on by persons who wrote under pseudonyms, often centered on the example of the College of New Jersey, which, it was argued, offered a less costly education and more flexible curriculum. The choice of a New Light Presbyterian institution as a model suggested that the impetus came from rising religious dissent in the colony, and indeed efforts to found Presbyterian academies in Virginia were already beginning to take place. The proposals also foreshadowed in important respects the reforms that Thomas Jefferson would seek to institute at William and Mary before the end of the decade. They included strong criticism of the continuance of the Grammar School as part of the College, which the Visitors had tenaciously defended in the 1760s, while accusing the faculty of seeking to undermine it. Some writers advocated, too, the institution of legal and medical education and, once again, the introduction of a more flexible curriculum. All became central aspects of the Jeffersonian program, although he would not have found the establishment of a Presbyterian educational tradition any more congenial than the perpetuation of an Anglican one.[20]

The faculty continued to join in these debates, conceding the desirability of removing the Grammar School and expressing a willingness to expand the collegiate curriculum. Samuel Henley even shared John Dixon's willingness to abandon classics as a required study, but in the end Thomas Gwatkin's insistence on the Oxford and Cambridge model for the course of instruction reasserted the dominant view of the faculty during their confrontation with the Visitors.[21] For the moment the views of the two most traditionalist members of the faculty, Gwatkin and Camm, still carried the day, once again thwarting the Board of Visitors. Yet, interest in what was taught at William and Mary now extended beyond the walls of the College and would produce far broader proposals for changing the curriculum than were conceived by either faculty or Visitors.

While the debate over instruction at the College was in progress, the faculty could not resist involving itself in another public controversy, one over the appointment of an Anglican bishop for Virginia. The highly unpopular cause did not directly concern the College, although a resident prelate could possibly have reinforced the faculty's vision of William and Mary. The faculty, in fact, divided on the issue, Camm and President Horrocks supporting the idea while Henley and Gwatkin opposed it. The fight began in June 1771 when Horrocks, acting in his capacity as commissary, responded to a communication from New York Anglicans by calling a convocation of clergy to discuss the possibility of seeking a resident Virginia bishop. The idea was anathema to Anglican laymen both because the presence of a bishop would almost certainly threaten the power vestries held over the parish clergy and could also result in the establishment of an ecclesiastical court that would take away from the General Court jurisdiction over clerical misconduct. Bishops appeared, too, as a further imposition of imperial power over the colony, a scheme in the eyes of one critic "to trample into the Earth, the fair, the rising Plant of American Liberty."

A vigorous newspaper and pamphlet debate went on for several months. Finally, the publishers of one of the Williamsburg newspapers noted in the March 12, 1772, edition their readers' complaints "of their being tired of the Dispute" and promised to publish nothing more about it. Camm on one side, and Henley and Gwatkin on the other, had been active participants, among the few willing to sign their articles rather than employ pseudonyms. The two who opposed a bishop for once had won faculty members a vote of thanks from the House of Burgesses. Horrocks even had difficulty in persuading many of the clergy to approve the establishment of a committee, headed by John Camm, to draw up a petition to the bishop of London supporting the idea. In the midst of the battle, Horrocks departed for England on June 21, 1771, ostensibly for reasons of health, although it was widely believed, as Richard Bland charged, that he had gone because "he expects to be the First Right Reverend Father of the American Church." That was not to be; on March 20, 1772, only days after the *Virginia Gazette* had discontinued debate, Horrocks died in Oporto, Portugal, ending further action on a Virginia episcopate.[22]

Since Horrocks's departure for England, John Camm had been serving, with some initial reluctance, as acting president Despite the combative role he had so often played, seniority and perhaps even a grudging respect won him the support of colleagues and Visitors for the permanent appointment. He took office on July 30, 1772; and, although there was one other candidate, Bishop Terrick lost no time in appointing him as the new commissary. Botetourt's successor as governor, John Murray, Lord Dunmore, completed the traditional trio of offices by placing him on the council.[23] If Camm had hopes of moving from Yorkhampton to Bruton Parish, they were not to be realized, nor were those of Samuel Henley, who had been substituting for Horrocks at Bruton. After a bitter factional fight among the vestrymen, marked by charges of Henley's heterodoxy, another faculty member, the Reverend Josiah Johnson, won out. There followed perhaps the most lengthy and rancorous newspaper war of all those that had occurred in the Williamsburg papers during these years.[24]

With the episcopacy controversy behind him and the weight of his new responsibilities on him, Camm uncharacteristically remained quiet and uninvolved in public controversies for the duration of his term. In the two years before the Revolutionary crisis broke open again in 1774, the momentum that the College had built up during the governorship of Lord Botetourt seemed to sustain itself. For a change, even College accounts generally showed a surplus under Camm's administration.

Plans also moved forward for the completion of the quadrangle that had originally been envisioned for the College building. The Visitors advertised in the September 3, 1772, issue of the *Virginia Gazette*, seeking sealed bids for work to begin within a month. Construction was to proceed according to a plan, still extant for the first floor, that Thomas Jefferson had drawn at the request of Governor Dunmore. Jefferson's proposal called for lengthening the chapel and hall wings by adding on each of the sides a wide vestibule in the middle and then two classrooms beyond that. At the rear, or west end, a new wing seemingly devoted to residential space would complete the quadrangle. The loggia on the original building was to be extended around all sides of the new interior court.

John Saunders, who had worked previously for the College on repairs and the construction of a stable, received the contract with terms that required the College to furnish materials. In November 1774 the College paid almost £500 for orders from England, and work on the foundation for the new west wing began. By 1777 Ebenezer Hazard observed in his diary that the addition had "been discontinued on Account of the present Troubles," and in September 1780 the College offered for sale scantling intended for the addition, which seemed to bring to an end any expectation of ever completing it.[25] However, the decision to proceed in 1772 was perhaps another indication of the optimism that Camm and his colleagues felt about the prospects for enlarging and improving the College.

The election of John Camm as president in his own right at the end of July 1772 was followed in a matter of days by the granting of the first two baccalaureate degrees. That event brought to the forefront James Madison, a man who was to be the most significant figure in the history of the College since James Blair himself. Madison, a second cousin of the fourth president of the United States, entered William and Mary from his distant home in Augusta County in the fall of 1768 and quickly distinguished himself as a student. He received his baccalaureate and a Botetourt medal in 1772 at the age of twenty-three. The dedication of his Botetourt address to Samuel Henley suggests the influence on his education of at least one of this last and most ambitious group of teachers at the colonial College.

While still a student, Madison had filled the post of writing master. He had also begun to demonstrate the promise as a scientist that would later win him recognition, if not first rank, for his publications in several areas of scientific inquiry. Thus, when Josiah Johnson, the master of the Grammar School, died on April 4, 1773, and Thomas

Gwatkin decided to transfer to that more lucrative post, Madison assumed the chair of natural philosophy. More than any other single person, Madison was to guide the destinies of the College for almost four decades.[26]

Although Madison was preparing himself for eventual ordination as an Anglican clergyman, he was a disciple of his mentor Henley in his outspoken religious liberalism and an equally ardent defender of the political principles on which Americans based their stand against recent British measures. His Transfer Day address, *An Oration in Commemoration of the Founders of William and Mary College,* championed the principle of limited government based on a contract between rulers and ruled, upheld the ideal of individual autonomy, and declared those who sought to impose civil authority in matters of religious belief to be "open Enemies to Truth."[27] He seemed, too, from what we know, to be open to the reformist ideas about education that were attracting so much public discussion. Even with his essential loyalty to the Anglican church and to the English clerics who had been his teachers, Madison brought a new dimension to the faculty of the College at a critical time.

The Reemergence of the Revolutionary Crisis, 1774–75

For all the public controversy that had circled about the College and its faculty during the early 1770s, internal affairs at William and Mary had proceeded with relative tranquility under John Camm's leadership. The College could not, however, escape the shattering effects of a full-scale reopening of the Revolutionary crisis by the middle of 1774. The catalytic event proved to be the Boston Tea Party of December 1773, by which Massachusetts colonists destroyed a shipment of East India Company tea that would be sold with the single remaining tax on the colonies required by Parliament. With latent hostility and intransigence awakened on both sides, the British responded with a series of restrictive measures, the Coercive Acts, on the commerce of the port of Boston and on the structure of government of Massachusetts. Although these events seemed far removed from Williamsburg, they reawakened resistance throughout the colonies, Virginia included. Moving within a year by stages—political protest, trade embargoes, the formation of revolutionary provisional governments, and, finally, armed resistance—the crisis drastically affected the lives of everyone. The College, its faculty apart from James Madison largely Loyalist and most of its students and Visitors avid partisans of the American cause, did not escape.

John Camm, Samuel Henley, and Thomas Gwatkin were, if anything, uncharacteristically quiet as the controversy broke. Gwatkin, even though he was personal chaplain to the unpopular Governor Dunmore, was actually invited to deliver a sermon at Bruton Parish Church on June 1, 1774, as part of a day of fasting and prayer called to support the people of Boston. He declined, but in diplomatic terms, explaining that he was troubled by "a disorder in his breast. "[28] In late 1774 the faculty as a group adopted a statement congratulating Dunmore upon his return from a successful Virginia expedition against Indians in the western interior and in defense of the land interests of the colony.

The *Virginia Gazette* carried the faculty address on December 8, 1774. The faculty drew criticism two weeks later but defended itself in a reply on January 5, 1775. In fact, on this occasion the whole colony, including the General Assembly itself, had been full of praise for the governor.[29]

Dunmore's popularity was, however, fleeting. By early 1775 a network of local revolutionary committees was busily engaged in enforcing a continent-wide nonimportation agreement against British merchants, and independent military companies were being formed to circumvent the governor's command of the official militia of the colony. By April 3 Governor Dunmore, obviously alarmed at the weakness of his position, had indicated that he would resign as rector of the Board of Visitors, prompting the faculty to send Camm and Gwatkin to wait on him "to thank him most cordially for past favours to the College, and most humbly to request that he will continue to act as a Visitor & Governor of the College, & to afford his Protection to the President & Professors." Dunmore, who was now supported by a small British naval and military force, brought matters to a head on April 20, 1775—a day after the fighting at Lexington and Concord—by attempting under cover of night to remove military supplies from the public magazine in Williamsburg. Prematurely discovered, the effort backfired, creating threats of a march on Williamsburg by some of the new independent companies. Within a few weeks, the besieged governor fled his capital and took refuge on a British naval vessel at Yorktown. With him aboard HMS Fowey were members of his staff and family, including three sons whom he had enrolled at William and Mary. He was no longer in a position to protect the Loyalist faculty members.[30]

Thomas Gwatkin, despairing of his future safety, also fled with him and then returned to England. Gwatkin had only recently had a frightening experience when students gathered outside his door at night and began pounding on it. However, a later investigation suggested that the incident was more the result of a group of students returning from a local tavern rather than an intended threat. The chief offender was required to make a written apology. At about the same time, Samuel Henley also returned to England. Gwatkin and Henley had both found their situation increasingly difficult as they faced denunciations in the newspapers and increasing disobedience and disrespect from students. Henley on one occasion was accused of seeking to destroy "the liberties of the country" and of trying to "traduce the Church."[31]

Not long after, James Madison also left for England, temporarily, to seek ordination from the bishop of London. His absence left only John Camm, John Dixon, and Emmanuel Jones on the faculty. Before the end of 1775, the new rector of Bruton Parish Church, John Bracken, whose first attendance at a faculty meeting is recorded on November 1, 1775, replaced Gwatkin as the Grammar School master. Both philosophy chairs remained vacant until Madison returned to his post in natural philosophy in the fall of 1776. Although the College continued to operate, the political crisis was beginning to take a heavy toll, not only in the loss of two key members of the faculty, but also in declining enrollments. Even those students who remained were increasingly caught up in the Revolutionary movement, restive, and resistant to faculty authority.

The College did not escape the unrest that swept Williamsburg and much of the colony in the wake of Dunmore's removal of the powder from the magazine. The student disorder outside Gwatkin's rooms occurred in May. While it was resolved without disciplinary measures, the faculty, having seen muskets at the College, also ordered a search, although only one gun and one sword turned up. On September 14 the faculty established penalties for those who violated an order of the Visitors that no arms or ammunition be brought into the College and at the same time reaffirmed a prohibition on boarding students leaving the College bounds without permission. Then, in November, the masters had to deal with a serious fracas in which the students had attacked the gardener and "beat him cruelly." In the course of assigning punishment to the two leading offenders, the faculty complained that the schoolboys had been mistreating the College servants and had shown contempt to the president and masters.[32]

At the center of the unrest loomed the presence of a physical giant of a man, James Innes, a former scholarship student who had stayed on as usher of the Grammar School. Innes was gregarious and convivial, but impetuous. By some time in 1775, he had begun serving as a captain in the Williamsburg volunteer military company. Then, with Dunmore' s removal of the powder and other supplies, Innes had organized a special guard for the magazine and its remaining contents and, for his effort, won a vote of thanks from the House of Burgesses.[33] Despite a faculty regulation prohibiting the ushers from holding "every kind of Office or Employment in any military Society," Innes continued to serve and actively recruit students. The faculty had also reprimanded Innes and his fellow usher, William Yates, Jr., for "spending a late evening at the Tavern with several of the Students who had no leave of Absence, especially since they continued with these Students till one of them at least was in Liquor." It was this group of students who, returning from their evening of drinking, had disturbed Thomas Gwatkin.[34]

Scarcely a week later, the two ushers were back before the faculty for organizing a petition against the College housekeeper, Maria Digges. Ostensibly, they objected to her poor performance, but her suspected Loyalist sympathies had probably motivated them at least as strongly. The masters conducted a detailed investigation, taking depositions from all the signers of the petition, who had very little specific evidence to offer. One student, the young James Monroe, future president of the United States, had to confess that he had none whatsoever. Finding no justification for the criticism, the faculty warned Innes and Yates to "confine themselves to the Duties of their respective Offices, and not to enter into Combinations with the Students for the future."[35] Innes paid little heed to these warnings and persisted, with support from the Visitors, who held that his "military Engagements were not incompatible with his Office of Head-Usher." Camm lost patience, and finally, at a faculty meeting in which only Camm and Emmanuel Jones were present and voting, Innes was dismissed for "repeatedly absenting himself from the College for days and weeks together."[36]

James Innes went on to prominence in his state as an officer in the Revolutionary War, a lawyer, and a leading advocate of the federal Constitution in the Virginia ratification convention of 1788. To him fell the responsibility of delivering the final Federalist statement against Patrick Henry's powerful oratorical attack on the document. Too much can be made of Innes's misconduct at a time when he was barely in his twenties and caught up in the Revolutionary movement, although he was involved in another incident during his military service.[37]

Although the episodes in which Innes was involved at the College were not in themselves important, they did exemplify how quickly the College had lost the sense of purpose that it experienced for a few brief years in the early 1770s. Now the faculty was once again all but decimated; and the students were scarcely controllable, their disorder aided and abetted by the ushers who had primary responsibility for their conduct The political crisis had begun to disrupt the College, and its difficulties had only begun.

It is, of course, true that periods of disarray were a staple in the history of the colonial College. Time after time William and Mary had appeared on the verge of collapse, and, more often than not, such crises were closely related to contests in colonial and imperial politics, which had always managed to right themselves. Few would have been prepared to admit in 1775, even a scant year away from an American assertion of independence, that the current crisis was deeper and less likely to be resolved, but such was the case. The same might be said of conditions at William and Mary, for the challenge to its old order in its own small world was equally deep.

The significant debate, between the faculty on the one hand and the Visitors and various newspaper writers on the other, over future curriculum, academic standards, and revisions of the statutes was in its own way the companion of the larger political debate over the nature of the empire and the political rights of the colonists. The push for educational change fashioned within the colony to meet American needs could similarly be seen as paralleling a widespread American assertion by 1774 of virtual colonial legislative autonomy within the empire. The late colonial faculty were not only the defenders of a more traditional education, but the most articulate spokesmen in Virginia for a more hierarchical social and political order.

In retrospect, perhaps the most telling point of all was a growing dissatisfaction of parents, Visitors, and students alike with the state of the College that matched their increasing disenchantment with British rule. The number of students was falling in any event, a consequence of both a general sense of crisis and the departure of some for military service. But parents were also making a conscious decision against sending their sons to William and Mary. George Washington, for example, declined to enroll his stepson, Jackie Custis, explaining to Jackie's former teacher, the Reverend Jonathan Boucher:

> From the best enquiries I could make whilst I was in, and about Williamsburg I cannot think William and Mary College a desirable place to send Jackie Custis to; the Inattention of the Masters added to the number of Hollidays, is the Subject of general complaint; and affords no pleasing prospect to a youth, who has a good deal to attain, and but a short while to do it in.[38]

Boucher, who had been the boy's tutor, was initially less critical of the College, but ultimately came around to Washington's view. Young Custis, who was in modem parlance a "discipline problem," went off to King's College, New York. The always irascible Landon Carter complained that his grandson "has only improved his talk for trifling and loungings" at William and Mary.[39] Even more directly critical of the state of the College, Robert Carter of Nomini Hall told his children's tutor, Philip Fithian, a Princeton graduate, that William and Mary was "in such confusion at present, & so badly directed, that he cannot send his Children with propriety there for Improvement & useful Education—That he has known the Professors to play all Night at Cards in publick Houses in the City, and has often seen them drunken in the Street!"[40]

These comments came from planters of the Northern Neck region of the colony, to the north of the Rappahannock River. As a group they had never sent their sons to William and Mary in large numbers, and Robert Carter seemed to be looking back to the stories of the faculty of the late 1750s more than to the tempestuous but morally upright masters of the 1770s. Yet, a general tone of distrust of the College was in the air.

Because he had been a student at the College in 1774–75, Granville Smith's later comments to his kinsman, William Preston, were particularly telling. Smith remarked first about an unnamed acquaintance: "I do not think his Continuance at the College will be of any substantial Advantage to him, as he makes none or very little Progress in the Belles Lettres." He continued, "He has not, as I know of[,] run into any Excesses; but his [he is] very pliable, and the College is by no Means under proper Regulations." With regard to Preston's own sons, whom he was contemplating sending to the College, Smith counseled that he wait until "their Judgments are riper, when they will be able to view Things and Appearances in their proper Lights." Smith was especially anxious that they not attend until they had learned Latin and Greek and could enter "directly into the Schools of moral and natural Philosophy … for the present Professor of Humanity is not, in my Opinion, possessed of the most shining abilities." Smith's criticism was directed at the master of the Grammar School, John Bracken, who had taken up his post in 1775.[41]

A Difficult Transition, 1776–79

Already severely disrupted by the events of 1774 and 1775, the College faced further trials as the colonies moved to the outright assertion of independence and full-scale war against Great Britain. President Camm was the last Loyalist on the faculty, so the principal cause of the dislocation of the College was the departure of older students for military service or the reluctance of parents to send their sons away from home at such a time. The failure of the Revolutionary government to move quickly to establish a new source of authority for the College also left its affairs in a state of uncertainty.

During 1775 and 1776, the leaders of the provisional Revolutionary government made no effort to remove Camm from the faculty or to exert any other control over the College. Instead, they exempted the faculty from military service and left the institution to find its own way. The College did have to fend off an effort by General Cherles Lee, the commander of an American force stationed in Williamsburg in the spring of 1776, to commandeer the College building as a hospital. But the Virginia Convention, the provisional body that replaced the colonial legislature, came to the rescue by holding that the building was not suitable for the purpose and too likely to suffer damage.[42] Two weeks before the Convention made its decision, the College optimistically announced in the newspaper that the College "has been lately cleaned, and will be immediately plastered and whitewashed, to render it fit for the Reception of Professors, Students, Grammar Scholars, and Servants" and that the Trinity term would shortly open.[43]

At the time, the Convention was in the midst of a meeting in Williamsburg at which on May 15 it initiated a move for a formal declaration of independence by the Continental Congress. It then proceeded, without waiting for the Continental Congress to adopt the formal Declaration of Independence (signed for Virginia by, among others, three alumni of the College), to write a new constitution and declaration of rights for the state.[44] Apart from dropping the College seat in the new lower house of the legislature, the delegates took no further action regarding William and Mary. A seat filled by the vote of a handful of faculty probably did not seem very appropriate in the new republic, especially when its last occupant during the final months of the old General Assembly had been a Loyalist, John Randolph. He had been elected by the faculty at the urging of Dunmore in order to have an informant inside the body.

Change, even if slower than might have been expected, was, however, inevitable at William and Mary. Its agent was James Madison, who had returned ordained from England, where he had been under surveillance as a suspected American spy. By the fall of 1776, Madison had again taken up his chair in natural philosophy and had begun to tum his attention to reforming the College. Madison anticipated, as he put it in a letter to the Reverend William Smith of the College of Philadelphia, that "the approaching Assembly is to new-model our College." Madison went on to explain that while the members "would fain have it beneficial to the Country," there was no "Proper Plan, especially one as would suit this country the best." His purpose in writing Smith was to ask him to send a description of the plan on which the College of Philadelphia operated, since some Virginians had proposed it as a model, although "without knowing scarcely what it is."[45]

Shortly before, a lengthy and anonymous address to "the Honourable the Convention of Virginia" laid out a plan in the *Virginia Gazette* for an enlarged Virginia college. The author, who obviously hoped that the Convention would act without waiting for the new permanent government to be formed, began by offering a sweeping vision for the institution, observing that "when we consider ourselves as an independent and a growing people, who shall one day make a figure amongst the greatest states on earth, we ought to lay a foundation for such a university as would then do us no discredit." To implement such an ambitious design, the proposal called for an astounding fourteen chairs, retaining the four existing appointments in divinity and philosophy but adding others devoted to modern languages, history, law, "Humanity," and the natural sciences. It also recommended that the General Assembly provide the necessary additional funding and that the College consequently become a public institution with the assembly having the right to review budgets and appoint members of the Board of Visitors. The nomination of a president, who would be expected to teach as well, would, however, rest with the faculty. There is a possibility that Madison himself could have been the author, since the statement accorded with his known views and was almost certainly the work of someone who knew the existing College well. In any event, the Convention did not consider the question; but the address, apart from its retention of the divinity chairs, defined very clearly the general direction that the reform efforts would take in the next few years.[46]

A week later Madison took a step in which he was clearly the prime mover. Anxious no doubt to preserve the revenue that derived from the issuance of surveyors' licenses under the new authority of the state, he moved at a faculty meeting on November 29, 1776, to eliminate the name of the king from such commissions on the grounds that "mentioning the Date from the Birth of our Saviour" was all that was required. The three other faculty members in attendance backed him; but although Madison had avoided an explicit reference to the removal of the king's name in his resolution, John Camm still objected, entering his protest on the record. The president insisted that he was bound by oath to perform his duties under the royal charter and that Madison's resolution was subversive of that principle.[47]

Camm was thus as unyielding as ever in his belief that William and Mary indissolubly linked to the authority of the Anglican church and the British empire. A man now almost sixty, with a young wife and five small children, he was in no position to return to England, and so he stood his ground. Yet, for him to remain as president was clearly impossible, and so in the spring of 1777, the Visitors finally removed him, but on the grounds of "neglect and misconduct" rather than directly confronting his Loyalism. They took the occasion to rid themselves as well of the divinity master, John Dixon, and also of Emmanuel Jones, after his twenty-two years of uninspired service as master of the Indian School. Neither was a Loyalist, but Dixon almost certainly had no students, and Jones probably only one, named Baubee, or Bawbee, the son of an Indian woman and a Canadian Indian agent. The remaining faculty numbered only two—Madison, who became president "for one year" in the fall, and the master of the Grammar School, John Bracken, who had come relatively recently from England but cast his lot with the Americans. He also retained his post at Bruton Parish Church.[48]

Madison, whose one-year presidency was destined to last far longer, took control of a bankrupt institution. The revenues derived from royal grants were at an end, the home government was also withholding the proceeds from the Boyle bequest, and no one in Virginia had moved to find other support. For the next three years, Madison seemed to spend much of his time abolishing scholarships for lack of funds, selling off some of the College lands and slaves, bringing other slaves to Williamsburg to replace hired labor at the College, and raising charges for tuition, room, and board. Later, in 1779, the faculty began to require a contribution from students to the library each year at the time of matriculation. In both 1778 and 1779, Madison also sought financial assistance from the legislature.[49]

Despite the precarious finances of the College, Madison, now that Dixon, Jones, and Camm were all gone, determined to fill the moral philosophy chair. He appointed Robert Andrews, who was an Anglican minister but a graduate of the College of Philadelphia and, like the president, an ardent advocate of the Revolution. Andrews also served as bursar and clerk of the faculty.[50] Madison attempted, too, to keep up College traditions, holding the usual Transfer Day observance in 1777. Madison preached, "recommending industry in the pursuit of science," and two students, John Heath and William Nelson, delivered the usual orations, although Nelson's was given in English rather than Latin.[51]

Moreover, difficult times did not prevent a group of students among the small number who remained from launching a new fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa. Initially, five of them gathered on December 5, 1776, to found the organization, which they often referred to as the SP Society from the initials of the words *Societas* and *Philosophiae,* which appeared on their medal along with the Greek letters for PBK and other symbols. They had the model of the older but now inactive F.H.C. before them, and several student societies were already in existence at other American colleges.

Although not averse to 'jollity and mirth," especially in their anniversary celebrations at the Raleigh Tavern, and while pledging themselves each to become "the Brother of unalienable Brothers" and to assist one another in cases of "Distress," the members also proclaimed high intellectual purposes. While the topics of debates that characterized their meetings were sometimes frivolous—for example, "whether the rape of the Sabine women was just"—the topics of discussion were usually more serious questions of morality, history, and political conduct.

The students who joined were uniformly advocates of the American cause, many performing military service in the course of the war; and debate topics sometimes ran to such questions as "whether any form of Government is more favorable to public virtue than a Commonwealth." The provision in the laws for founding chapters elsewhere led somewhat incidentally to the grant of charters to Yale and Harvard chapters in 1779, perhaps demonstrating a degree of national consciousness. Yet, Phi Beta Kappa did not appear to be so much an organization formed to advance the cause of the Revolution as one founded for broader purposes in the context of those events. The chapter continued to initiate both students and noncollegians, a total of fifty in all, from 1776 until the closing of the College in 1781, when Phi Beta Kappa went into temporary abeyance. Its final meeting was called on January 6 for the purpose of securing the papers of the society because of the "confusion of the times and the present Dissolution which threatens the University." Its founding was nevertheless a testimony to a degree of student vitality at an otherwise difficult time for the College.[52]

The Jeffersonian Reforms, 1776–80

Despite his difficulties James Madison had not abandoned his hopes for a thoroughgoing reform of the College. In that effort he had support from Thomas Jefferson, who returned from service in the Continental Congress to take up a seat in the fall of 1776 in the lower house of the new Virginia legislature with hopes of securing far broader changes in the legal and political system of the state than the Constitution of 1776 had achieved. George Wythe, Jefferson's law teacher, an important political leader, and a member of the Board of Visitors of the College, was also an ally. At his first session in the legislature, Jefferson was instrumental in securing passage of a bill providing for a general revisal of the entire colonial Virginia legal system. He was then chosen to chair a committee with four other members, one of them Wythe, charged with the task of drawing up the detailed set of laws that would carry out the revisal. For the next two and a half years, Jefferson threw himself into the task. The final report on June 18, 1779, contained drafts of 126 bills, including those which had already been introduced. Some of the bills passed promptly, others were eventually enacted, but some, including many about which Jefferson cared deeply, never passed at all.[53]

The specific effort to change the curriculum and the governance of the College took place within this context of far broader efforts to reshape the legal system of Virginia. Education, however, was one of three or four matters of particularly vital concern to Jefferson, who sought to achieve an overall plan for republican education throughout the state, one in which the College would play a significant part. Jefferson spelled out his ideas in drafts of three proposed pieces of legislation. One was a "Bill for Amending the Constitution of the College of William and Mary, and Substituting More Certain Revenues for its Support"; another provided for a public library; and the centerpiece was his famous "Bill for the More General Diffusion of Knowledge."

The last and most general of these measures is almost too complex to describe briefly. Essentially, it required the establishment under public auspices of a system of "hundred" schools, several of them in each county of the state, which would provide three years of free education for all white children, male and female. For girls there would be no further public schooling. Parents would also be expected to pay for further education of their sons, except that one particularly promising student whose family could not afford to pay would advance on a scholarship from each hundred school to grammar schools, one in each county, there to begin a classical education. One-third of those on scholarships would be dropped after a single year, and all of the remainder would be dropped after two years, except that one student at each grammar school would be maintained for another four years. At the end of that time, a single scholar from among all the grammar schools would be selected each year to attend William and Mary on scholarship. ff the plan seems very circumscribed in the small number of scholars who would receive more advanced education, its provision of three years of universal schooling for white children nevertheless far exceeded any opportunities for education that had existed in colonial Virginia.[54]

In the case of the specific legislation for William and Mary, Jefferson carried forward the mix of public and private support that had always prevailed and that he also incorporated in the general education bill. However, he was as unequivocal as the seminal newspaper article of June 1, 1776, that the state should now control the institution. With the alteration of government and with the inherited deficiencies of the colonial College, it became, Jefferson noted, "the peculiar duty of the Legislature, at this time to aid and improve that seminary, in which those who are to be the future guardians of the rights and liberties of their country, may be endowed with science and virtue." But, he also warned, the College had to become as "publicly advantageous, in proportion, as it is publicly expensive." In more practical terms of actual governance, Jefferson provided for a smaller Board of Visitors, five in all, who were to be elected annually by the legislature and who would choose their rector.

Jefferson intended to cease instruction in divinity, although he proposed to retain the second divinity chair, often referred to as the chair in Oriental languages, as part of expanded instruction in languages. He provided explicitly that the Visitors were not to be restrained in any way by "the royal prerogative, or the laws of the kingdom of England" or by the "canons or constitution of the English Church, as enjoined" in the College charter. Jefferson also proposed to discontinue the Indian School in favor of maintaining missions among the Indians, both for teaching them and for collecting information about Indian cultures. He also wanted to discontinue the Grammar School.

Other than the elimination of further instruction in divinity, Jefferson stayed essentially with the anonymous proposals of June 1776 for an expanded faculty and a more extensive curriculum. However, he now specified only eight professorships: the two existing philosophy chairs (with the moral philosophy post widened to embrace fine arts); the redefined appointment in ancient languages; and five new appointments in law, history, mathematics, anatomy and medicine, and modern languages. In an appendix Jefferson listed a staggering group of subfields that each professor would have to cover. The president was to be chosen from among the eight professors and hence was expected to continue to teach. To supplant the former British chancellor, there was now to be a group of three chancellors, all elected by the legislature from judges on the higher courts of the state; they would have the power to remove professors for cause.

Recognizing that the old forms of support for the College provided by the crown were at an end and those provided by the colonial Virginia legislature (such as the tax on skins and furs) were no longer productive, Jefferson now proposed that the College be supported by a substantial duty on each hogshead of tobacco exported from the colony. He also required that money be provided to purchase one of the models of the solar system designed by the Philadelphia scientist, David Rittenhouse, in order to advance instruction in science at the College.[55]

These were sweeping changes, stripping away the last vestiges of imperial political and religious influences, incorporating the strong attachment of Jefferson and others to the ideal of religious freedom, and providing the expanded areas of instruction favored by many of the earlier proposals for reform that appeared in Virginia newspapers. Jefferson in old age recalled the extent of his ambition and hopes, when he wrote that he drew the bill "to amend the constitution of Wm & Mary College, to enlarge it's sphere of science, and to make it in fact an University."[56]

Bold vision and legislative enactment were, however, very different matters; and none of the education bills was among the parts of Jefferson's program that fared well with Virginia representatives. While some individual bills were brought forward earlier, the legislature did not take up the full report of the revisors until 1785, after Jefferson had gone to France as American minister. The general education bill had been introduced once in December 1778 and again in June 1780 without success; it came up a third time in 1786 as part of the consideration of the full report. But it was only in 1796 that a weak law, authorizing local communities to establish public schools if they wished and retaining some of Jefferson's wording, was passed. The legislation on William and Mary was presented by James Madison on October 31, 1785, and then postponed until the next session. Thereafter, it was dropped. Jefferson's belief, expressed later in his life, was that, despite his effort to strip away the divinity school and the old British ecclesiastical connections of the College, "the religious jealousies … of all the dissenters took alarm lest this might give an ascendancy to the Anglican sect and refused acting on that bill."[57]

On June 1, 1779, well before the bill for amending the constitution of William and Mary had met its fate, indeed only a short time after he had drafted it, Jefferson left the Virginia legislature to assume the governorship of the state. As had been the custom with the colonial governors, although it was a recognition denied his predecessor, Patrick Henry, Jefferson was elected to the Board of Visitors. He was perhaps still hopeful that he might accomplish something at William and Mary.

In the face of the slowness of the legislature to act, it was the Board of Visitors that became the agent of change, almost as a matter of necessity, given the precarious financial condition of the College. On October 16, 1779, the Visitors petitioned the House of Delegates for assistance, an appeal that evidently went unanswered.[58] Then, on December 4 the Visitors met and adopted a new statute that attempted both to solve the financial problem and also to reorganize the faculty and the course of instruction in a way that would realize at least some of the objectives of Jefferson and others. Both for lack of funds and of any source of authority that would replace the old royal charter, the Visitors did not attempt to add new professorships, choosing instead to redefine three of the six existing positions. They retained the appointment in moral philosophy, adding to its duties instruction in fine arts and in the law of nature and nations, and also the natural philosophy chair, leaving mathematics and the sciences to be taught by a single master. Even though it was vacant, they also kept the appointment for the Indian School, for they were still hopeful that, in spite of the Revolution, the Brafferton income might yet be granted to the College. In the case of the other positions, both the divinity chairs and the post of master of the Grammar School were eliminated. In their place the Visitors created new professorships in anatomy and medicine, modern languages, and law and police. The descriptions were virtually unchanged from the language in Jefferson's pending legislation. The statute also provided that matters of curriculum would for the future be decided by the six faculty sitting with a committee of six Visitors, all voting together—a loss of complete faculty control over academic questions for which Camm, Horrocks, and Henley had contended so vigorously. The statute assumed that the president would be a faculty member who would continue to teach, as was the case with the incumbent, James Madison.

There were simply no new funds to cover the costs of filling five faculty positions rather than the three that were currently filled, and no doubt discontinuance of the Grammar School would incur a further loss of income from student fees. Getting over this hurdle required ingenuity. The faculty had already provided that the remaining scholarships would pay only the amount available in current income from the investments on which they rested, and a rise in student fees had become increasingly frequent. Now, the Visitors eliminated the commons, that is, ceased providing meals from student fees, arranging instead for a private contractor to take over the kitchen and serve meals to students who wished to pay for them. Most significant of all was the discontinuance of faculty salaries, leaving the professors to rely on fees paid by the students whom they actually taught.[59]

The reforms were, as has so often been the case in the history of William and Mary, a matter of making do with existing and limited resources, and were certainly far less bold than Jefferson's proposed legislation. Nevertheless, in a number of respects—especially in providing professional training in law and medicine, offering the study of modem languages, and eliminating the Grammar School and any strong emphasis on classical education—the 1779 reforms did meet many of the demands which had surfaced in the recent debates over the College. They also satisfied several of Jefferson's key objectives, failing primarily (at least on paper) in the retention of the Indian School and the inability to expand instruction in natural science. And they made a gesture to the rising force of religious dissent in state politics by abandoning the divinity school.

It is this group of innovations in the faculty and curriculum that have been especially honored among the traditions of William and Mary as having established a long list of priorities in American higher education—the first university, the first elective system, the first law school, the first instruction in modem languages, to name the most prominently claimed. And in that same tradition, they are "Jeffersonian" reforms, in the popular imagination having been instituted by Jefferson almost singlehandedly. There is no doubt that Jefferson, who was serving with several of his friends and associates on the Board of Visitors of 1779, played a part in their introduction and found them at least a step in the right direction. However, apart from the phraseology used to define the new professorships, there is little about the brief, rather matter-of-fact character of the statute of December 4 that bears the mark of Jeffersonian rhetoric or imagination. Even while carrying out some similar objectives, it lacked the sweep of Jefferson's draft legislation on the College, which began with a masterful review of its past history, laid out in some detail the areas of instruction to be covered by the additional faculty, and defined a broad new educational purpose for the institution. Admittedly, the move by the Visitors was a bold one to make at such a difficult time, and implicitly it shared Jefferson's vision. No doubt Jefferson thought the half loaf was better than nothing at all.

There is no surviving record of Jefferson's opinion at the time of the Visitors' action. His first statement came only a few years later in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, largely written in 1781 and early 1782, but published later in the same decade. There, after once again reviewing unfavorably the history of the colonial College, he wrote that "after the present revolution, the visitors, having no power to change those circumstances of the college which were fixed by the charter, and being confined in the number of professorships, undertook to change the objects of the professorships." After listing the new chairs, he moved on quickly to express hope that his more full-fledged reforms in the draft bill on William and Mary would ultimately be realized. "It is proposed," he declared, "so soon as the legislature shall have leisure to take up this subject, to desire authority from them to increase the number of professorships, as well for the purpose of subdividing those already instituted, as of adding others for other branches of science."[60] Only very late in his life, in writing his *Autobiography*, did Jefferson express more enthusiasm for the reforms of 1779 and assign himself a key role in their implementation. Then, as he reminisced about his old College, he asserted that "I effected, during my residence in Williamsburg that year, a change in the organization of that institution," going on to take credit for the redefinition of the six professorships and the abolition of the Grammar School that in the 1780s he thought an insufficient reform.[61]

The true test of the Visitors' effort to reinvigorate the College had to come, however, from the manner and degree to which the statute was successfully implemented. The faculty lost no time in turning to the task. Within three weeks, on December 29, it met under the new statute, with all five professors in attendance, set student fees, fixed the date for opening the new term on January 17, 1780, and provided for the retention of five College slaves needed for work, paving the way for others to be sold to raise more funds.[62]

One might well ask how a faculty was assembled so quickly. John Bracken, master of the Grammar School, found his position abolished out from under him, although he did not give up without a fight, ultimately bringing suit for reinstatement. Andrews and Madison were, of course, already on hand, and Andrews was able to provide the additional instruction required in fine arts. James McClurg, a Virginian and alumnus who had studied medicine at Edinburgh, accomplished some respected experiments "upon the Human Bile," and then carried out further study in Paris and London, had then returned to Virginia and Williamsburg. He now accepted the new chair in medicine, although there is no evidence that he ever had students. After a year of regular attendance at faculty meetings, McClurg was recorded present at a single meeting two years later in 1783, and then resigned to move to Richmond.[63]

The new professor of modern languages, Carlo Bellini, was one of the most colorful faculty members to serve the College during its first century. He had come to Virginia in 1774 with a group of Italians brought by Thomas Jefferson to help in his wine-producing experiments. By 1778 Bellini had begun to assist the Virginia Council of State with the translation of letters from Europe, soon achieving the title of clerk of foreign correspondence, which he expanded in a letter to his family as "Secretary of the State of Virginia for Foreign Affairs." In the same letter, written in August 1778, he also identified himself as "Professor of modem languages in this University of Williamsburg," suggesting that he might have begun offering some classes at the College before he was formally appointed to the chair in modem languages in the reorganization of late 1779. He was not paid by student fees, as the new statute had specified, and apparently received only a meager salary. Bellini continued to teach for some years after the College reopened at the end of the Revolutionary War, and much of what we know about him comes from that period in his life. His command of his native Italian was apparently good, and he had some knowledge of French. It seems unlikely that he knew any other European language, but he must have added a certain spark to life in provincial Williamsburg.[64]

If anything gave some immediate substance to the 1779 reforms, it was the appointment of George Wythe to the professorship of law and police, announced in the *Virginia Gazette* as early as December 18. Wythe had for some years been a respected teacher of law students, including, of course, Jefferson; he employed the traditional instructional method of apprenticeship in his office. In 1780, his first year at the College, he attracted at least eight students, since there were enough to form two moot court teams of four each. One of them was John Marshall, who remained only a few months. In a letter to James Madison, the future president of the United States, Jefferson praised the beginning that Wythe had made, remarking:

> Our new institution at the college has had a success which has gained it universal applause. They hold weekly courts and assemblies in the capitol. The professors join in it; and the young men dispute with elegance, method and learning.[65]

Like most claims to priority in history, the assertion by William and Mary that it offered the first instruction in law in an American college has not gone unchallenged, notably by partisans of Columbia University, the University of Pennsylvania, and Tapping Reeve's law school at his office in Litchfield, Connecticut. Inasmuch as George Wythe held a professorship of law and actually lectured to students who intended to become lawyers, the claim of William and Mary in this instance has merit. Of all the new chairs, this was the one that produced the most lasting result.

The War Closes the College, 1780–81

In the short run, however, the reorganization of the College under the 1779 statute had no chance to prove itself before British troops threatened, and ultimately occupied Williamsburg, forcing the dispersal of faculty and students and causing the College to close for a year. Just as it seemed to be making a new beginning, William and Mary found itself in a familiar position—on the brink of ruin.

The president was able in August 1780 to declare, almost certainly in a burst of excessive optimism, that "the number of Students is more considerable than heretofore and encreases daily."[66] By that time British troops under the command of Benedict Arnold, who had a few months earlier deserted the American cause, had been in Virginia since the first of the year. In part as a response to the British threat, the government of Virginia had dealt Williamsburg a crippling blow when the legislature voted to move the capital to Richmond, closing the Williamsburg offices on April 7, 1780, and reopening in the new capital on April 24.[67] Despite the fear of the imminent invasion of Williamsburg , Arnold actually raided Richmond before going into winter quarters at Portsmouth, but Williamsburg never recovered from its loss of the seat of government. The College, too, was now separated from the authority that was likely to be decisive in its future.

A pervasive tone of fear and apprehension and the sense that the College was disintegrating was apparent in a letter to his guardian from a remaining student. John

Brown, one of Wythe's law students and a future United States Senator from Kentucky, reported on October 27, 1780, that he had become ill and that his condition had worsened "owing to my great uneasiness of mind occasioned by the Invasion of the English who have been expected daily in this Town." He continued, "I am so weak that I cannot leave my Room in College which is intirely deserted by every Studt but one or two who are sick." Brown thought it "more than probable that College will be suspended for some time," and reported that Madison had talked of "resigning his professorship, & the Studts all turned Soldier & everythin in the Utmost Confusion."[68]

Even though the British had not yet struck at Williamsburg, conditions were worse still when James Madison wrote his cousin on January 18, 1781, that "some of the Professors thought it prudent to retire" and the College had become a "Desart."[69] In late March General William Phillips reinforced Arnold's troops, and on April 18 the larger force entered Williamsburg, although it left without inflicting damage. At one point a volunteer company of students at the College fired on British sentinels, who returned the fire and drove them off, apparently without injury on either side.[70]

The British army, opposed only by a small American detachment under Gilbert du Motier, Marquis de Lafayette, grew even larger with the arrival of the army commanded by Charles, the second Earl Cornwallis. Madison officially closed the College on June 1, and before the end of the month, Lord Cornwallis occupied Williamsburg, forcing Madison out of the President's House and taking it for his own use. His stay was short, and Madison was able to reclaim his quarters. Yet, conditions remained unsettled in the old capital, and on July 21, Madison wrote his brother, William, that "the College is entirely broke up."[71] Madison began making his plans to leave, taking his slaves and effects with him. Of the faculty of 1779, only Bellini remained behind, occupying his rooms in the College building and attempting to protect the library and the scientific apparatus through all that followed.

By that time American forces were in control of Williamsburg, and the College was serving as a hospital for the wounded. Over the course of the summer and early fall, larger American and French forces, including those under the two commanders-in-chief, Washington and Jean Baptiste Donatien de Vimeur, Comte de Rochambeau, collected at Williamsburg. From there they moved on to Yorktown and mounted the successful siege that brought Cornwallis's surrender on October 19. Even then, after returning from Yorktown, the French forces lingered on in winter quarters and until late July 1782, when they left on relatively short notice. During the siege and in the post-Yorktown period, the College served as the French hospital; officers were billeted in the President's House, and enlisted ranks in the Main Building. By early 1782 the faculty were chafing to get the College reopened.

The faculty, although committed to the American cause, were never entirely happy with the military occupation of the College. Some of their concern reflected an understandable apprehension about the threat to its physical properties. Even more, however, they seemed to believe that just as the College was gaining a new footing and attracting students, everything might collapse. While Washington was caught up in the last days of the siege of Cornwallis, John Blair, then serving as rector of the Board, wrote the commander-in-chief on behalf of the College. He complained mildly about "the unhappy Vacation, which the Necessities of the War have made much too long," and especially about the French demand for the keys to an outbuilding, the Granary, where valuable College supplies were stored. The general returned a somewhat frosty reply only two days before the surrender ceremony. A few days later, George Wythe, who like Bellini was still in Williamsburg, wrote again to Washington, on behalf of all the faculty, to express their conviction that if the College could reopen, many of its former students were prepared to return and would be joined by others. He also made a special appeal to Washington to make certain that the French officers protected College property. On this occasion, with his victory achieved, Washington returned a more cordial letter to the president and the entire body of professors, in which he promised that the sick and wounded would be removed as soon as possible. Employing all the tact he could muster, he also declared:

> The seat of Literature at Williamsburg has ever, in my view, been an object of veneration. As an Institution, important for its Communication of useful learning, and Conducive to the Diffusion of the true principles of National Liberty, you may be assured, that it will receive every encouragement and Benefaction in my power towards it's reestablishment.[72]

How well placed were the concerns of the faculty about the use of the College buildings was demonstrated when a fire broke out on November 23, 1781, in the President's House. The wounded officers staying there were safely evacuated, and the fire was kept from spreading to the Main Building despite a lack of water and buckets. But the President's House itself was destroyed and with it James Madison's books, papers, and scientific instruments.[73] The Main Building, even though saved, was obviously receiving heavy use. James Tilton, an American doctor who visited it to observe French practices in treating the wounded, commented favorably on the French physicians' efforts to keep their patients "very neat and clean." But he went on to note a serious problem that had led to the death of some of those treated, namely, the construction of a wooden privy at one end of the building, extending from the roof to a pit in the earth with a door opening into it from each floor of the hospital. "This sink of nastiness," Tilton complained, "perfumed the whole house very sensibly and, without doubt, vitiated all the air within the wards."[74]

Since he hoped that the French would soon be leaving and that he could begin to plan the reopening of the College, James Madison had returned to Williamsburg by the spring of 1782.[75] To help matters along and to demonstrate that there was good feeling toward the French, he called a meeting of the faculty on March 7 to confer on the French general, François Jean, Marquis de Chastellux, the honorary degree of doctor of civil laws. A little later, on June 12, Dr. Jean François Coste, the chief physician of the French forces, received the honorary degree of doctor of physic.[76] Chastellux returned the compliment when he published an account of his American travels in which he praised William and Mary as "a magnificent establishment which adorns Williamsburg and does honor to Virginia."[77] Finally, when they knew the French were actually departing in July, the president and the masters presented a formal address to Rochambeau expressing their "esteem and gratitude for you and your brave troops."[78] Thus, despite the tension that it had sometimes occasioned, the French occupation of the College came to an amicable end, although the effort to obtain payment for the destruction of the President's House, which had already begun, continued for a long time to come.

The End of an Era

On August 10, 1782, "the University of William and Mary" announced in a Richmond newspaper (since there was no longer a printer in Williamsburg) that a new term would open on the first Monday in October, with private instruction available for students who wished to come earlier. Students were advised, however, that they would have to board with local families until the College building could be repaired. An old era had ended, and the College was about to enter upon a new chapter in its history.

The legacy of the colonial era was decidedly mixed. William and Mary seemed to have survived when it might well never have managed to reopen. Yet, its always precarious finances were now a complete disaster. Most of its traditional revenues were lost. Obviously, the support that had come from British sources disappeared, apart from the lands that the College still retained; but it had for some years been a constant struggle to collect the £500 or so of annual rents from those lands, which were also declining in fertility.[79] Even the revenues granted by the colonial legislature were no longer available, and the new state legislature did not move to offer other support. The destruction of the President's House and a clear need to renovate the Main Building after the heavy use it received as a military hospital added still another burden.

For a fleeting moment, on the eve of the final Revolutionary conflict, the colonial College ironically had almost certainly achieved the peak of its academic strength, marked by a greater emphasis on advanced study in the two philosophy schools, a reinforcement of traditional classical education coupled with an effort to promote study of the natural sciences, and some encouragement of students to complete the baccalaureate degree. These developments had come, of course, primarily at the hands of a small group of English faculty, especially John Camm, Thomas Gwatkin, and Samuel Henley. They may have disagreed on some intellectual and theological matters but were united in their vocal, even aggressive, defense of a close association of the College with the Anglican church and the empire and of the perpetuation of a traditional course of study modeled on the British universities.

While these men may well have given the College the academic rigor needed to see it through a very difficult period, they also imposed, however inadvertently, a heavy liability on its future. They did so by drawing such a sharp line between their own views and the emerging demands in the colony for a very different style of education, one that was less traditional, more permissive in its requirements, and more oriented toward the practical and the vocational. The struggle over the destiny of the College thus came to parallel, as indeed it always had, the larger political battle between imperial control and colonial autonomy. With that larger question resolved in favor of independence and republicanism, the College risked becoming a remnant of the old and discredited order, notwithstanding the attachment to the new era of some of its strongest supporters, such as Madison and Jefferson.

Indeed, it proved difficult for William and Mary to shed its inheritance, especially with the failure of Jefferson to secure the thoroughgoing reorganization that he attempted in his reform bill. His recognition of the decisive opposition of a growing body of religious dissenters to assumption by the state of future responsibility for the College was telling. And the College would live for years to come, in the view of many Virginians, with the burden of appearing to remain too closely allied with the surviving remnant of Anglicans who organized the Episcopal church and made the College president its first bishop. In the absence of legislation clearly defining a new basis of authority for the College, the surviving force of the royal charter became, and for some time remained, a complication rather than the historical ornament that it has been in the twentieth century. The persistence of its influence circumscribed, for example, the reforms that were undertaken in the Visitors' statute of 1779.

Yet, one should not paint an altogether gloomy picture. The 1779 reforms, limited as they were, attempted to accomplish much of what Jefferson and others sought with respect to a more secular and practical curriculum and an enlargement of the powers of its external governing board.[80] With all its problems, William and Mary was prepared to enter a republican and American era. Above anyone else, the key figure in the transition was its president. Educated well at the College under the last Tory faculty, ordained to the Anglican clergy at the very time of national independence, yet republican to the core and supportive of efforts to transform the College, James Madison more than anyone else took the College out of the old era and into the new.

In 1782 a very difficult part of that road lay ahead, but nothing better illustrated the spirit in which Madison approached the task than his exchange of letters two years earlier with the president of Yale, Ezra Stiles. Stiles, although defensive because he felt the New England colleges had long "been held by our Southern & Western Brethren with ineffable Contempt," believed the time had come for a more generous view. "We are," he wrote, "rather to glory that an Infant Republic of Letters is to be found in America." For the future its colleges should "cultivate a mutual Intercourse & honorable Friendship with one another." Madison responded with characteristic generosity, affirming his own high opinion of the people of the eastern states, especially because they excelled in science. He, too, expressed his wish for a "Republic of Letters." And "surely," he added, "it belongs to our Colleges & Universities to lay the Foundation from wc [which] the future glory of America shall arise." And so Madison turned to rebuilding a College whose doors, he declared, were "open to all" and whose students possessed "the liberty of attending whom they please, and in what order they please, or all the diffr [different] Lectures in a Term if they think proper."[81]

NOTES

1. The customary address of welcome from the faculty appeared in both the Rind and the Purdie and Dixon editions of the *Virginia Gazette*, Nov. 3, 1768.
2. "Extract from Proceedings of the Visitors," Sept. 1, 1769, from *Williamsburg Weekly Gazette and Eastern Virginia Advertiser*, Dec. 14, 1859, WMA.
3. "Journal of the President and Masters," Aug. 11, 1772, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 235.
4. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon) , Aug. 1, 1771.
5. These matters are recorded throughout the minutes for these years; "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905) : 15–22, 133–37, 148–56.
6. Ibid., July 9, 1770, Feb. 14, 1772, 155, 233; William Leigh, *An Oration in Commemoration of the Founders of William and Mary College, Delivered on the Anniversary of Its Foundation, August 15, 1771* (Williamsburg: William Rind, 1771).
7. A printed handbill, Mar. 7, 1770, announcing the medal and its terms, is in Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; and an announcement also appeared in the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Mar. 22, 1770. Votes of the faculty are recorded in "Journal of the President and Masters," July 29, 1772, July 29, 1773, June 9, 1774, Aug. 4, 1775, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905) : 235; 14 (1905–1906): 29, 242; 15 (1906–1907) : 134–35. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Aug. 20, 1772, describes the Transfer Day ceremony. The question of whether the award is the first American academic medal is discussed in *WMQ*, 1st ser., 4 (1895–96): 263.
8. "Journal of the President and Masters," Aug. 11, 1772, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905) : 235, admitted Nathaniel Burwell and Thomas Davis to the bachelor of arts degree, but the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Aug. 20, 1772, reported Burwell and James Madison as the recipients. Unless there were three degrees awarded, the Botetourt medal winners would seem to have been the likely recipients. Davis had been appointed usher of the Grammar School on October 17, 1770. "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 155.
9. Dixon's first appearance in the faculty minutes was on March 27, 1770; while Henley and Gwatkin were recorded as attending on May 2, 1 770; *WMQ*, 13 (1904–1905): 150. On Henley, see Fraser Neiman, *The Henley-Horrocks Inventory*, Botetourt Publications, no. 1 (Williamsburg: Botetourt Bibliographical Society and Earl Gregg Swem Library, 1968).
10. William Nelson to Francis Farley, Feb. 22, 1770, William Nelson Letterbook, VSL, Richmond (microfilm, CWF Library).
11. A supplement to the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Oct. 18, 1770, described the funeral in elaborate detail.
12. The essential information on the statue is conveniently summarized in a pamphlet, *Statue of Lord Botetourt*, Earl Gregg Swem Library Contributions, no. 7 (1971). For Latrobe's comment and drawing of the mutilated statue, see Edward C. Carter II, ed., *The Virginia Journals of Benjamin Henry Latrobe*, 1795–1798, 2 vols. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977): 2:87–88, plate 9.
13. Recounted in Lyon G. Tyler, "Sketch of John Camm," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 19 (1910–11): 29.
14. Martha Goosley to John Norton, Aug. 5, 1769, in Mason, ed., *John Norton and Sons*, 102; *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), Dec. 7, 1769.
15. "Extract from Proceedings of the Visitors," Sept. 1, 1769, in *Williamsburg Weekly Gazette and Eastern Virginia Advertiser*, Dec. 14, 1859. "Meeting of the Visitors," Dec. 14, 1769, folder 49, College Archives. Both are cited by Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 150, 232 nn. 85, 86.
16. "Journal of the President and Masters," Jan. 23, Mar. 27, May 2, 1770, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 149–54.

17. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Aug. 1, 1771.

18. Ibid., (Rind), Aug. 15, 1771.

19. Neiman, *Henley-Horrocks Inventory*, 3–4; Jennings, *Library*, 56–59; cf. Thomson, "Reform of the College," 202.

20. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), May 19, June 2, 1774; Mar. 1, 15, 1775. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), Oct. 9, 1775. See also Thomson, "Reform of the College," 204.

21. *Virginia Gazette* (Rind), May 26, 1774.

22. There are several accounts of the episcopacy controversy in Virginia. See esp. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia,* 181–89; George W. Pilcher, "Virginia Newspapers and the Dispute over the Proposed Colonial Episcopate, 1771–1772," *Historian* 23 (1960–61): 98–113; Brydon, *Mother Church*, 2:341–64; Ray Hiner, Jr., "Samuel Henley and Thomas Gwatkin: Partners in Protest," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal, Church* 37 (1968): 39–50; Carl Bridenbaugh, *Mitre and Sceptre: Transatlantic Faiths, Ideas, Personalities, and Politics, 1689–1775* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1962), chap. 7. The quotation on the trampling of American liberty is from the *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), June 27, 1771; that referring to Horrocks's episcopal ambitions is in a letter from Richard Bland to Thomas Adams, Aug. 1, 1771, in *WMQ*, 1st ser., 5 (1896–97): 154.

23. "Journal of the President and Masters," May 1, July 30, 1771, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 156–57, 230, shows Camm first declining but then appearing in subsequent meetings as acting president. On the various offices, see McIlwaine and Hall, eds., *Executive Journals*, Oct. 26, 1772, 6:508; *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), July 30, 1772.

24. Isaac, *Transformation of Virginia*, 209–40, is a detailed account.

25. Whiffen, *Public Buildings*, 181–85, provides an excellent summary of the effort to build the addition. The Jefferson plan is reproduced, ibid., 99, from the original in the Henry E. Huntington Library, San Marino, California. The advertisement for bids from contractors is in *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), Sept. 3, 1772. Hazard's comment is in "Journal of Hazard," ed. Shelley, 405. "Journal of the President and Masters," June 25, 1776, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 140, suggested that the new construction was to "be dropp'd for the present" and identified Saunders as the builder. The first account to establish that construction was actually begun on the addition is A. Lawrence Kocher and Howard Dearstyne, "Discovery of Foundations for Jefferson's Addition to the Wren Building," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 10 (1951): 28–31.

26. Madison's life is summarized in *DAB*, s.v. "Madison, James"; his appointment as writing master is approved, "Journal of the President and Masters," May 7, 1772, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 234; he appears for the first time as professor of natural philosophy, "Journal of the President and Masters," May 8, 1773, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 28; see also *Viginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 6, 1773. See also Charles R. Crowe, "Bishop James Madison and the Republic of Virtue," *JSH*, 30 (1964): 58–70.

27. James Madison, *An Oration in Commemoration of the Founders of William and Mary College ...* (Williamsburg: William Rind, 1772).

28. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie and Dixon), May 26, 1774.

29. Ibid. (Purdie), Dec. 8, 22, 1774, Jan. 5, 1775.

30. Dunmore's difficulties are well covered in two studies by John E. Selby, *Dunmore* (Williamsburg: Virginia Independence Bicentennial Commission, 1977), 5–38, and *The Revolution in Virginia*, 1775–1783 (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, 1988), 1–22, 41–49. The faculty appeal to Dunmore is in "Journal of the President and Masters," Apr. 3, 1775, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 243.

31. The departures of Henley and Gwatkin are noted in *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), Apr. 28, June 30, 1775. Criticisms of them include ibid. (Pinkney), Feb. 23, Mar. 30, Apr. 20, May 25, 1775, and ibid. (Dixon), Jan. 21, Feb. 18, 1775. The incident involving the students who were guilty of

"repeatedly beating Mr. Gwatkin's Door in so violent a manner" and its resolution are described in "Journal of the President and Masters," May 17, 18, 1775, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 244–46.

32. "Journal of the President and Masters," May 17, 18, 1775, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 244–46; ibid., Sept. 14, Nov. 1, 1775, 1st ser., 15 (1906-1907): 136–39.
33. McIlwaine and Kennedy, eds., *Journals of Burgesses*, 1773–76: 271. On Innes and the College generally, see the excellent account in Jane Carson, *James Innes and His Brothers of the F.H. C.* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 1–88.
34. "Journal of the President and Masters," May 18, 1775, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 244–46.
35. Ibid., May 27, 1775, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 1–14.
36. Ibid., Aug. 4, Sept. 14, 1775, 134, 135.
37. The incident is described in Carson, *Innes*, 101–2. Innes had taken the lead in moving two cannon to the Raleigh Tavern in February 1779 in order that they might be fired as part of a Washington's Birthday ball that he had organized. When ordered to surrender the cannon by a military officer, he instead threatened to fire on the soldiers. He was arraigned before the local court for inciting a riot but gained dismissal, even though he remained unrepentant.
38. George Washington to Jonathan Boucher, Jan. I 7, 1773, in John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *The Writings of George Washington*, 39 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1931–44), 37:497. Since the choice of a college was linked to the problem of how best to deal with Jackie's conduct and temperament, the full discussion between Washington and Boucher is best understood by reading the appropriate sections of Douglas Southall Freeman, *George Washington: A Biography*, 7 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948–57), 3:272, 312, 323.
39. Aug. 29, 1773, in Jack P. Greene, ed., *The Diary of Colonel Landon Carter of Sabine Hall, 1752–1778*, 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 2:765.
40. *Journal and Letters of Philip Vickers Fithian, 1773–1774: A Plantation Tutor of the Old Dominion*, ed. Hunter Dickinson Farish (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1945), 86–87.
41. Granville Smith to [William Preston] , Oct. 24, 1778, Preston Family Papers, P9267f, VHS, Richmond.
42. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 174–75.
43. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), June 1, 1776.
44. The three signers were Thomas Jefferson, its author, Carter Braxton, and Benjamin Harrison. Another Virginia signer, George Wythe, is sometimes added to the list, but there seems no clear evidence that he ever studied at William and Mary, although he served on the Board of Visitors and was later to hold the first chair in law.
45. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 178, citing folder 107, College Archives.
46. *Virginia Gazette* (Purdie), Nov. 22, 1776. On Madison's possible authorship, cf. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 178.
47. "Journal of the President and Masters," Nov. 29, 1776, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 141–42.
48. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter), Apr. 4, Sept. 5, 1777. Madison and Bracken are the only faculty members recorded as attending meetings on Oct. 23 and Dec. 21, 1777, "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 165–67. On the last Indian student, see Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 180. He was brought to Virginia by Thomas Walker when he returned from an Indian diplomatic mission. Peter Force, comp., *American Archives*, 4th ser., 6 vols. (Washington: M. St. Clair Clarke and Peter Force, 1837–46), 3:1542.
49. "Journal of the President and Masters," May 10, Oct. 23, 1777, Dec. 30, 1779, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 164–66, 171. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 184–85, notes appeals by Madison to the House of Delegates on May 28, 1777, and Nov. 9, 1778.

50. He appears at a faculty meeting on Feb. 12, 1778, "Journal of the President and Masters," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 166.

51. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Hunter) , Aug. 22, 1777. The same issue also announced the formation of a College militia company with Madison as its captain.

52. Oscar M. Voorhees, *The History of Phi Beta Kappa* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1945), 1–17; Richard N. Current, *Phi Beta Kappa in American Life: The First Two Hundred Years* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 3–15, is a more recent account, which questions (282 n. 8) the tradition that Phi Beta Kappa was founded in the Apollo Room of the Raleigh Tavern.

53. The most perceptive and detailed discussion of the whole revisal of the laws is contained in a long introductory note to the complete document in Julian P. Boyd et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, 25 vols. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950—): 2:305–24.

54. Ibid., 2:526–35.

55. Ibid., 2:535–43.

56. Thomas Jefferson, *Autobiography*, ed. Paul Leicester Ford (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, [1914]), 75.

57. Ibid., 76.

58. Thomson, "Reform of the College," 209, citing the journals of the House of Delegates for Oct. 16, 1779.

59. The statute, which is the only contemporaneous record of the 1779 reforms, is in *Virginia Gazette* (Clarkson and Davis), Dec. 18, 1779, and is reprinted in Knight, ed., *Documentary*, 1:546–47. It is discussed more fully in Thomson, "Reform of the College," 209–13.

60. Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, ed. William Peden (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955), 150–51.

61. Jefferson, *Autobiography*, ed. Ford, 78.

62. "Journal of the President and Masters," Dec. 29, 1779, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 169–70.

63. *DAB*, s.v. "McClurg, James."

64. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 192. Evans, *Royal Charter*, 1–7, is a succinct account of Bellini's Virginia career, adding some details and, in particular, tracing his connection with the loss of the original royal charter. The important Bellini letter of August 1778 is printed in Antonio Pace, "Another Letter of Carlo Bellini," *WMQ*, 3d ser., 4 (1947): 350–55.

65. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 194–98; Thomas Jefferson to James Madison, July 26, 1780, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 3:507. On Marshall's attendance and participation in the moot court debates, see Herbert A. Johnson et al., eds., *The Papers of John Marshall*, 7 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974—) , 1:37–41. There is a good description of the moot courts and a weekly mock legislative session that Wythe also conducted in John Brown to William Preston, July 6, 1780, "Glimpses of Old College Life," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1900–1901): 80. See also *DAB*, s. v. "Wythe, George."

66. James Madison to Ezra Stiles, Aug. 1, 1780, in "Correspondence of Ezra Stiles ... and James Madison," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 7 (1927): 295.

67. *Virginia Gazette* (Dixon and Nicholson), Mar. 25, 1780.

68. John Brown to William Preston, Oct. 27, 1780, "Glimpses of Old College Life," 83. In an earlier letter on July 6, 1780, Brown had also commented on the "melancholy Lethargick disposition [that] pervades all Ranks in this part of the Country." Ibid., 80.

69. James Madison, President of William and Mary, to James Madison, Jr., Jan. 18, 1781, in William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal, eds., *The Papers of James Madison*, 20 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, and Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1962—), 2:294.

70. "Phillips' Expedition to Virginia, 1781," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 12 (1932): 191–92, which contains an excerpt from the memoir of General Samuel Graham describing the incident.
71. James Madison to William Madison, July 21, 1781, folder 224, College Archives.
72. The pertinent documents are extracted in Goodwin, comp., "Notes," 242–44. They include John Blair to George Washington, Oct. 15, 1781, Washington to Blair, Oct. 17, 1781, and Washington to the President and Professors of the University of William and Mary, Oct. 27, 1781, from the George Washington Papers, DLC; and George Wythe to Washington, Oct. 25, 1781, folder 107, College Archives.
73. The various accounts are extracted in Goodwin, comp., "Notes," 244, 246, 250.
74. Ibid., 245.
75. James Madison to James Madison, Jr., Mar. [ca. 2], 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 4:82.
76. "Journal of the President and Masters," Mar. 7,June 12, 1782, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 264–66.
77. Marquis de Chastellux, *Travels in North America in the Years 1780, 1781 and 1782*, ed. Howard C. Rice, Jr., 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1963) , 2:443–44.
78. Goodwin, comp., "Notes," 250, reprints the French version and a modern translation. There is also a description of the departure in Evelyn M. Acomb, ed., *The Revolutionary Journal of Baron Ludwig von Closen* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1958), 206–8.
79. See, e.g., the petition for relief of tenants on King William County lands, which was rejected November 5, 1790. James City County Petitions, 1777–1861, no. 80, VSL, from microfilm copy in CWF.
80. This point is also developed by Thomson, "Reform of the College," 212–13.
81. Ezra Stiles to James Madison, July 12, 1780, and Madison to Stiles, Aug. 1, 1780, "Correspondence of Stiles and Madison," 292–96.

Portfolio I

The Evolution of the Campus to 1888

The First College Building, 1695–1705

The first building, an L-shaped structure with a main east wing and a smaller north wing containing the hall and rooms above it, survived only a decade before a fire destroyed all but its exterior walls. It stood a story higher than the more familiar second version of the building; and if, as has so often been claimed, Sir Christopher Wren was the architect of the College building, it would have been this first version that was his creation. The modern conjectural drawing of the east front by William Pavlovsky is perhaps the best representation of the first structure (Fig. 1, Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary). The only known contemporaneous view is a drawing made in 1702 by a Swiss traveler, Franz Ludwig Michel (Fig. 2, Burgerbibliothek, Bern; photograph by Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). A small outline of the building, which appears on a 1699 survey of the proposed town site of the new capital of Williamsburg prepared by Theodorick Bland (Fig. 3, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), documents the completion of only two wings of what was originally intended to be a quadrangle, the wings that were not built being marked by dotted lines.

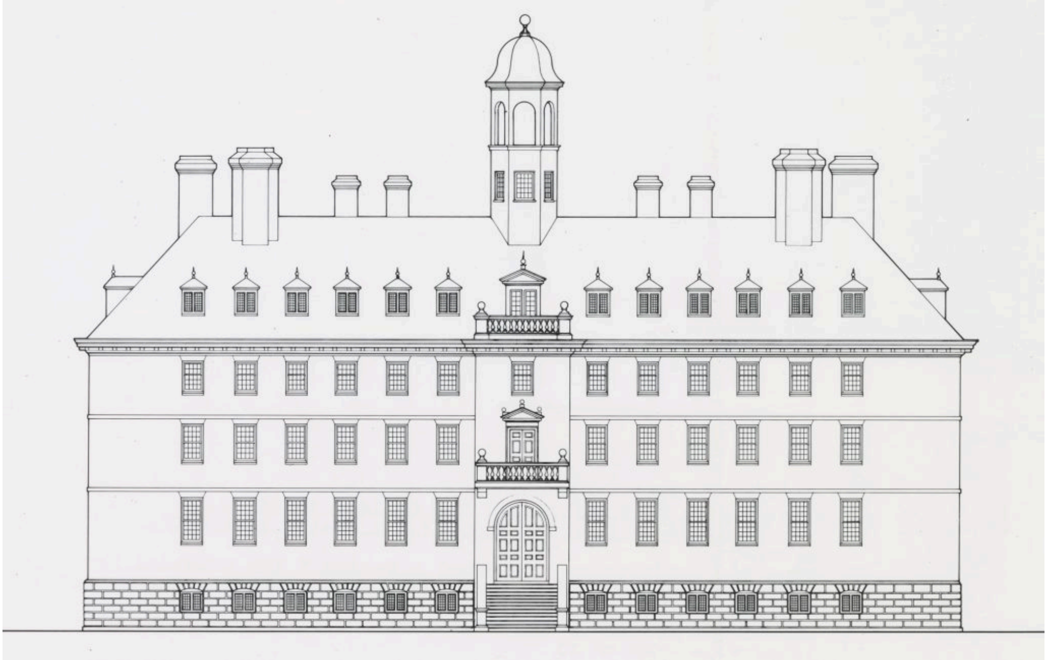


Fig. 1. Modern conjectural drawing of the east front by William Pavlovsky.

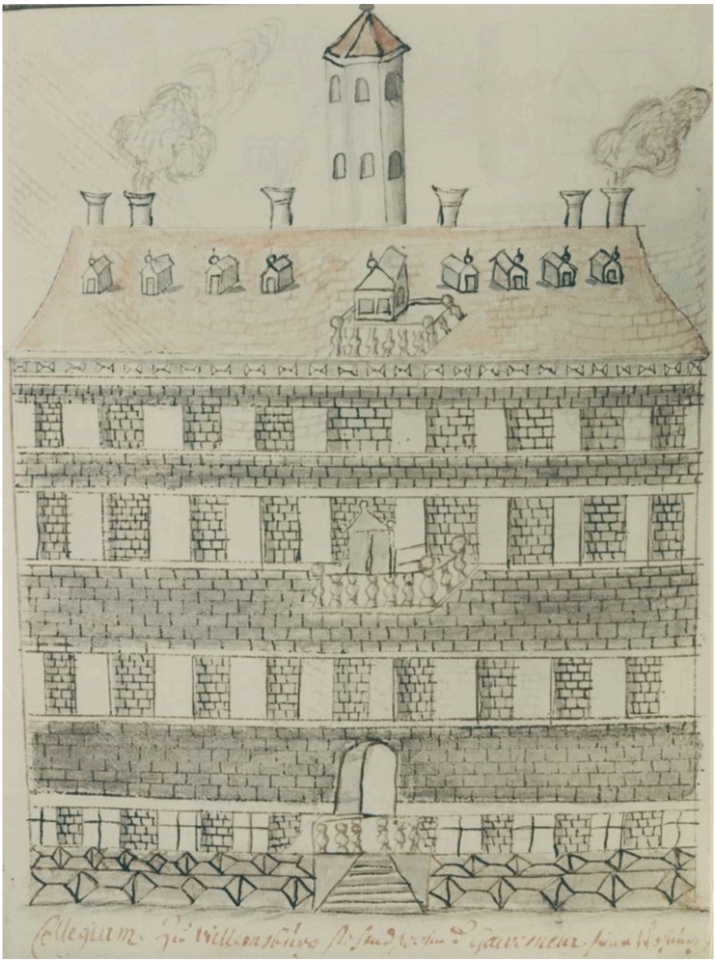


Fig. 2. Drawing by Franz Ludwig Michel, 1702.

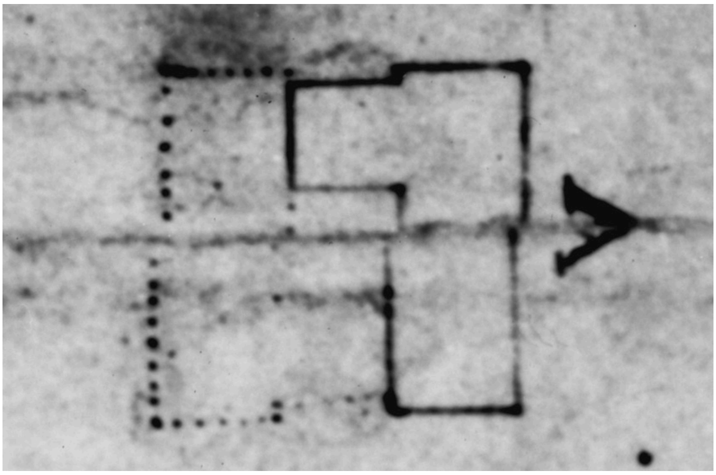


Fig. 3. The survey map from 1699 shows a partial building outline with dotted lines indicating unfinished sections.

The Second Building and Its Dependencies, ca. 1740

By 1709 the College trustees began to make arrangements for rebuilding the original structure on the original foundation and surviving walls. Work got under way soon thereafter, and by the mid1710s the work was nearly completed. By the 1 720s James Blair began a strong effort to complete the faculty and secure the transfer of the charter, which he accomplished by 1729. In the process a second building, the Brafferton, was completed in 1723 to house the Indian School and ultimately the College library. Then, by 1732 a chapel formed the south wing of the Main Building, and almost immediately thereafter work began on the President's House, which was ready for Blair's occupancy by the following year.

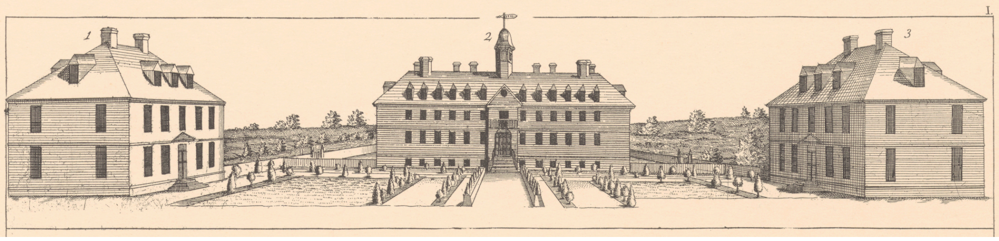


Fig. 4

Illustrations from the eighteenth century of these buildings are almost as scarce as those for the first building, but there is a famous one, an engraved copper plate found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University in late 1929 that is now in the possession of the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation. One portion of the engraving, which dates from about 1740, shows a front view of the three College buildings and suggests, too, the formal garden without trees that occupied the front campus for the remainder of the colonial era (Fig. 4, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). Elsewhere on the plate there is a view of the rear of the Main Building (Fig. 5, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation) . The only other known view of the Main Building from the colonial era appears as a detail in a portrait ofJames Blair, completed late in his life by Charles Bridges (Fig. 6, Muscarelle Museum of Art, College of William and Mary).

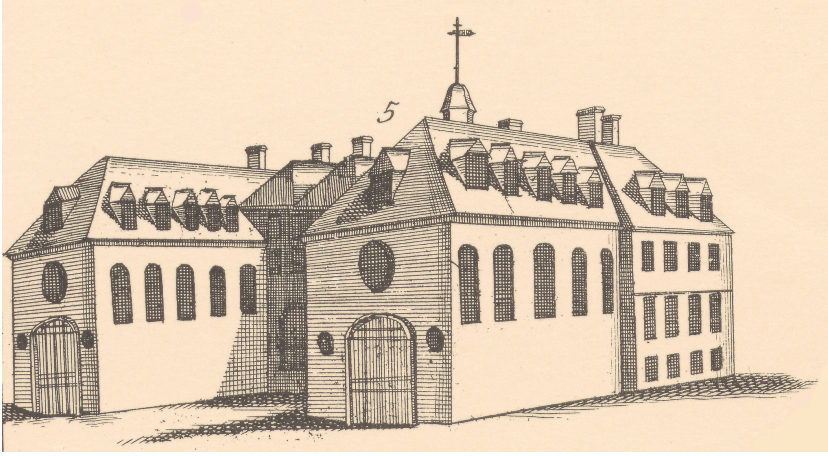


Fig. 5. Rear view of the Main Building, from the Bodleian Plate.

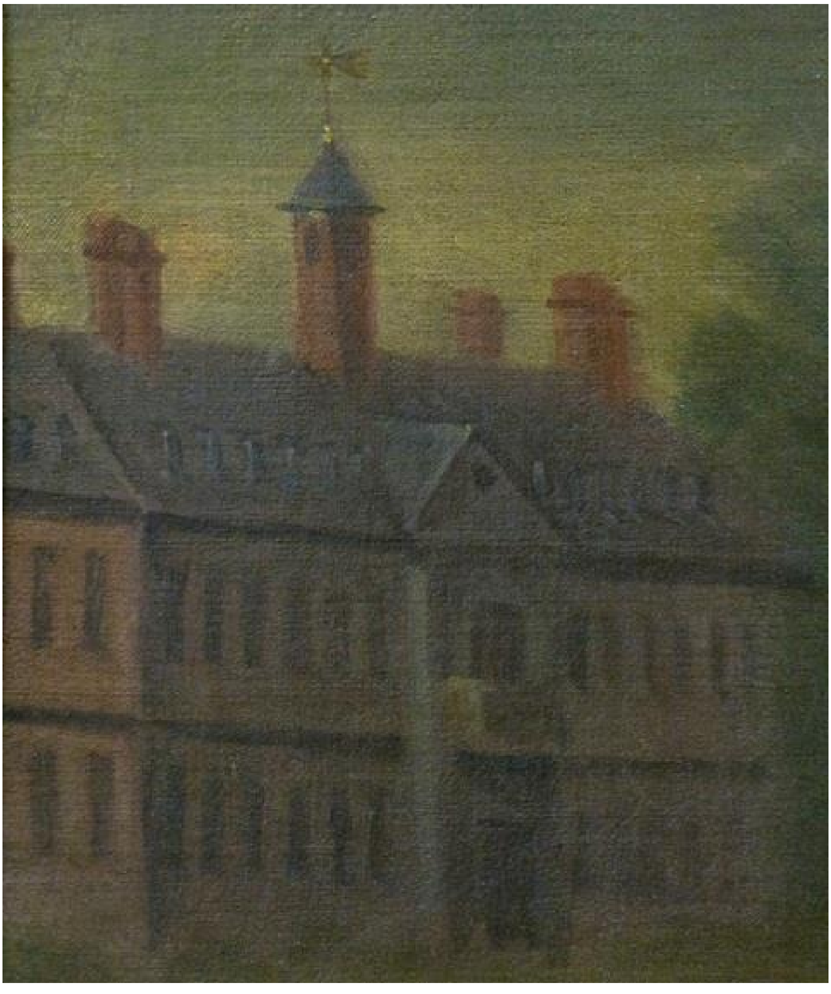
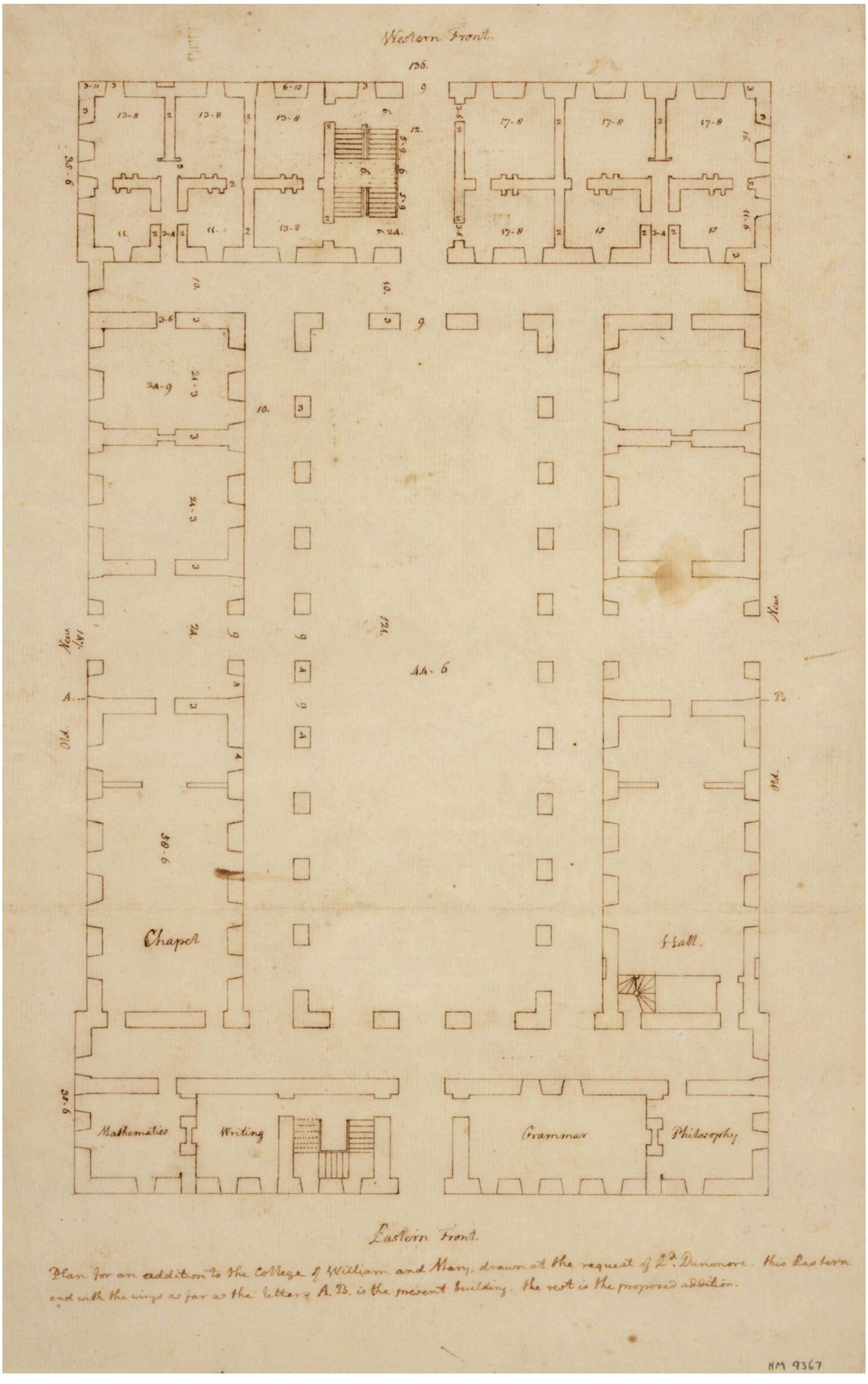


Fig. 6. Detail showing the main building, from Charles Bridges' portrait of James Blair.


Western Front.
136.
Chapel
Hall.
New
Old
A
B
24-9
24.3
44.6
58-6
124.
Mathematics
Writing
Grammar
Philosophy
Eastern Front.
HM 9367

Plan for an addition to the College of William and Mary, drawn at the request of Ld. Dunmore. this Eastern end with the wings as far as the letters A. B. is the present building. the rest is the proposed addition.

Fig. 7. Jefferson's plan for an addition to the College of William and Mary, drawn at the request of Governor Dunmore.

The Attempt to Complete the Quadrangle

In spite of the approaching crisis of the American Revolution, the College experienced a brief period of prosperity in the early 1770s. The last royal governor, John Murray, earl of Dunmore, asked Thomas Jefferson to prepare a plan for completing the College building as a quadrangle that would have essentially doubled its size (Fig. 7, original in the Huntington Library, San Marino, California; Colonial Williamsburg Foundation photograph). Jefferson's plan is also the principal source for identifying the specific uses of the classrooms on the first floor of the original building.

Work began on the new construction, but it was never completed. In the course of archaeological excavations carried out as part of the restoration of the building by the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation, the foundations for the Jeffersonian extension were uncovered, including those outside the west entrance to the Great Hall (Fig. 8, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation).

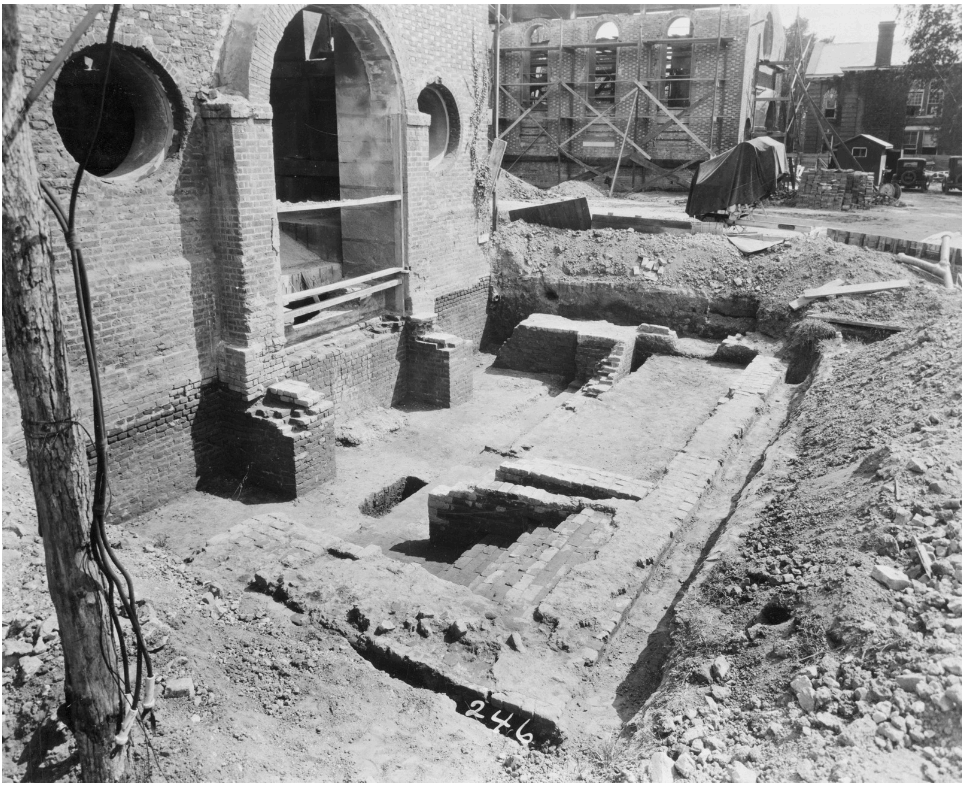


Fig. 8. Wren Building. Foundations west of great hall from northwest. Photographer: Layton – Layton Studio/ Thomas Layton.

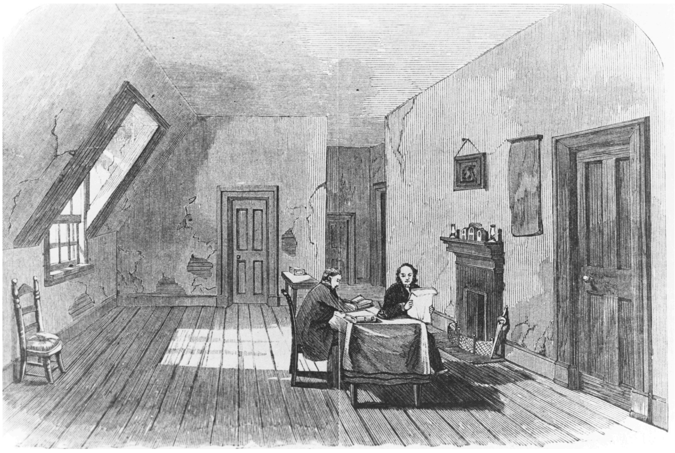


Fig. 9. Engraving of John Randolph's room while he was a student at the College in 1792.

The Post-Revolutionary Campus

With the College frequently battling for its survival from the 1 780s into the nineteenth century, no new construction was undertaken before the Civil War, and the appearance of the campus did not significantly change. In November 1781 the President's House had burned while being used as a hospital for French officers following the Yorktown campaign, but it was rebuilt without major alterations. An engraving of John Randolph's room while he was a student at the College in 1792 suggests the simplicity of accommodations afforded students (Fig. 9, College of William and Mary Archives).

Of the surviving illustrations of the College in the antebellum era, one of the most appealing and most representative of the rural character of the campus is a Thomas Millington lithograph of about 1840 (Fig. 10, College of William and Mary Archives). There are several versions of the lithograph, all based upon a wash drawing, also extant, by Millington, who was the son of a faculty member, John Millington.

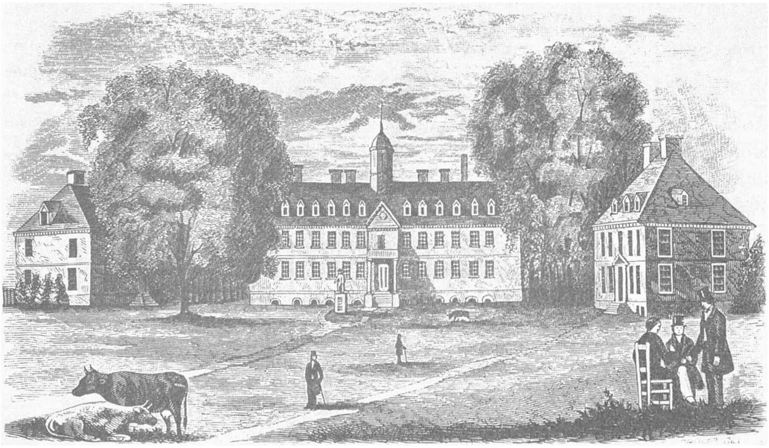


Fig. 10. Thomas Millington lithograph of about 1840.

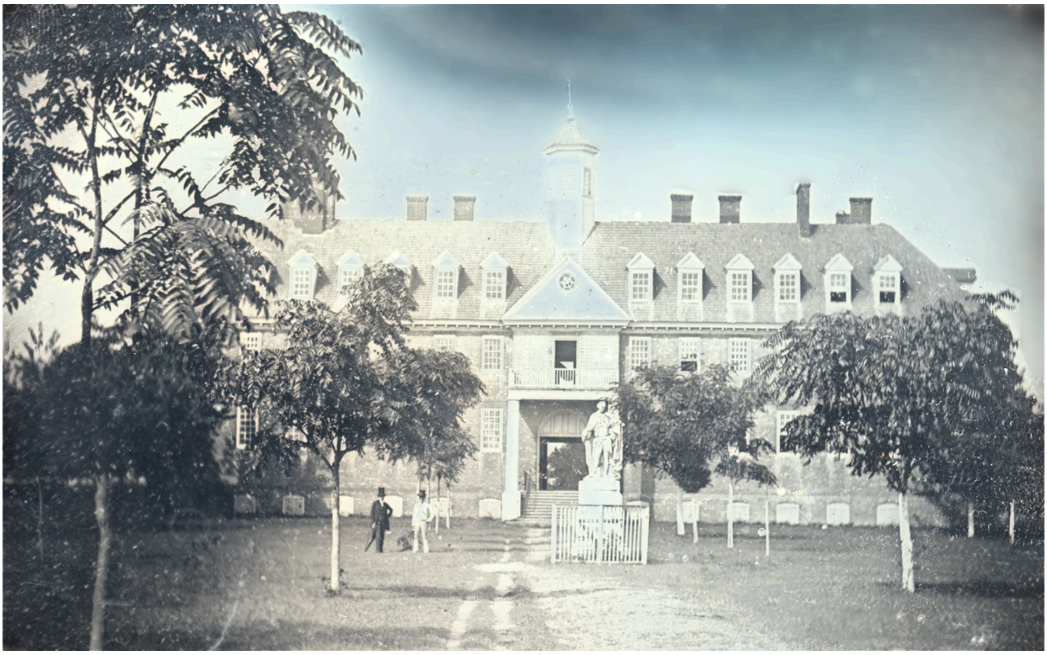


Fig. 11. Daguerreotype of the second building, about 1858.

The Second Version of the main Building, ca. 1858

This daguerreotype of the second building, taken about 1858, is the last known depiction of the structure before a destructive fire on February 8, 1859, left standing only its outer walls to the second floor. The building had been recently repaired, and the large columns supporting the balcony were a post-Revolutionary addition. Yet, the east front of the building retained much of its original appearance almost a century and a half after its construction (Fig. 11, College of William and Mary Archives).

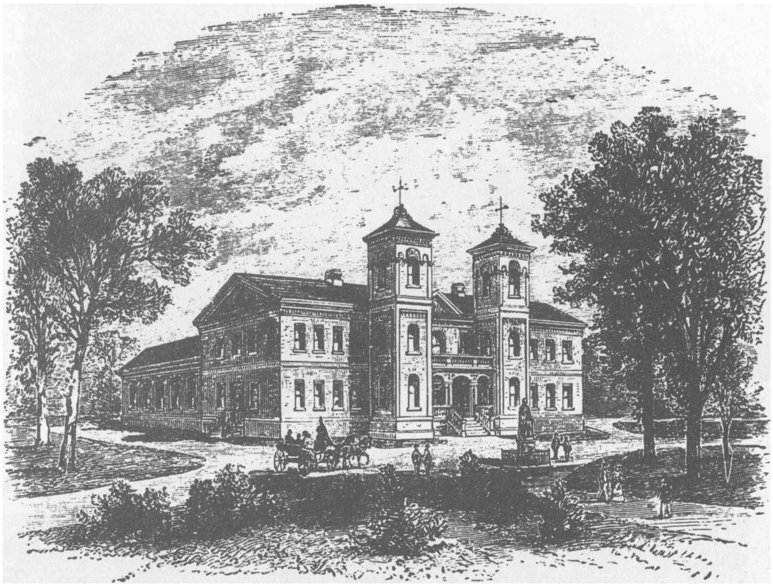


Fig. 12. Lithograph view from the east front.

The Short-Lived Third Building

After the 1859 fire, a third and much-altered Main Building with twin Italianate towers was constructed on the surviving walls. The lithograph shows its general appearance from the east front, although the roadway and the campus scene are almost certainly fanciful (Fig. 12, College of William and Mary Archives) . One of two extant drawings by L. J. Cranstone shows the building from the vicinity of Richmond Road with the President's House and dependencies in the foreground (Fig. 13, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation) . The third building had a very brief history, for it was burned on September 9, 1862, by Union soldiers who were occupying the campus.

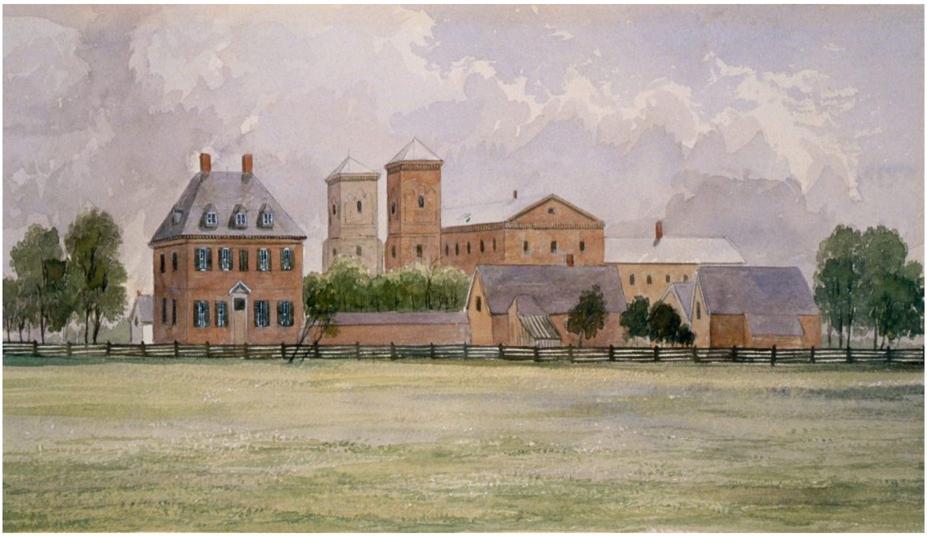


Fig. 13. Watercolor painting, "College of William and Mary" by L. J. Cranstone.

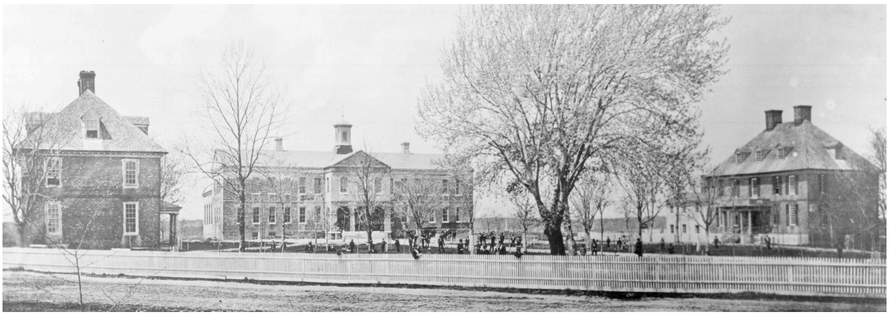


Fig. 14. Photo taken sometime between 1869 and 1874.

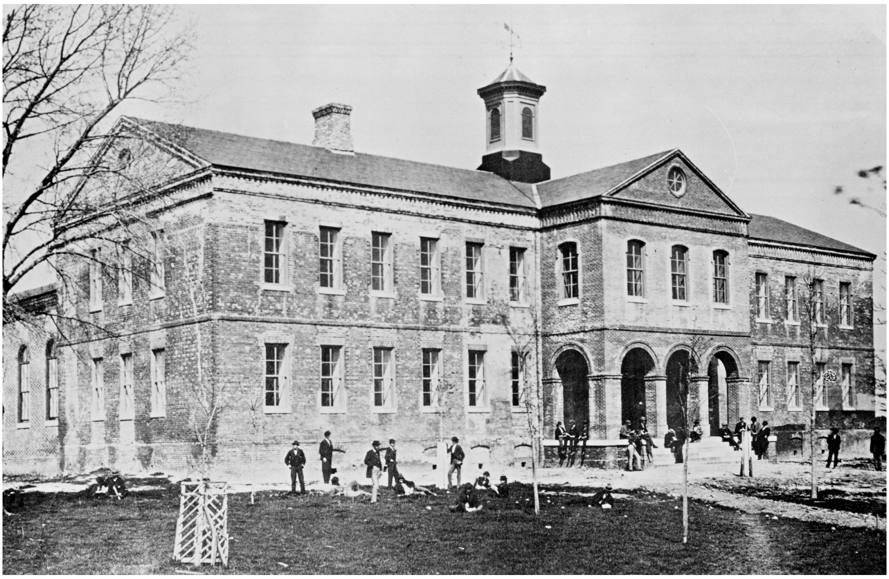


Fig. 15. Wren Building, 1882.

The Campus after the Civil War

Despite the precarious condition of the College after the Civil War, President Benjamin Ewell was able to reopen the institution in October 1865, using the Brafferton and the President's House, both of which had sustained only slight damage. By October 1869 a new Main Building, constructed once again on the surviving walls of the earlier buildings, was completed. This fourth building continued in use for almost six decades, until the Colonial Williamsburg Foundation began the restoration of the second building in 1928.

A photograph, taken sometime between 1869 and about 1874, shows the new structure flanked by the two surviving original buildings, to both of which porches had been added (Fig. 14, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation). An addition to the President's House had also been constructed in 1865, when the Main Building was in ruins. Students were much in evidence around the fourth building shortly after its completion (Fig. 15, Colonial Williamsburg Foundation), but the College remained closed for lack of students from 1882 to 1888.

PART II

BETWEEN THE WARS
1782–1862

BY

LUDWELL H. JOHNSON

1

JAMES MADISON AND THE "LONG AND LINGERING DECLINE" 1782–1812

The Struggle for Solvency, 1782–1812

"After so long a silence, my friend, where shall I begin? Like Cain, I have been a vagabond since August last. But have at length returned to this place, for little else indeed, than to be a spectator of misery & ruin." So wrote the Reverend James Madison, president of William and Mary, to James Madison, Jr., upon returning to Williamsburg.[1] Although Cornwallis had surrendered more than four months earlier, the College still served as a hospital for ailing French soldiers. The Main Building had been damaged, the library and "philosophical apparatus" partially vandalized by successive military occupations, and the President's House gutted by fire. Madison was lodging with the only other faculty member then in town, Charles Bellini, who had withstood all the calamities of war "with a Fortitude worthy of an old Roman descent."[2]

What a distressing outcome, Madison must have thought, to the bright expectations of December 1779, when the College had been transmuted into a fledgling university that Thomas Jefferson had hoped would stand at the apex of a new, statewide educational system. But that system never secured legislative approval, and the College was left adrift, bereft of its customary revenues by the Revolution at a time when money was needed more than ever.

A few months later, the more famous Madison received another letter about William and Mary, this time from Edmund Randolph, who was in Williamsburg to attend a convocation of the Board of Visitors. "Some of us"—a significant qualification—"will labor, if we have not too far exhausted the funds, to restore it to its process of an university, and give it the energy which the new institution possessed before the invasion."[3] In this the Board did not succeed.[4]

There was little in the way of funds to exhaust. Before the war the College's annual revenues amounted to between £5,000 and £6,000 sterling, mostly from custom duties. These had gone with independence. Now it depended largely on rents from the 20,000 acres of land it had received in the royal charter many years before. These brought in only some £500 in 1780, an income slightly augmented by the General Assembly's grant of one-sixth of all surveyors' fees to the institution.[5] Collecting fees, rents, and payments on private debts accruing from the sale of land in something other than depreciated paper currency was another matter. In 1780 the president and masters announced that the College, "having suffered very considerably by accepting current money" instead of tobacco or sterling, would thenceforth require payment in tobacco. They threatened to sue delinquents, probably with little result.[6] The payment of student fees was also a problem. Professors George Wythe and Robert Andrews having returned to Williamsburg in August 1782, the College advertised its opening with the admonition that because of the "inconvenience … formerly felt" it would be necessary for "the usual fees to be paid upon entrance."[7]

Some small additional income was realized when the legislature added money resulting from the survey of military land grants to the previously assigned surveyor fees, which came to a trivial sum; it also gave William and Mary state-owned land in Williamsburg and near Jamestown.[8] Besides real estate, the College's "whole money capital" remaining by 1786 came to $2,500.[9] One bright spot was a French indemnity for the burning of the President's House. Rebuilding took until 1786, during which time a house was rented at £50 yearly as a presidential residence.[10] Madison, whose books and furniture were lost in the fire, received compensation at least for his library. The reverend gentleman may have regarded this as the return of bread cast upon the waters, for when he informed Jefferson of the conferral of an honorary degree on the Marquis of Chastellux in March 1782, he expressed the hope that "this most honorable mark of distinction wch. Our University can confer, would be active in having compensation given for our great losses here."[11] What was to become a time-honored collegiate practice of cultivating influential friends was carried further by awarding degrees to Jefferson and Madison (the future president).[12] In those cases, as events would show, no bread came back—far from it. Nor did the College benefit noticeably when it prevailed upon a somewhat reluctant George Washington to assume the vacant chancellorship a few years later.[13] Chastellux, on the other hand, secured a gift to the library of two hundred volumes, courtesy of Louis XVI. These would have been an even more useful addition to the collection had they not lain forgotten for several months in a Richmond warehouse, reposing amidst barrels of sugar and oil and arriving at the College much damaged.[14]

On the debit side, in 1787 the General Assembly diverted part of the surveying fees to finance new educational enterprises. One was a public seminary to be located somewhere in what is now northern West Virginia. This was, the act stated, only "just and reasonable," because the inhabitants of those remote counties were deprived of the "advantages arising from the establishment of public seminaries within this state." Even worse, the legislature shifted surveyor fees collected in the District of Kentucky from William and Mary to Transylvania Seminary.[15] Such events portended even greater and more dangerous competition in later years. Likewise disappointing was the loss of income from the Brafferton lands after an expensive litigation in the British courts.[16]

These conditions soon led the College to begin to eat the bricks out of its own house. "Surplus" slaves were sold to get money to repair the buildings, and in 1786 part of the recent state land grant was disposed of for a paltry price. Four years later the College did rather better, receiving £3,400 for 364 acres in York County.[17] These were mere drops in the ocean, and in 1792 Board member Edmund Randolph reported that the College had "received no accession to its old resources, and continued poor. … [T]he emoluments are too low to invite men of genius to the different chairs. … I might venture to challenge the United States with the talents of bishop Madison, the president, as a natural philosopher, but he lingers at the College for very peculiar reasons. …"[18] On July 1, 1793, a century after the granting of the charter, the bursar confessed that the treasury contained "not a shilling."[19] The Board inquired into the financial condition of the old school a few months later and discovered that "the necessary disbursements considerably exceed the annual revenue thereof, in so much that unless this defalcation be shortly supplied there is danger that this useful institution cannot continue to be carried on according to the present or more extensive plan." Moreover, much money was needed to make repairs, "which deficiencies can only be supplied by the sale of certain lands belonging to the College. …" The Board then empowered the president and masters to sell for not less than 15 shillings an acre all lands in Sussex and Isle of Wight counties, two lots in Williamsburg, and all lots in the town of Hampton.[20]

Even such desperate remedies failed. As the new century opened, the College was limping along on $3,500 to $4,500 a year, unable even to make essential repairs to its decrepit structures.[21] The bursar's reports show little improvement as the years passed, with an average annual income during the rest of Madison's presidency of about $4,300. Efforts to raise money from state-authorized lotteries, a favorite expedient of educational institutions in those days, brought embarrassments and a lawsuit, but little money. Proposals to sell land in King William County seem to have produced at best a modest increase in revenue at the expense of depleting the most important part of the endowment. Simply stated, the institution was a financial cripple. Its only possible salvation lay in public appropriations, but that required political support and powerful friends. In 1809 Governor John Tyler urged that public assistance be extended, even that William and Mary become a public institution, but nothing came of his proposal.[22]

Jefferson's Great Reform Unravels

Soon after the tum of the century, Jefferson wrote Madison to inquire about the possibility of finding a place at the College for Thomas P. Smith, a well-known Philadelphia chemist who came recommended by none other than Joseph Priestley. Had the chair of chemistry, botany, and medicine included in their "reformation of the plan of the College in 1779" escaped the subsequent "demolition" and "ruin" of that plan?[23] Madison replied that although the chair had not actually been abolished, two professorships of humanity created to staff the revived Grammar School had absorbed the position. He hoped that the Visitors, who had not met for several years, could be persuaded to convene and that they might eliminate one or both of those professorships, thus making room for Mr. Smith and a resuscitated medical chair. He could not predict what might happen. "The Visitors seem to have abandoned the College," but perhaps the new members he expected to be chosen would do something useful.[24]

What had happened to bring about the "demolition" and "ruin" of the great reform of 1779? There were those who had resisted the new dispensation from the first. Some were probably dismayed by the policy of admitting students without requiring the usual preparation in Latin and Greek, now, along with the Grammar School, deleted from the curriculum.[25] They may have felt, with John Adams, that they would as soon think "of closing all my window shutters to enable me to see, as of banishing the classics, to improve republican ideas."[26] They may have been disturbed as well by the apparent violation of the charter of 1693 wrought by these changes. Revolutionaries though they were, they retained a powerful respect for vested rights. The Tidewater gentry were overwhelmingly Anglican in persuasion; however nominal their devotion, some doubtless resented the sweeping away of the chairs of divinity to make way for Jefferson's new model university.[27]

Finally, there was the Reverend John Bracken, who had lost his faculty position when the Grammar School ceased to exist. He had a substantial personal following dating back to his successful contest with Samuel Henley for the rectorship of Bruton Parish Church, a place Bracken filled from 1773 until his death in 1818. His marriage in 1776 to Sally Burwell, daughter of Carter Burwell of Carter's Grove, is good evidence of his social standing. Moreover, he was for a time mayor of Williamsburg and head of the commissioners who governed the insane asylum. Later, in 1812, he would succeed Madison briefly as both president of William and Mary and bishop-elect of Virginia.[28] Bracken had no intention of giving up his fight to be restored to the faculty as head of the Grammar School, and so he became a rallying point for the opponents of the 1779 reforms and all they stood for.

When the Board of Visitors met in September 1782 to prepare for the reopening of the College, one eminent member feared that Bracken's obdurate refusal to accept his fate and his threats of legal action might lead the Visitors to revive the Grammar School and with it "that injurious professorship."[29] Several days later he reported that "thus far our reformation continues to receive support. But some of the gentlemen, who scrupled at the deposition of the grammar school, appear to doubt our power [under the charter] to establish new professorships. I fear, that the next meeting will have a stroke at law and physick. … Should the law-school be overturned, the college will be reduced to a desart."[30]

The Visitors at least tacitly reconfirmed the reform, although not without complications. At some point it was discovered that the clerk of the Board had not made a record of the statute of 1779 when it was passed. The only surviving version was an extract published in the *Virginia Gazette*.[31] No one knew how faithful a representation that was, or if it had passed at two readings on two different days as the Board's rules stipulated. The secretary had also failed to keep a record of the next meeting in 1780, and so to settle the matter the Board finally readopted the statute in 1784 as it had appeared in the *Gazette*.[32]

Those members who wanted to "have a stroke" at the medical chair were no doubt pleased by the departure of Dr. James McClurg. Even as the Board was meeting back in 1782, this distinguished gentleman was in Philadelphia "reconnoitreing the ground on which he has been invited to build his future fortunes"; that is, he was investigating an offer to join the medical faculty of the University of Pennsylvania.[33] He did not take that position, but by 1784 he had left Williamsburg to open a medical practice in Richmond. So vanished an important element in Jefferson's first "university," and along with it William and Mary's claim to the second oldest chair of medicine in the country. It was a paper loss; there is no evidence that Dr. McClurg ever did any teaching.[34]

As for another part of the plan, the nation's first chair of modem languages, its luster was not much enhanced by Charles Bellini. This rather tragic figure had the warmth and charm of his native Italy—women, he told his students, were the *pabulum vitae*—and had earned Jefferson's indulgent affection and patronage. He was the only one of Jefferson's numerous correspondents who addressed him as "My Dearest Thomas." But however engaging personally, Bellini was far from being an accomplished linguist. He could offer, besides his native Italian, only French and a smattering of Spanish and German. Few students patronized his classes, and he tried to eke out his meager income by teaching in a private school. Struggling to care for an invalid wife, his own eyesight fading, and toward the end, left almost speechless by a stroke, he came to be a pitiable liability.[35]

The third addition under the 1779 plan, the law school, survived despite the resignation of George Wythe in 1789. St. George Tucker succeeded Wythe and, as discussed below, maintained the reputation and dignity of the chair of law until his departure in 1804.[36] In the long run, however, Wythe' s leaving may have been a far heavier blow to the future of William and Mary than anyone could have realized, for it gravely affected Jefferson's attitude toward his alma mater.

For several years after the College reopened, Jefferson was highly complimentary about the quality of education it offered. In 1785 he asserted that, with the exception of modem languages, everything a youth needed could be acquired as well at William and Mary as at any place in Europe.[37] He told a young friend it was "the best place to go."[38] He even urged John Adams to send his son, John Quincy, to William and Mary,[39] a conjunction of events staggering to the imagination. The climate, which was to become so mephitic in Jefferson's mind when his new university was in prospect, was "remarkably healthy."[40] He wrote Ralph Izard in 1788 approving his decision to send his son to the College. "I know of no place *in the world, while the present professars remain*, where I would so soon place a son." Madison was "a man of great abilities," Bellini an excellent language teacher, but "the pride of the Institution is Mr. Wythe … professor of law in the College. He is one of the greatest men of the age."[41]

But then Wythe, in Jefferson's words, "abandoned the college of William and Mary, disgusted with some of the conduct of the professors, & particularly of the ex-professor Bracken. … The visitors will try to condemn what gave him offense and press him to return; otherwise it is over with the college." Wythe did not return, and as the years passed nothing happened to restore Jefferson's good opinion. The institution, he wrote to Joseph Priestley, was just well enough endowed to draw out the miserable existence to which a miserable constitution has doomed it." His purpose now was "to establish in the upper country … an University on a plan so broad and liberal and *modern* as to be worth patronizing with the public support."[42] As far as he was concerned, it was "over with the college," which entered upon what he later called "its long and lingering decline."[43]

Meanwhile the enemies of reform and the friends of orthodoxy were at work. As a meeting of the Board drew near in 1784, Rector James Innes urged St. George Tucker to attend. "The interests of our friend [Walker] Maury require your attention that day—the Spirit of the FHC is not, I trust, yet dead."[44] The Board majority forestalled Thermidor on that occasion, but the struggle continued. The next year Beverley Randolph pressed Tucker to come to the convocation, for "unless a majority of liberal souls are present we shall be Priest ridden."[45]

A contest was under way between two factions, one trying to save the 1779 reorganization, the other to restore Bracken and his Grammar School and probably the defunct divinity chairs as well. The FHC to which Innes referred was a club established at the College in 1750; it was a fraternal society especially active in the 1770s. Among its members had been Jefferson, Tucker, Innes, Beverley Randolph, possibly Madison, and Walker Maury. Maury was the son of James Maury of Parson's Cause fame, who had kept a grammar school in Albemarle County and had counted among his pupils young Thomas Jefferson. Walker Maury opened his own school in Orange County at some time during the Revolution and called upon his FHC brothers for support and patronage.[46] He and his school would come to represent the cause of the proreform Jeffersonian liberals even as Bracken represented the antireform conservatives.

The people of Williamsburg wanted a grammar school for their children, and in that very close-knit society the importance of such considerations should not be underestimated. Ex-professor Bracken had opened a school in his home in 1780, where at least one pupil found him to be "testy and petulant," although a very good scholar. Then in 1783 business called him to London, and his school closed its doors. Walker Maury decided that this was an opportune time to move to Williamsburg.[47] The town secured the use of the old capitol building by act of the General Assembly "for the purpose of accommodating a grammar master, and fitting it for the education and instruction of youth." One suspects that Maury's FHC brothers were the prime movers in this. However that may be, Maury brought his school to Williamsburg late in 1783, took over the commodious if dilapidated capitol, and began classes early in 1784. Still more help, at least on paper, came from the legislature, which authorized Williamsburg to hold a lottery for the benefit of Maury's school, without mentioning it by name. Among Maury's students were a stepson of St. George Tucker and Jefferson's much-beloved nephew, Peter Carr. The academy also received the flattering attention of the president and masters of the College, who superintended its operations on behalf of the city fathers. George Wythe's "passion for the improvement of youth" was well known, and he regularly visited the classrooms.[48] And Jefferson, from afar, took an interest in the enterprise. The curriculum included Greek, Latin, French, arithmetic, and bookkeeping, and Bellini, who had few students at the College, garnered extra fees by teaching Italian. It seemed an ideal solution all around: a grammar school that prepared students for collegiate studies without eviscerating the 1779 reform by drawing upon the College for faculty positions and salaries.

This was a promising beginning, and Maury had hopes of further improving his situation by being appointed master of a revived Brafferton Indian School. Income from the Brafferton estate was supposed to be devoted to the Christianizing and education of "infidels"—Indians—in accordance with the testamentary wishes of Robert Boyle. Payments had been suspended with the outbreak of the Revolution. Now that peace had come, Maury expected the Board to take steps to recover this income and revive the Indian School. Maury wanted the mastership and the salary that went with it. Something over a year earlier, Bracken had agreed to accept this post in lieu of the abolished Grammar School professorship, then had changed his mind. Now Rector James Innes believed Bracken might change his mind once more and urge his friends to support his claim, hence Innes's request that Tucker come to the convocation to protect the interests of "our friend Maury." Maury also asked for Tucker's help in enlisting the votes of Beverley Randolph and others.[49]

One possible stumbling block was the lack of "infidels" (Indian infidels, at least). There having been for a long time a conspicuous absence of Indians at William and Mary, the Board was pleased when General George Rogers Clark offered to send it some, not the first time, incidentally, the College had tried to import this once redundant commodity. It was all to no avail. Even the FHC brothers could do nothing for their friend on this occasion, for the Brafferton income would be forever lost in the English courts. There was to be no Indian School, no "infidels" for Maury and Bracken to scuffle over.[50]

Left to his own resources, Maury ultimately solved part of Bracken's problem for him. He ran his academy into debt, alienated his associates, and proved himself to be temperamentally unsuited to handling high-spirited boys. One can discount to some extent John Randolph's description of Maury as being "the most peevish and illtempered of pedagogues," who treated his brother Theodorick with "shocking barbarity," driving him from the school. Even without the testimony of one who could not have been any teacher's pet, Maury's own letters are a sufficient indictment.[51] The upshot was that in the fall of 1786 Maury accepted an invitation from the city of Norfolk to take charge of a local academy, thus leaving his rival a school closely affiliated with, though fiscally separate from, William and Mary.[52]

All that now remained was for the conservatives to attach the school to the College and thereby restore Bracken to the faculty. This would signalize their victory over the Jeffersonian—FHC liberals, and the future course of the College would be charted for all to see, including Jefferson. The details of what happened have not survived, but the result is clear: Bracken won. By this time he had taken legal steps to force the Board to restore him to his former position. The case was postponed until 1790, when the highest court in the state, the Court of Appeals, ruled against him.[53] He need not have worried. Soon afterward, possibly that same year, the Board reestablished the Grammar School with Bracken as master and professor of humanity in the College and appointed a second professor of humanity to assist him. Turning away from the stark secularism of 1779, it passed new statutes creating the degree of doctor of divinity, which was promptly bestowed on Bracken, and decreed compulsory attendance at prayers. Finally, despite his invincible republican principles, Madison was consecrated bishop of Virginia by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1790, an event that seemed to reemphasize

William and Mary's long history as an arm of the Church of England. It could be said that the Board was progressive in its reactionary response, for it anticipated a general revulsion against the secularization of education that set in a few years later.[54]

Such was the state of affairs Jefferson had in mind when, in 1800, he alluded to the "demolition" and "ruin" of his ambitious reformation. As for Mr. Smith, for whom he had sought a position, the bishop had to tell his old friend that there was none. The Board had met and had done "nothing of consequence." The Grammar School continued. The medical chair remained empty. It was, said Madison, "easier to move mountains than to eradicate old Prejudices. They seem, like the stone of Sisyphus, to be eternally tumbling back upon us."[55] The Board had succeeded brilliantly in one important respect: it had deprived the College of the good opinion of its most distinguished and influential alumnus, perhaps the one man whose patronage could have changed the history of William and Mary radically. With him as its champion, it might well have become the university of Virginia. After all, that had been Jefferson's original intention.

The Board, to give it its due, did bestir itself at this time to see what was going on at the institution for which it was responsible. Possibly at the instance of several new members, a committee was appointed to investigate the state of the College.[56] There was some reason for so doing. By 1800 poor Bellini was decrepit to the point of not functioning. "Old Bellini professes to teach Modern Languages," said one student, "which amounts to a total exclusion of the knowledge of them." As for Professor Robert Andrews, he spent too much time pursuing his political career in Richmond and not enough teaching mathematics. "The result of the examination of his class last year ought to have disgraced him." A public letter to the *Virginia Gazette* accused unnamed professors of holding other positions that prevented them from being at the College during the academic terms.[57] In fact, St. George Tucker openly criticized his colleague Andrews for his membership in the General Assembly, a violation, Tucker said, of both state law and College statutes.[58]

If pluralism was wrong, however, Tucker was a sinner too. Like his predecessor he held judicial office as well as his professorship. This had been the case when he joined the faculty in 1790. The Board had raised no objection then, but the membership had since changed. Because judicial and academic terms did not coincide on the calendar, Tucker shifted the latter to accommodate the former. Moreover, so as to have his library at his fingertips, he held classes in his home instead of at the College. None of this should have been a problem if the College had enforced the rule that law students must have "the requisites for the Batchelor of Arts." Some did not, attended other classes as best they could, and therefore experienced some inconvenience. Yet, on the whole there was probably little reason why Tucker should not have been allowed to continue as he had been doing.[59]

Nevertheless, the Board decided that he must conform: teach at the College during the regular terms. Still worse was a new statute Tucker first saw in a Richmond newspaper, directing that "the rooms in College inhabited by Students be visited at least twice a week, by the president and professors in rotation." In extenuation of this blunder, it should be said that the Board was trying to put a stop to student misconduct such as had recently produced much potentially damaging publicity.

Tucker was in no mood to think of extenuations at this particular time. Never a man to suffer fools gladly, whether they be Visitors or not, he was in the midst of a crisis in his judicial career that was not likely to sweeten a naturally acerbic disposition. Just when he hoped to replace the deceased Edmund Pendleton on the Court of Appeals, he faced charges of soliciting a bribe. Added to these distressing allegations, of which he was completely exonerated, the Board's order directing him to act as a dormitory manager must have been the last straw.

One can sympathize with him. To tell this distinguished judge and eminent legal scholar that he must go nosing around students' rooms was an act of folly surpassing the limits of fatuousness normally expected even of governing boards. In a withering letter to the rector, Tucker said he had never dreamed that he "might be required to inflict upon my students the ordinary discipline of a village school," or that "a person deemed worthy of the station to which I was elected and of that which I held in the commonwealth, previous to my election to the professorial chair, could have received a mandate to perform the duties of a beadle," thus degrading him in the eyes of his students, of the public, and "the man in his own eyes." So he resigned on December 9, 1803,[60] a blow to the prestige of the College second only to the resignation of George Wythe.

Tucker's successor was his friend William Nelson, judge of the General Court, participant in the revisal of Virginia laws in 1792, and member of the Board of Visitors. Notwithstanding these respectable credentials, the chair of law ceased to be in any way notable, and despite the fact that Nelson remained on the faculty until his death in 1813, little is known of his professorship. It is recorded that "he danced very merrily, tho he had silvered locks,"[61] but such a nugget, however piquant, is scarcely relevant

There was another resignation in 1803: Bellini. His health wrecked, he died impoverished the next year. Quite possibly on the recommendation of Jefferson,[62] Madison chose Louis Hué Girardin to take the chair of modern languages. Born Louis François Picot, Girardin was a native of Dreux. He attended the lycée at Rouen and then went to Paris to study law. Through the favor of a high government functionary, he was introduced to the literary life of the city. He was a moderate royalist during the French Revolution and found it necessary to escape from the country when the Robespierrian phase began. Joining a French man-of-war, doubtless under the name Girardin, he arrived in the United States in 1793 and for the next four years found employment at Georgetown's Roman Catholic seminary. Nothing is known of his life during the next several years except that he tried to start a school in northern Virginia. At William and Mary he taught French, history, and geography, but his main enthusiasm was natural history, especially botany, upon which he lectured.[63] Girardin was a man of broad intellectual interests and a distinct step up from Bellini.

In 1806 and 1807, Girardin became an important element in a plan devised by Bishop Madison and Joseph Carrington Cabell for the reorganization and rehabilitation of William and Mary. Cabell had taken his bachelor's degree in 1798 and during his years at the College had won the bishop's affectionate regard. Later, he began to study law, but delicate health led him to undertake extensive travels in the United States and Europe. It was an exciting and enlightening experience. He met Washington Irving in Naples, discussed Swiss educational methods with Johann Pestalozzi, dined with the Polish patriot Thaddeus Kosciusko and the French historian, the Comte de Volney, and obtained entree to the literary circle of the notorious William Godwin. In Paris he listened to the lectures of Georges Cuvier and other savants and there viewed "all the branches of natural history under the aspects of new and captivating splendor."[64]

Upon his return to America in 1806, Cabell met President Jefferson, who received him warmly. This was not surprising. The two had a common interest in science and education. Cabell was highly connected among Virginia's elite and was a close friend of Isaac Coles, the president's personal secretary. Resisting Jefferson's offer of various federal offices, Cabell returned to Williamsburg and married a stepdaughter of his former law professor, St. George Tucker.[65] There he met Girardin and discovered their common interest in natural history. He also met another émigré, G. C. de La Coste. This gentleman had unsuccessfully endeavored to raise subscriptions for a natural history museum in New York and, failing that, was trying to sell his collection. From this concatenation of circumstances arose the idea of a statewide society for the promotion of the natural sciences whose visible symbol would be a museum of natural history at William and Mary. Such museums were very much in vogue in those years.[66]

Simultaneously Cabell undertook a close study of the College. It was a depressing experience. There were, he told his friend Coles, "five able professors … who are more miserably compensated for the services they render, than any five men in America." Had he the power, he would make better use of the College's limited funds. The Grammar School should be abolished and along with it Bracken's professorship. He would also abolish the chair of law. It was of little use, he said, because Nelson's judicial duties meant that he had to rush through his course so rapidly as to be of little benefit to his students. To replace these two chairs, he would create a professorship of chemistry, completing "the circle of experimental science," and transform the professorship of modern languages into a chair of natural history whose occupant could give private lessons in French or Italian. This would "complete the circle of physical science."[67] He hoped that the Visitors would initiate the reform at their next meeting by appointing Girardin to the natural history chair. Otherwise Girardin, then almost impoverished—"perishing," as Cabell put it—would have to find a new position in Richmond in order to support his family. The new program for the College was developed jointly by Cabell, Girardin, and Madison, and was approved by the Society, the collective name of the president and professors.[68]

The other project, the science society and museum, needed prominent friends and contributors. Cabell asked Coles to approach Jefferson. Should the society become a reality, he said, Jefferson would be offered the presidency, with the governor and Bishop Madison as vice-presidents and Girardin as secretary. Girardin would also be the curator of the museum; he was the only man, in Cabell' s estimation, equal to that task.[69] Coles's reply was very discouraging and reflected Jefferson's view of the matter. The old College, said Coles, "is declining, and perhaps the sooner it falls entirely, the better, if it might be the means of pointing out to our legislative body the necessity of founding an institution on an extended and liberal scale. … Instead of wasting your time in attempting to patch up a decaying institution, … found a new one which shall be worthy of the first State in the Union."[70] Jefferson, one can be sure, did not want a brushed-up William and Mary to stand in the way of the founding of his university.

It is somewhat ironic that when Cabell replied to his friend he saw little chance of the legislature creating a new institution in the foreseeable future; for it would be Cabell himself as a member of that body a few years later who would do so much to make Jefferson's dream a reality. Now, however, in 1807, he believed they should make the best of what they had, while continuing to hope that some day the state might move William and Mary to Richmond or even establish an entirely new university in the "upper country."[71]

So the science society was stillborn, a society that might have helped give the College an enhanced reputation and a more secure place in the estimation of those who would eventually have to decide whether or not to give it public assistance. Even without the society, much the same might have been accomplished by enacting the Cabell-Madison reform. Unfortunately, the Board of Visitors did not even appoint Girardin professor of natural history. He thereupon resigned and moved to Richmond, and the chair of modern languages sank to the level of a part-time French instructor, one A. Plunkett.[72] Cabell gave up on the College and moved to his home in Amherst County, where he ran for the state legislature. There he would be a few years later, ready to work mightily to found that deadly competitor of the College for public favor, the University of Virginia. One can never know for certain what the Board's inaction cost William and Mary; perhaps the cause was hopeless. Still, Madison must surely have been reminded again of the stone of Sisyphus; or, as he lectured on mechanics, he might have wondered if even the lever of Archimedes could have moved the Visitors off dead center.

Scarcely had Madison appointed Girardin and Nelson to fill the places of Bellini and Tucker when he lost his mathematics professor, Robert Andrews, who journeyed to that great college in the sky in 1804. The bishop promptly sought Jefferson's help in finding "a Person for that office, who shall be, in every Respect, perfectly qualified." Did the president think William and Mary might attract Mr. Jared Mansfield, whose "ingenious Dissertation" Jefferson had sent him? Of course, the old problem remained. As Edmund Randolph had observed some years before, "the emoluments are too low to invite men of genius to the different chairs,"[73] a refrain Madison now repeated. "The emoluments may be rated at $1,000 per an.—too little indeed to attract men of real talent. …"[74] Jared Mansfield was one of those men of real talent. Then surveyor general of the United States, thanks to Jefferson, Mansfield's *Essays, Mathematical and Physical,* (1801) was considered to be the first original work of mathematical research by an American.[75] Even though his salary was then $2,000, Jefferson thought he might prefer the "more tranquil" environment of Williamsburg to the wilds of Indiana, whither he and his family had just moved.[76] Madison also asked Secretary of State Madison to persuade Mansfield to accept,[77] but to no avail. Maybe the price of tranquility was a little too high.

Next to be approached for advice was Philadelphia's Benjamin Rush, the famous reformer, patriot, chemist, and physician, and the greatest bleeder and purger in medical history. Madison asked about a Mr. Robertson, said to be studying medicine under Rush. Might he be disposed to fill a vacant professorship at William and Mary? Possibly Madison was attempting to revive the medical chair by appointing someone who could teach medicine as well as mathematics. And if Robertson should not be interested, could Rush supply information about "a Mr. Blackburn, who, I understand, was recommended to you, upon his first arrival in this country? Or, if you are acquainted with any other Person, distinguished for math. & sciences, & also of the *purest morals,* who would wish for such a place," Rush's help would be much appreciated.[78]

George Blackburn accepted and remained until 1811. He came to be known as "Old Triangle" to the students, at least one of whom gave him a glowing report as a teacher. The bishop, whom for some reason Blackburn came to dislike, considered him to be "a good calculator." Blackburn supplemented his income by opening what the nineteenth century persisted in calling a "female academy." His work at the College was sufficiently arduous without taking on additional responsibilities. Entering students were so notoriously deficient in mathematics that the Board decreed that the mathematics professor must give remedial instruction to any who were "unacquainted with the common rules of Arithmetic, Vulgar and Decimal Fractions, and the numerical extraction of Roots." Blackburn made a virtue of necessity by advertising for private pupils, remarking on the "strangely defective state of preparation" of the young men coming to the College.[79] He would not be the last professor to notice this phenomenon.

Mathematics, law, natural and moral philosophy (Madison), at least one modern language, and Greek, Latin, and other preparatory subjects (Bracken's Grammar School)—the basic curriculum remained intact. This was no mean accomplishment under the circumstances, even if the loss of Wythe, Tucker, and Girardin, and the abandonment of the ideals of 1779 reflected a steady decline. With the bishop bailing furiously, the ship was still afloat.

Enemies Without, Disorders Within

During the years Madison was grappling with the problems already described, he also had to devote his energies to defending the reputation of the College from a variety of attackers. For some years visitors from the North, especially from New England, had not infrequently been condescending or even hostile. "[T]he exterior of the college is not splendid," remarked Francis Asbury, soon to be a Methodist bishop, "and [there are] but [few] students; the Bedlam-house is desolate, but whether because none are insane or all are equally mad, it might, perhaps, be difficult to tell."[80] A few years later in 1785, Noah Webster, perhaps irked because the local gentlemen were not as attentive to his lectures as he thought they should be, accused Virginians of having "much pride, little money on hand, great contempt for Northern people, & amazing fondness for Dissipation." He spent some hours with George Wythe, whom he found to be "a great man for Virginia, & a sensible man anywhere."[81] These remarks were fulsome praise, however, when compared to the report of the Reverend Jedidiah Morse, the geographer. The state of the College, he said, was "incredible." Little was demanded of the professors, and the students were allowed to skate, game, and dance "without control." There were no public prayers, and there had not been a divinity student for years.[82]

That was in 1786. Far worse was yet to come. When political parties sprang up in the wake of Alexander Hamilton's centralizing policies at home and the French Revolution abroad, Federalist writers, seeking any means to discredit the Republicans, sometimes singled out the College as an inculcator and disseminator of Franco-Jeffersonian abominations. When the Republicans carried the election of 1800, there were Federalists who actually expected to see the tumbrils rolling down State Street in Boston, with the wives and daughters of the unlucky passengers surrendered to the lust of godless revolutionary mobs. That was what Jeffersonian Republicanism stood for, and the College of William and Mary was a reeking cauldron of that poisonous brew. "[Y]ou are made the Author," Madison wrote Jefferson, "of all the Mischeifs [sic], & of all the Evils which the College has so widely disseminated."[83] There was a time when he believed that the College's reputation for republicanism, and Republicanism, had done it more damage than anything else.[84]

Unquestionably, heterodox religious as well as political ideas affected most of the students, as they did students at other educational institutions of the time. Many people saw William and Mary as a hotbed of radicalism, a hurtful perception that persisted until the advent of a new conservatism in the 1820s and 1830s.[85] Until then, bliss was it in that dawn to be alive. As one undergraduate wrote, each of them acquired "the spirit of scepticism … as soon as he touched the threshold of the college." It was the "first step toward knowledge. … That it leads to deism, atheism, etc., I will acknowledge, but on the same grounds we may object to reason."[86] The image of the College as a sink of irreligion is vividly conveyed by the observation of a newly arrived student who said that he was "somewhat surprised" to find its president, the presiding bishop of the Episcopal Church in Virginia," so firm a Christian."[87]

As for politics in the 1790s and early 1800s, a large majority of students and all but one of the faculty were ardent Republicans, with both a large and a small *r*. When the bishop, partly to tone down the impression of the College as a center of Jacobinism, suggested the wearing of black arm bands to mark the passing of George Washington, the young bloods thought this was going too far. The general might have been the father of his country, but he was also president when Hamilton and others of his ilk gave birth to Federalism. In those heady days, student letters were dated "A.R."—in the year of the Republic—and addressed to "Citizen." John Adams went up in flames, in effigy, and Jefferson's elevation to the presidency evoked a joy that "almost bordered on madness." Students whooped through the streets, and an equally jubilant Professor Tucker asked them all in for a glass of wine. Jeffersonians and Republicans most of them undoubtedly were.[88]

Madison did his best to protect the College without compromising its principles or his, which were the same. It was not a pleasant duty. One accusation especially alarmed and angered him. It came from no less a figure than the Reverend Timothy Dwight, president of Yale, an architect of the New Haven school of theology, and a deep-dyed Federalist conservative. Dwight charged that William Godwin's *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice* was taught at William and Mary, a treatise he saw as one of the fragments of European infidelity "vomited," as Dwight put it, toward America. Now little known and less read, Godwin had traveled from nonconformist minister to atheist. His *Enquiry* , published in 1793, preached a ruthless hedonistic utilitarianism that seemed to point toward anarchy. After experiencing a brief vogue, it sank in the tidal wave of reaction to French revolutionary excesses. Godwin and his *Enquiry* were thus anathema, not only to Dwight, but to most Americans who knew anything of his ideas.[89]

Naturally the bishop could not allow the College to be tarred with this brush. "I observed in the different Papers," he wrote the other Madison, "such harping upon the Introduction of Godwin in Wm & Mary, that I determined to check, if possible the current of Malevolence; especially as your Inquiry evinced, that the Supposition of such an Introduction was one of the Engines which has occasionally played off against Virginia. … Nothing so strongly marks the Virulence & the Meanness of the disappointed Party [i.e., the Federalists and their chagrin at the election of Jefferson], as their little Tricks to excite popular Odium."[90]

He responded in a pseudonymous letter to the *National, Intelligencer*, one of the journals in which Dwight's statement had appeared. Describing himself as one who had been educated at William and Mary, "J.C." denied that Godwin had ever been used as a text or as a "medium of instruction." In fact, he had "never heard that author mentioned at a lecture; except for the purpose of animadverting upon some of his doctrines, which were held to be both erroneous and dangerous." Then Madison proceeded to give a ringing vindication of freedom of inquiry—academic freedom—and republican principles. "But neither the works of Godwin, nor of any other philosophical writers, are there proscribed. The principle which governs the philosophical school is, that truth fears no discussion. … On the contrary, the student is urged to diligent and honest enquiry, and to decide for himself from the best evidence he can collect." In the political course, "republican principles are there fostered and inculcated, not because they suit a particular administration; but because they are founded in the nature of man. … We cling to them with ardor. They are the touchstone by which we try the verity of every political hypothesis, and the purity of all political conduct."[91]

Dwight's allegation had scarcely been repelled when student misconduct seemed to justify those who claimed that irreligion and anarchy were the inevitable consequences of Jeffersonian teachings. This particular outbreak, in 1802, followed the expulsion of two young men because of a duel. Some of their friends deemed the punishment unjust. They broke windows in professors' houses, the chapel, and the church, tore up prayer books and Bibles, and vandalized a shop.[92] Although Madison was firmly opposed to dueling, in those days there was much sentiment for allowing gentlemen to uphold their honor by convincing means.[93]

The New York Post reported the disorders, a report copied by other papers. The College, it said, "was completely broken up … and thus dies one of the oldest and wealthiest [!] seminaries of learning in the United States of America. These may be considered some of the blessed effects of the modem, or Jeffersonian system of religion; for party-politics, instead of science, appear long since to have been the primary object of instruction in that University—and from that foul source have flowed many of the heretical doctrines of the present day."[94]

Madison replied with admirable spirit The College, said he, knew not what "Jeffersonian religion" was, but it did boast of the man himself as "one of her brightest ornaments." As for political indoctrination for party purposes, such had never been attempted. "No, sir, the politics which are here studied are those general principles of government which have their foundation in the imprescriptible Rights of Man, which the God of Nature has consecrated, which the Revolution of America made known to the whole world, and which the people of this rising empire will never abandon."[95] Jefferson himself could have done no better.

The enemies of Thomas Jefferson attacked the man and his party by attacking the College. Conversely, Madison defended his friend and republican principles by defending the College. In the bishop's philosophy the two were and ought to be inseparable. To sons of the Enlightenment such as Madison and Jefferson the preservation of republican government depended upon the proper education of the people. In addition, however cosmopolitan they might be, they believed in the necessity of Virginia's preeminence in the nation. Their country, as many Virginians called the state, must remain the bulwark of those principles then under attack by a Federalist party with a monarchical squint The pride Virginians took in assuming the role of national leaders had roots deep in the seventeenth century, when Tidewater became the home of so many members of the Kentish gentry. They brought with them the well-founded conviction that of all English counties theirs was the intellectual and political leader. This transplanted attitude received reinforcement during the Revolution and early national years, when the Old Dominion, the largest and most populous state, seemed far more than merely first among equals. So it was only a seeming paradox when Madison staunchly defended William and Mary even as Jefferson disparaged it: they both were upholding the indispensability of education to Virginia's preeminence as the fountainhead of republican government, the bishop by protecting the College, Jefferson by planning a new institution that could do all that the College was unable to accomplish.[96]

Student behavior, such as the outbreak of 1802, continued to threaten William and Mary's good name and to supply ammunition for critics such as the New York Post, as well as for others closer to home. It was a very painful problem. Even though enrollments were rather small even for that day, averaging about fifty,[97] there was often no shortage of hell-raisers. Raising hell was, of course, a student tradition with an ancient pedigree; still, one receives the impression that extracurricular high jinks were unusually frequent during the eighties, nineties, and the early 1800s. In 1784 the Society deemed it necessary to threaten "banishment" for excessive drinking and "every kind of rioting or obcenity [sic]."[98] Madison came to believe it was better to scatter the students through the town to room and board in private homes rather than have them live together at the College, which he thought "promoted frequent quarrels and preconcerted mutinies."[99] The students protested against his policy in 1796,[100] and indeed there seemed to be little connection between their conduct and where they lived.

Misbehavior, not to use a stronger word, ranged from "the custom of pulling down steps, breaking carriages etc.," the decapitation of Lord Botetourt's statue (later ingeniously repaired by the president) , and throwing bricks through the windows of unpopular citizens, to more serious outrages. The latter included invading Bruton Parish Church, breaking up the Communion table, throwing prayer books and Bibles across the churchyard, and smearing the pulpit "from one end to the other, with human excrement." On another occasion the lads broke the church windows and badly damaged the organ. Most bizarre was the disinterment of a female corpse, which was then placed "on the floor of an empty house in a situation too shocking to describe!!!" Duels, actual or incipient, were a periodic occurrence.[101] One observer believed parents were becoming fearful of sending their sons to William and Mary "lest their morals should be perverted."[102]

On the other hand, William and Mary students should not be seen as unusually violent or irreligious. The same things were happening on one campus after another, sometimes worse things. At least at the College, students did not physically attack the faculty, as they did in the 1799 uprising at the University of North Carolina. One historian has called this student lawlessness "the legacy of the Revolution," and another, referring to antireligious violence, said it was part of the "vast movement to secularize education which was rapidly gaining momentum throughout the nation," a reaction to the ecclesiastical domination that dated from the very inception of systematic education in the medieval universities. "Rebellions" were a periodic occurrence. At Princeton in 1807, after three students were expelled for drunkenness and insolence to professors, "the student body protested in a manner that seemed to presage organized rebellion. The faculty met, and to an obbligato of crashing windows and ripping stair-rails, suspended one hundred and twenty-five of a student body of less than two hundred."[103] At Williams College blasphemous undergraduates conducted a mock Communion, while in the Yale dining hall others sneeringly offered bits of bread to a lone student who had just come from the Lord's table.[104] William and Mary was pretty much in the mainstream of events.

The Visitors passed disciplinary rules the counterparts of which could be found at colleges across the land. The statutes published in 1792 allowed the drinking of spirits "in that moderation which becomes the prudent and industrious Student," but banned "duelling, gaming, quarrelling, profane swearing and cursing, immorality of any kind, and all breaches of good order and decorum," in or out of the university precincts, with penalties extending from reproof to expulsion at the discretion of the Society. The young men were forbidden from "making balls" or "dining or supping in any public house." Good morals and irreproachable conduct were prerequisites for receiving a degree.[105] On paper, at least, it was moderate drinking or nothing.

Rules changed from time to time, and enforcement fluctuated from draconian severity to Christian mildness. After the 1802 affair, which Madison feared had inflicted "a great injury" on the College, the Board and the president decided to show that they meant business. New statutes made suspension or expulsion the only punishment for everything down to a mere "breach of decorum."[106] "No one will be permitted to remain here one hour," declared the bishop, "after he has evinced a Spirit of Insubordination, or of inattention." He was confident that this "system of excision" would succeed.[107] For a while it did, although periodic pruning continued to be necessary.[108]

In 1806 the College decided to compel junior students to live and board on campus so as to reduce their expenses and to guard against "dissipation and idleness."[109] There was no consensus among educators at this time as to whether dormitory living promoted or prevented trouble. If surveillance was easier, so was the opportunity for planning mischief.[110] The bishop appeared to be damned if he did and damned if he didn't, because another outbreak occurred in 1808. The Visitors responded with more restrictive regulations. Besides the usual injunctions against drunkenness and so forth, students now had to remain in their rooms and study during specified hours of the day. When disorderly conduct occurred at the College, every student who was in the College at the time was to be considered guilty unless he could prove his innocence, an unfortunate example of guilt by association.[111]

The Board and the Society could also temper justice with mercy. Not only was this right, it was prudent; too much strictness could lead to falling enrollments as more colleges sprang up to compete for students. The Society often remitted or softened prescribed punishments, and in 1810 the Board adopted a statute that sounds very much like the bishop. The "sublime object of the charter," it said, was to promote "religion, morality, and learning," and so it was important not only for punishments to be just, but for the door of forgiveness always to be open. To extend mercy, after all, was "the surest means of obtaining mercy from our Heavenly Father." Now any student expelled in the past or in the future from William and Mary or any other college could be readmitted by making atonement, acknowledging his offenses before the Society, and promising to sin no more. Thenceforth, no one would ever be "beyond the Pale" forever.[112] It was a graceful, even eloquent statement, and perhaps a more faithful reflection of the spirit of the place than all the duels, vandalism, and riots.

Living and Learning

The young men of William and Mary were as much a part of Williamsburg as they were of the College, and the one may have been almost as important to their education as the other. The removal of the capital to Richmond in 1780 was a severe blow to the town's intellectual and social life, let alone its political importance. Only a village with a couple of hundred houses and fewer than fifteen hundred people, Williamsburg was left with the College and the asylum—the lazy and the crazy, as someone said. Yet, in the eyes of its inhabitants, Williamsburg was no mean city. They still saw trailing clouds of glory from the heroic days of the Revolution, when the old town witnessed a concourse of great men and great events.

The social fabric remained for many years essentially eighteenth century in texture, with an unpretentious gentility and a generous hospitality. One who knew Williamsburg intimately said that it contained "fifteen or twenty families, who were in sufficiently easy circumstances to live well, but not to throw away money in ostentatious expense. They all, or nearly all, kept their carriages, gave dinners occasionally, and drank wine; and, following no occupation that engrossed their time, the pleasures of society were at once necessary to them, and more relished."[113]

Students' reactions to the town and its people varied like those of other visitors. They were much interested in the young ladies. A somewhat priggish Kentuckian complained that "the female society in this place has fallen off very much." He found "very few girls of exquisite or genuine refinement. . . . There is a certain looseness of manners and conversation amongst them that I do not admire."[114] No doubt they had been teasing him. To another, by contrast, Williamsburg deserved "the title (which Homer gives Greece) of the 'land of lovely dames,' for here may be found beauty in perfection, and not only beauty, but sociability in the ladies."[115] One chap from the country found the people "extremely gay and extravagant. There have been not less than four balls since I came to town. … To one who has spent his life in Louisa, where a ball is almost a phenomenon, this must appear the height of extravagance."[116]

The rule against students giving balls was circumvented by having a townsman send the invitations. At one, which two-thirds of the students attended, a tipsy Richard Pollard fell several times while dancing and was "conveyed" out of the room, only to return and continue "making a noise." Some of the revelers missed lectures the next morning; they were, alas, still drunk and unable to arise.[117] There were spontaneous nocturnal frolics, at times inspired by quantities of eggnog. Balls, routs, and squeezes, wine and pretty girls: what more could one ask? As for the friendliness of the people, the students were virtually unanimous. They were "remarkable for their hospitality and familiar deportment toward strangers,"[118] as "polite and hospitable as any people I have ever been with."[119] Students often criticized their fellows or the College, but they rarely had anything but good to say about the townspeople with whom they lived, dined, and made merry. Many looked back on their Williamsburg days with a poignant nostalgia.[120] "Believe me, I did not know my attachment to Williamsburg till the time had arrived when I was to bid Adieu," wrote Carter Henry Harrison. A classmate found Richmond society agreeable, yet when that word was "applied to a people or place, Williamsburg presents itself and causes me to experience all those pleasing (tho mournful) sensations which are produced by recollection of past pleasures."[121]

Sociability required at least some pocket money for proper clothes and for repaying obligations. For some this was not a problem. A sixteen year old might arrive at the College with his horse and personal servant.[122] Others had trouble making ends meet on what their families allowed them. George Blow told his father that he had to spend money if he was "to associate with the best company." His letters are a querulous litany repelling charges of extravagance and trying to document his actual penury. Then there were boys who were truly poor; yet one way or another they managed and even had a good time.[123]

Not all extramural activities were fun and games. As at other colleges, self-improvement societies came and went—literary, debating, legal, legislative. One of the oldest dedicated to "social and improving intercourse" was Phi Beta Kappa, but it had not survived the British invasion of 1781. Seventy years would pass before it rose from the ashes, only again to be destroyed by an enemy army. Luckily, the New England chapters established by Alpha of Virginia survived and gave continuity to what ultimately became a national honor society, one that a resurrected Alpha chapter would join toward the end of the nineteenth century.[124]

Such societies, while they lasted, could be a useful adjunct to formal education. The main business of the students, however, was going to classes, taking examinations, and for some, earning degrees, the purpose being to become gentlemen educated as befitted citizens who might be called upon to take their places among the leaders of the commonwealth. At their inception, the Jefferson-Madison reforms of 1779 gave students great freedom. As Madison proudly wrote Ezra Stiles, president of Yale, "The doors of the university are open to all, nor is even a knowledge in the Ant. Languages a previous Requisite for Entrance. The Students have the liberty of attending whom they please, and in what order they please, or all the diffr Lectures in a Term if they think proper."[125]

This system reminds one somewhat of the loosening of academic requirements during the Vietnam War era. According to Jedidiah Morse, the students attended lectures or not as it suited them, with no recitations, no examinations, except when candidates for a degree, and no public speaking.[126] After applying due skepticism to the accuracy and impartiality of Morse's report, one suspects that laissez faire had gone too far. The Visitors evidently thought so. In 1788 a new statute required all students to conform to a regular course of study, save those who were twenty-one years of age and intended to study law.[127] Thus began the whittling away of another William and Mary "priority," the elective system; by the following year students might find themselves compelled to take certain courses whether they wanted to or not.[128] Alternating relaxation and tightening of academic rules continued to occur down through the years.

Statutes published in 1792 elaborated on the 1788 regulations. All new students not excepted as before were to enter the mathematical and philosophical "schools." At the end of the year, the Society would determine for each the best program of study to pursue. Any student, however, could attend the "school of Modern Languages," that is, Bellini. Considerable flexibility remained; nevertheless, to call this or anything that preceded it an "elective system" as that term is understood two hundred years later is anachronistic. Furthermore, requirements for a bachelor of arts degree were detailed and explicit, as were those for bachelor of law,[129] so much so that they would have seemed "arduous and strange to a classically oriented Yale or Harvard boy." There was "striking insistence on specific attainments in advanced mathematics, physics, logic, and rhetoric, with only 'a competent knowledge' of the ancient languages required."[130] Traditionally, most students did not stand for degrees, nor did they in any numbers for some years to come. Besides the two bachelor's degrees, the statutes authorized the master of arts, doctor of law, and doctor of divinity. The last two were honorary, and the master of arts was so seldom awarded as to be a curiosity.[131]

Senior students proved their proficiency in routine course exercises and examinations and by composing a thesis to be delivered publicly. The last was a distinction sometimes extended to juniors, who were not always pleased to be singled out for this honor. In the 1790s taking a degree could be a grueling process indeed. Few were willing to undergo this trial by fire even when the bishop urged them to.[132] Littleton Waller Tazewell, a future governor and United States senator, decided to take the plunge. He described his ordeal as follows:

> The student who wished to obtain a degree, notified this wish to the President, and applied for an order for his examination. This order the President immediately gave him directed [him] to some one of the professors. When the examination by this professor was completed (which usually occupied several days) the student received from him a sealed report directed to the President. Upon presenting this he received from the President a new order for examination, directed to some other professor, who pursued the same course with the first. When all these reports were presented, if a majority of them were unfavourable to the applicant, he was told by the President, that he was not consider'd as sufficiently prepared to receive a degree. But if some one or two only of the reports were unfavourable, the student was advised by the President, to pay special attention to the particular subjects in which he was believed to be then deficient; and having done so to apply thereafter for a new order for a further examination upon these studies. So soon as favourable reports were received from each of the professors, the student then received an order to attend a convocation of all the faculty of the college, for the purpose of undergoing a new examination by this convocation. At this meeting the President presided, and the examination was conducted by each professor in turn, who did not then confine himself to his own branch, but in the course of his examination ranged through all the collegiate studies. When this examination was over, the student retired, and on the next day was informed by the President of the result. If this was favorable, he was then directed to prepare a thesis upon any subject he thought proper, and to deliver the same when prepared to the President. If this thesis when exhibited was found objectionable in subject, style, or matter, he was required to prepare another, or to amend that which he had prepared. And when the thesis was finally approved, he was then informed, that he was entitled to a degree, which would be confer'd upon him before a public assembly. … He was therefore directed to commit his thesis to memory, to be deliver'd by him as an oration on that day, and to apply to each of the professors, for a list of such questions and duties as they would propound to and impose upon him on his publick examination, to the end he might be thoroughly prepared for this last experiment.

Tazewell came through with flying colors and received his diploma from the hand of Bishop Madison, who bestowed upon him a "high eulogium … deliver'd before a large concourse of persons, who were there assembled, to witness this then singular spectacle, because such was the difficulty of obtaining a degree in this seminary at that time, that no such honor had been confer'd for many years before."[133] Although not taking degrees was commonplace in England as well as America, the bishop must have felt that the paucity of diplomas, this lack of what the late twentieth century administrator would call productivity, might give rise to the impression of ineffectiveness. In 1798 he took action. A dozen of his students in the political class had been so attentive and had improved so much that he decided they deserved bachelor's degrees. One of them, though he accepted the honor, disapproved of the president's liberality. It cheapened the degree by giving it for what amounted to good behavior. "This, however, may be attained by the most Rustic fool among us. Man, says Godwin, in his Enquirer, differs from the Brute Creation by the faculty of intellect & if he wished to be still farther removed from that Creation, let him cultivate his mind, & wear the marks of an improved understanding."[134] Although Madison did not make a practice of handing out degrees, productivity was encouraged by statutes adopted in 1802 that prohibited a student from continuing at the College beyond his second year without special permission unless he had received a degree.[135]

Commencement ceremonies, including the conferral of degrees, have been called "an exercise in institutional public relations,"[136] as indeed they still are. At William and Mary they occurred on July 4 at Bruton Parish Church. The bishop opened the proceedings with a prayer, followed by "orations" whose length must sometimes have tried the patience of the public. In 1806 they embraced such widely disparate topics as an ingenious justification of usury, a description of the form of government best suited to promote "the arts, sciences, and morals," and a timely analysis of the rights of neutral shipping on the high seas. Satisfaction was expressed because on this occasion the orators had departed from an all-too-familiar species of eloquence marked more by sound than sense, a style born of the "sanguine temperament and high-tone passions" of young Virginians, and had moved on to a more temperate style in which manner gave way to matter.[137]

The educational process at the College retained something of the loose-jointed look of 1780 despite the tightening up prescribed by the 1788 and 1792 statutes. Other colleges, including Harvard, Columbia, and Dartmouth, had the conventional freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior years. William and Mary had only two: junior and senior. The difference probably was more apparent than real. Freshman and sophomore years at other institutions were largely devoted to the ancient languages, and students who came with such preparation could enter as sophomores, juniors, or sometimes even as seniors. Most entering students at William and Mary either came through Bracken's Grammar School or from one of many such schools, often excellent ones, in other parts of the state. They entered the "philosophical and mathematical schools" as juniors, "students" as opposed to the lowly "scholars" of the Grammar School.[138]

There was much overlap between William and Mary's curriculum and that of other

American colleges. All offered natural philosophy, moral philosophy, mathematics, and so forth. There were also significant differences in what was taught. At the College theological education was conspicuously absent. Furthermore, even when the names of the courses were the same, the content could be strikingly different. Madison taught natural philosophy and moral philosophy. The latter, usually the province of college presidents, covered so many subjects and had been so deeply invaded by political theory that the mere title was almost no indication of what was going on in the course. Of William and Mary a well-informed commentator said that there was "probably no College in the United States in which political science is studied with so much ardour, and in which it is considered so preeminently a favorite subject, as in this."[139]

Madison himself clearly distinguished between "morals" and "the political course," which was customarily subsumed under moral philosophy. Probably he leaned toward the opinion of Jefferson, who believed time spent in attending moral philosophy lectures was time lost, man having been born with a moral sense. "State a moral case to a ploughman and a professor. The former will decide it as well, and often better then the latter, because he has not been led astray by artificial rules."[140] With respect to moral philosophy, neither Madison's lecture notes nor the class notes of any of his students have been found. Fortunately, the books he assigned on political and economic subjects are known, and it is a revealing list. Included were Locke's *On Civil Government,* Rousseau's *Contrat social* Montesquieu's *L'esprit des lois*, Vattel's *Le droit des gens,* Smith's *Wealth of Nations,* and the financial papers of Albert Gallatin,Jefferson's secretary of the treasury.[141] Wrote a dedicated republican to a friend, "Watson, when Rousseau, Montesquieu, Smith & Vattel are the Text books on politics at this College, how can the Political tenets of the young men be wrong?"[142] The "morals" part of the course leaned heavily on those eighteenth century Scottish philosophers who had left such a deep impression on educated Americans generally.[143]

Madison was probably equally enthusiastic as a teacher of science—natural philosophy—as he was of politics. In this he was typical of his generation and his faculty colleagues. George Blow discovered the depth of the bishop's interest when he made the mistake of staying late at a ball the night before an eclipse of the moon, because Madison kept him up all the next night watching the event through a telescope. George told his father he was very tired.[144] Besides the telescope, the College owned the once superb scientific apparatus sent over from England before the Revolution by William Small. It was still most useful, even if damaged and somewhat the worse for wear.[145] The students also benefitted from a respectable library of possibly four thousand volumes, small compared to Harvard's thirteen thousand, but as large if not larger than any other college library at the turn of the century. Although older works predominated, especially in theology and classical literature, students might have had access to the scientific treatises in Madison's own more up-to-date library.[146]

Madison's thirty-five or so lectures fell under seven main headings: properties of matter (including gravitation and magnetism), mechanics ("of bodies falling perpendicularly," and "of pendulums," for examples), electricity, pneumatics (mainly the properties of gases), hydrostatics, hydraulics, and optics. The bishop began with an introductory lecture explaining the "inducements to study this science." One was its great utility, that is, its practical applications, a very eighteenth century emphasis. Then there was "the Gratification the mind receives in the pursuit of this Science," which satisfied the curiosity implanted in the human mind "by the wise author of Being." Next came the "novelty and grandeur of the subjects belonging to natural Philosophy," such as magnetism and electricity (which were probably the favorites with the students). Moreover, nature and humanity furnished inexhaustible materials for the application of this knowledge; the intellect need never lack for exercise. And finally, it is "the Source of some of the sublimest conceptions of the great Author of the Universe—as he will be best convinced of who understands the Science best." Madison then gave a sketch of the history of the subject and credited Francis Bacon with being the "Father of the present system of Philosophizing" by virtue of his use of inductive reasoning and experimental method.[147]

Madison taught these courses from 1784, when he traded mathematics to Robert Andrews for moral philosophy, until his death in 1812. He may have lacked originality, have been solid rather than brilliant,[148] but he was a faithful and successful teacher." Fish and oysters are very good food at times, but in my opinion not near equal to Mr. Madison's lectures with which I am enamoured, and without which I think no man can boast of a good education."[149]

The bishop's able teaching of these basic courses for so many years was the College's mainstay during a long, difficult period. Yet for more than twenty of those years, William and Mary's reputation depended even more on the chair of law and the two renowned jurists and scholars who occupied it from 1779 until 1804: George Wythe and St. George Tucker. Wythe was of the utmost importance to the institution. Jefferson's almost religious veneration for this man and his belief that it was "over with the College" when he left were only a slightly exaggerated manifestation of the place Wythe had attained in the opinion of Virginia's governing class. His long career in Virginia and national politics as a member of the House of Burgesses and then the Continental Congress, as a signer of the Declaration of Independence, as chancellor of the state, as a delegate to the Constitutional Convention and then to the state ratifying convention, where he helped tilt the scales to ratification—all of this combined with impeccable personal integrity, devotion to educating the young, and deep scholarship to give the College a prestige no one else could have brought to it, save perhaps Jefferson himself.[150]

Nor were his interests merely political and legal. Everything in nature intrigued him. Littleton Waller Tazewell, one of several boys who lived with and was tutored by Wythe, told how his teacher "imported a very complete Electrical Machine together with a fine Air Pump, and sundry other parts of a philosophical apparatus. And when this arrived, most of our leisure moments were employed in making philosophical experiments, and ascertaining the causes of the effects produced."[151] An even smaller boy always remembered when Wythe, to whom he was a stranger, took him into his house and held him up to a windowpane to show him "the working of the bees in a hive" attached to the glass.[152]

Legal training was almost a necessity for a career in public life in America. Before the

Revolution young men aspiring to the bar either had to serve as a lawyer's apprentice or cross the Atlantic to the Inns of Court. Independence brought new constitutions and new laws that made the Inns of Court professionally obsolete. Beginning in 1780 the alternative to apprenticeship in Virginia would be to study in the nation's first school of law under the tutelage of George Wythe.

To him the law was only part of a man's preparation for civic responsibility and indeed for life in general. Its study should be based on a sound classical education, which for Wythe was almost an obsession, and accompanied by broad interests such as those embraced by natural and moral philosophy. Wythe required his students to participate in mock legislatures as well as moot courts. An expert in parliamentary as well as legal procedure, he was an ideal teacher, even if, as he presided watchfully from the chair, the amateur solons found him a daunting figure.[153]

Wythe's lectures, known to have survived until at least 1810, have unfortunately disappeared, as have his students' class notes; speculation as to what he taught must therefore be confined to generalities. His lectures probably leaned heavily on Matthew Bacon's *New Abridgement of the Law*. Sir William Blackstone's *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, a landmark of legal scholarship as popular in America as in England, figured prominently in his course. This was fitting, for as Blackstone was the first to give university lectures on English law in his country, so Wythe was the first to do so in America.[154]

Whether Wythe's influence upon those who studied with him was due more to his teaching or to the example of his character it is impossible to say, but that he made a profound impression is undeniable. The virtual unanimity of reverence expressed by his students was put in terms which, were it applied to any other man, would almost strain credulity. Jefferson's encomiums were echoed again and again. A poor student whom Wythe took into his household to help him continue his education wrote a friend, "Were I to expatiate on the many blessings I enjoy in the house of this good old gentleman … I should swell this letter to unconscionable length. … He is not indeed without faults … but he certainly approaches nearer to perfection than any man I have ever seen." He was a "second father" to him. "You cannot perfectly comprehend the divine virtue of Mr. Wythe without living in his house. His heart is a receptacle of all that heaven can bestow on a human being. … " [155] Besides his collegiate and judicial duties, Wythe also undertook the education of younger pupils. He seems almost always to have had some under his care, and in 1787 he advertised the opening of a school in his home "for reading some of the higher Latin and Greek classics, and of the approved English poets and prose writers, and also some exercises in arithmetic."[156]

If the high distinction achieved in later life by so many of Wythe's students is in any measure attributable to the man himself, he was truly a pillar of the republic: Jefferson, John Marshall, Henry Clay, James Monroe, Spencer Roane—the list goes on.[157] He was, in truth, the pride of the institution.

William and Mary necessarily suffered a serious blow when Wythe resigned his professorship. Although no one could replace him in every respect, the chair of law itself sustained little damage. Its new occupant was St. George Tucker, member of a prominent Bermuda family, who had come to Virginia in 1771 to matriculate at William and Mary. Tucker made his mark in Virginia affairs in several ways—by fighting in the Revolution and serving as a delegate to the Annapolis meeting that paved the way for the Constitutional Convention. A Wythe student and a highly regarded member of the General Court, Tucker was more than learned in the law. He had the same broad-gauged intellect, the same "fidgity mind," as someone has called it, so typical of his generation. For instance, he liked to invent things, from household conveniences to what he might have called luminescent telegraphy; he once sent a message by coded light signals from the cupola of the capitol to Bishop Madison at the College. He was an amateur astronomer as well as a poet of no small talent.[158]

Blackstone was the most important text for Tucker's course, although his young men had to plow through the usual legal bibliography of the time, including the law student's Gethsemane, Sir Edward Coke's *Institutes*. It was Blackstone, but a Blackstone modified and amplified by Tucker to accommodate the statutory and constitutional consequences of Independence. Eventually he published his own edition of Blackstone with voluminous commentaries on the Commentaries. He was a demanding teacher with rigorous standards, as was his mentor Wythe. Because of the time constraints imposed by his judicial calendar, he covered much ground at a rapid pace. He expected his students to continue their studies between terms and even to operate their own law society to provide experience in courtroom proceedings. "My Trunk had been constantly stored with a variety of literature," Joseph Cabell wrote a friend, "but my *Table* has seldom contained more than Blackstone, Coke and the Virginia Laws."[159] If to some Tucker might appear haughty or austere, he was respected and by no means inhospitable. "Tucker has us under the whip, he has been remarkably polite to me. I have dined there several times since my arrival here."[160]

Tucker had two main purposes: to give these future leaders of Virginia, perhaps of the nation, the ability to understand the nature and workings of government so that as participants or as citizens they could judge accurately the performance of those in authority. Secondly, he intended to build upon Wythe's foundation and make the study of law a highly structured professional training, based upon what would be called today a liberal arts background, as indeed Blackstone himself had advised. Together, Wythe and Tucker gave to formal legal training in the United States the character it would have for many years and in some respects still has.[161]

Tucker is remembered not only for his Blackstone and his law course, among other things, but for his "Dissertation on Slavery," a plan that grew out of his law lectures. He presented his proposal to the General Assembly in 1796, hoping that its extreme gradualism might attract a majority by appealing to the lowest common denominator of antislavery sentiment. Tucker was far less exceptional for his dislike of slavery, which was shared by many of Virginia's leading men, than for his attempt to secure legislative approval for a specific plan of emancipation. Jefferson complimented Tucker on his essay, while questioning his failure to consider what should be done with the freed blacks. This was the sticking point that made abolition so unthinkable for large numbers of his fellow citizens and would give rise to the quixotic American Colonization

Society twenty years later. St George Tucker had preferred the Articles of Confederation to the Constitution; he was an unequivocal defender of state sovereignty and the right of secession as well as an enemy of slavery.[162] In the 1830s another Tucker in the chair of law, his son Nathaniel Beverley, would defend slavery as well as state sovereignty, and the College itself, under the leadership of Thomas Roderick Dew, would be seen as an intellectual bulwark of both.

The Good, if Reluctant, Shepherd: Nunc Dimittis

In the autumn of 1807, Bishop Madison asked Thomas Jefferson to appoint him collector of customs at the port of Norfolk. The recipient of this request must have been startled; the collector's office, always a magnet for sharp practices and outright corruption, was the last place one would expect to find a clergyman. It was a pathetic plea. "Hitherto I have laboured for others; but not for myself. It is not then to be wondered at, that I should seek for an office, which may offer some emolument, & eventually, perhaps, be confer'd upon my Son."[163] It was to be a sinecure. John, his son, would do the actual work and would thus be able to leave his position with a Baltimore mercantile firm and be spared the dangerous voyages that caused his father much anxiety.[164] As it happened, the president had offered the collectorship to someone else.[165]

This was by no means the first time Madison had considered leaving the College, either to take the presidency of one of several institutions that from time to time sought his services or simply to retire. By the 1790s his faith in William and Mary 's future was sinking fast. For Madison and the College, as for the moribund church Madison headed, the times were out of joint. In an era of Anglophobia, here was a College founded by the British monarchs whose names it still bore, dedicated at birth to propagating the state religion. Independence had broken official ties, and the Tory faculty members had departed. But there remained others in Anglican orders and a president who had been consecrated a bishop by the See of Canterbury. This did not sit well with many Virginians. Even while subjects of the crown, they had seen little need for an indigenous prelate, having done very well without one for quite a long time.[166] "When I speak of the Bishop I feel the highest veneration for his character as a Man, but I like him not better for his canonicals, they will not let men be enough of Republicans—besides he went to Great Britain for the exalted station. Now who wou'd ever be sent to Heaven by such a people?" So said John Tyler, father of the future president of the United States and later governor of Virginia and a member of the Board.[167] Moreover, the bishop confirmed the hostility of Protestant evangelicals by his unsuccessful fight to hold on to the church's glebe lands, and he offended believers in strict separation of church and state by urging tax support for all denominations. True, the Board had abolished the divinity chairs in 1779, but then, as pointed out, thirteen years later had instituted a divinity degree and made prayers compulsory.[168]

Conversely, where liberals saw a relic of monarchy and an established church, conservatives saw a hotbed of freethinking, Francophilism, and disorder. Led by a living anomaly, a Jeffersonian bishop, suspected by both ends of the ideological spectrum, William and Mary had something to offend everyone. The resulting lack of political support, especially Jefferson's, reduced to the vanishing point the College's chances of replacing its lost public revenues.[169]

With the conservatives in a majority on the Board of Visitors, Madison began to look for an escape. By the early 1790s Jefferson was talking about a new university "in some central position." The bishop had heard that the other Madison might soon retire from Congress and run for the General Assembly. Might he not become the "Patron & advocate" of this plan? If it came to fruition, it might affect his cousin's future. He had been thinking of retiring to "some comfortable little Farm in a healthy Part of the Country."[170] A few weeks later, he repeated his wish to see such a university started and expressed hope that Jefferson and Madison would join forces to promote it. Virginia needed a top-to-bottom renovation of its educational system, "a mode of education, which shall tend to strengthen and not depress the mental faculties" and thus conduct the mind from infancy onward to "real science."[171] He was ready to abandon the College if it could be replaced by something better, a new institution where there would undoubtedly be a place for him. The purpose of education, as Madison conceived of it, was to produce good Christians and good republicans, the one necessarily also being the other. In the late 1790s, he wrote Jefferson, "I am persuaded Republicanism can never acquire the Ascendency it ought in this Country, until a plan of Education, somewhat similar to yours is carried into Effect with Sincerity & Ardour."[172] He still had in mind a new, or at least a relocated institution as part of such a system. "A college fixed in the middle of the State, & conducted upon a plan, such an experiment [based upon] a real knowledge of the proper method of instructing youth (the most different possible from any hitherto pursued) [would] be an object highly worthy of legislative consideration. Until such a seminary, such a university be formed, Virginia will never acquire the preeminence, which may, & ought to distinguish her."[173]

The legislature showed no signs of founding a new university, and a few months after his letter to Jefferson, Madison told some of his students that he intended to leave the College soon.[174] He perhaps had in mind an invitation to assume the presidency of Columbia College. He had made inquiries and discovered that the duties were "by no means laborious," but he had not made up his mind what he would do.[175] Less than a year later, he received another offer, this time from Transylvania College in Kentucky, not far from where his brother lived. Madison began to plan a visit to that state when summer came.[176]

But he did not go to Columbia or Transylvania. His health was declining, his weariness growing. He hoped for rest, not new responsibilities. In 1803 he removed himself from consideration for another presidency. "I am anxious for Retirement. But when, or how that desirable object is to be attained is the Difficulty."[177] The burdens he had been carrying for many years began to tell. The demands upon his strength when acting quite literally in loco parentis, his often heavy teaching schedule, the management of College affairs generally—all these would have been more than enough to absorb the energies of a robust constitution, something the bishop had never possessed.[178] Added to these were his labors over the years as a member of the Insane Asylum's governing board, and of course his episcopal and pastoral duties which, although they diminished as the church dwindled, still deducted from a finite supply of vitality.[179] Madison could not bring himself to surrender the episcopate, surely one reason he had been reluctant to accept a position outside Virginia, and his 1805 request for the appointment of an assistant bishop to help carry the load was not granted.[180] And all the while the dropsy and congestive heart failure that would eventually prove fatal slowly grew more debilitating.[181]

Most troubling was the state of the College, which showed no signs of improvement. There was a budget deficit in 1806 and another was in the making in 1807. In the latter year, the science society and museum project had fallen through, and Girardin had left to teach school in Richmond. The chair of modem languages vacant, the chair of medicine long since defunct, the fame of the chair of law now only a glimmer from the past—no wonder Madison wrote Jefferson with his strange request to be made collector at Norfolk.

The struggle continued for five more years. Then in the last weeks of 1811 his weakened heart rapidly gave way. Toward the end of January he made his will, and on March 6, 1812, in his sixty-second year, he died. Dr. Philip Barraud, a very old friend, wrote St. George Tucker, "I am deeply affected by your last Letter in many ways. The recital of our Friend's Death, altho Expected, has agitated my Heart. … I am really of [the] opinion, my dear Tucker, that I have perhaps never known a man capable of as active virtues and usefulness, as the late Bishop Madison, who was altogether made up of such chaste, mild and amiable materials; or who, while he possessed the perfect refinement and even elegance of a Gentleman, never departed from an original simplicity of Deportment that seemed to owe all to Nature."[182] President Madison was buried in the chapel of the building where he had taught for nearly forty years.[183] He was finally at rest, and still at the College.

NOTES

1. James Madison to his cousin James Madison, Jr., the future president of the United States, Mar. [c. 2] , 1782, *The Papers of James Madison*, ed. William T. Hutchinson and William M. E. Rachal (Chicago: University of Chicago Press; Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1962—), 4:82.
2. Ibid.; John M. Jennings, *The Library of the College of William and Mary …* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1968), 64. Princeton's Nassau Hall suffered similarly from military occupation and use as a hospital. Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University, a History* (New York: Knopf, 1962), 33.
3. Edmund Randolph to James Madison, Jr., Aug. 30, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 5:92.
4. Id. to id., Sept. 19, 1782, ibid. See also James Madison to James Madison, Jr., Sept. 18, 1782, ibid., 137, in which the former says "we have nothing new here," a remark he repeated the fol-

lowing month. Id. to id., Oct. 3, 1782, James M. Owens Papers, WMM.

5. James Madison to Ezra Stiles, Aug. 1, 1780, *WMQ*, 2d ser., 7 (1927): 294, original at Yale University. By contrast, *The History of William and Mary from Its Foundation ...* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph and English, 1874), 46, puts pre-Revolutionary income from the Boyle bequest (Brafferton), customs, funded capital, and scholarships at a total of "nearly four thousand pounds sterling," and calls it the richest college on the continent. For the surveyor fee grant, see William Waller Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large ... of Virginia*, 13 vols. (New York: R. W. and G. Barrow, 1823), 10:53. The land granted by the charter lay on the south side of Blackwater Swamp and in the "Pamunkey Neck," the peninsula formed by the Pamunkey and Mattaponi rivers, the confluence of which forms the York River. Edgar W. Knight, ed., *A Documentary History of Education in the South before 1860*, 5 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1949–53), 1:435–39. For the entire charter in Latin and English, see Knight, ed., *Documentary*, 1:397–439. The bursar's report for 1821 (folder 255, College Papers, WMA) shows that by 1804 there remained 12,000 acres in King William County, 3,600 in Sussex County, and 300 acres in Isle of Wight County. During the years 1804–1812, inclusive, surveyors' fees paid to the College averaged about $530 annually. (Bursar's report for 1821, folder 255, College Papers, WMA.) In 1788, the earliest year after 1782 for which figures have been found, these fees brought in £98.17.1 ½, but whether in sterling equivalent or paper currency is not known. (Report of Robert Andrews, bursar, Feb. 21, 1789, folder 13a, College Papers, WMA.) Before the 1729 transfer of the College and its property from the surviving original trustees to the president and masters of the College, an additional 330 acres (the campus tract) had been purchased in James City near Williamsburg, and 2,119 acres along both sides of the Nottoway River in Prince George, Surry, and Brunswick counties. *History of W&M*, 23, 30.
6. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 264; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 2 (1922): 210. Financial and all other records from the 1780s and 1790s are very scanty and often secondhand. Some idea of the difficulty experienced in the collection of rents can be gleaned from the fact that the rents collected in King William County in 1799 were exceeded by the arrears, whether annual or accumulated is not stated, but even if the latter, the problem was obviously serious. (See Collectors' Accounts, folder 257a, College Papers, WMA.) On September 2, 1782, the Board of Visitors ended the policy of making verbal leases, which had caused difficulties and reduced income, by what amount it is not possible to say. The College's King William County tenants, as of 1790, were supposed to pay 416 pounds of tobacco annually per 100 acres for leases "for three lives." Petition of Jos. Abraham and forty-eight others to the House of Delegates, James City County Petitions, 1777–1861, VSL, from microfilm copy in CWF. This item was kindly supplied by Thad W. Tate.
7. *WMQ*, 2d ser., 2 (1922): 210. Students continued to pay a 10s. library fee, one-third to go to the librarian (Bellini) and two-thirds to the purchase of books. The amount collected was, of course, very small. Jennings, *Library*, 69, 79.) The faculty almost certainly continued to receive salaries as well as fees paid to them individually by students enrolled in their courses, with the apparent exception of Dr. McClurg. This statement is contrary to Robert P. Thomson, "Reform of W&M, 1763–1780," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 115 (1971): 210, who cites the statute of 1779 as the basis for saying, "The new professors would depend on student fees for their pay. For each student who attended him, a professor was to receive 1,000 pounds of tobacco annually. By this simple stroke, the Visitors solved the most pressing of the College's financial problems. The professors rather than the College were made to bear the financial risks of the operation." The statute of 1779 survived then as now only in the form extracted in the *Virginia Gazette*, December 18, 1779. (Knight, ed., *Documentary*, 1:369 n. 2; the Rev. John Bracken v. the Visitors of William and Mary College, 3 Call 573, 577 [1790].) On December 29, 1779, the Society (president and professors) resolved to establish the following system of payments: 1,000 pounds of tobacco to attend "any two" professors, 1,500 pounds for all three, the three being Madison, Andrews, and Wythe. "Any two" suggests payment to the College, not to professors individually. The statute of 1728 provided for salaries for the president and the two divinity professors, but the latter two were prohibited from receiving fees from students. The two philosophy professors received lower salaries (£80 ver-

sus £150), but were allowed to collect 20s. each from each student except "poor ones." (Knight, ed., *Documentary*, 1:513, 515, 517.) A student who wrote his uncle on December 9, 1779, five days after the enactment of the December 4 statute, stated that under the new system each of the professors—including Madison—"have an annuity of Eight Hogsheads of Tobacco," and that students were to pay "a Hd of tobacco to each professor, they shall attend" ; John Brown to William Preston, Dec. 9, 1 779, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1900–1901): 22. On February 15, 1 780, he said he had dropped French because "the Visitors raised the price of attendance on that branch to a Hd of tobacco"; id. to id., *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1900–1901): 76. In 1784 Thomas Jefferson told Ezra Stiles that the professors received both salaries and fees. Extract from Stiles Diary, *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson*, ed. Julian P. Boyd (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1950—), 7:302. Jefferson's 1779 legislative proposals called for salaries; "A Bill for Amending the Constitution of the College of William and Mary … ," *Papers of Jefferson*, 2:540. In the mid-1790s, La Rochefoucauld reported both salaries and fees; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 10 (1930): 81. The purchasing power of these tobacco salaries is difficult to determine because of the fluctuation in price. See Lewis C. Gray, *Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington: The Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1973) , 2:604–5, 752; also extract from Stiles Diary cited above.

8. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 11:310, 406 (1784) . According to James Madison, Jr., to Jefferson, July 3, 1784, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 8:94, Henry Tazewell valued these state lands at £10,000, certainly a great overestimate if he was speaking in terms of sterling value. Lyon G. Tyler, *Williamsburg, the Old Colonial Capital* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907), 270, states that they were sold for $18,048.25, citing James Semple's report to the faculty, 1824. The date of sale is not given.
9. Herbert Baxter Adams, *The College of William and Mary* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887), 57 n. 1.
10. Mary R. M. Goodwin, "Historical Notes: The College of William and Mary" (typescript), 225, citing James Madison to Samuel Henley, Aug. 6, 1783, folder 105b, College Papers, WMA; Edmund Randolph to James Madison, Jr., July 18, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 4:424; documents in folder 13a, College Papers, WMA.
11. James Madison to James Madison, Jr., Mar. [c. 2], 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 4:83.
12. James Madison, Jr., to George Wythe, Apr. 15, 1782, ibid., 8:262–63; document signed by Madison, Wythe, Andrews, and Bellini, Jan. 20, 1783, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 6:221-22; James Madison to James Madison, Jr., June 15, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 4:337; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 16 (1907–1908) : 214.
13. J. E. Morpurgo, *Their Majesties' Royall Colledge: William and Mary in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Williamsburg: William and Mary, 1976), 214.
14. James Madison to Jefferson, Apr. 10, 1785, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 8:74; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 10 (1930) : 82; cf. Jennings, *Library*, 73.
15. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*,12:638–39, 642 (1787) ; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 22 (1913–14): 263. As early as 1785, Madison was worried about the Kentucky fees, in a slightly different context. James Madison to James Madison, Jr., Nov. 15, 1785, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 8:416.
16. Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 212; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 15 (1935) : 207–28, 377–84; statement in folder 13a, College Papers, WMA, puts the net income from both the Brafferton and "Doxhill Estate" at £318.18.1 ½ sterling. Another statement in folder 13a, College Papers, puts Brafferton rents due in 1773 at £449.17. 7. Morpurgo gives no source for his statement that the litigation was expensive.
17. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907) : 268; documents in folder 250, College Papers, WMA. The "Palace Lands" brought £5.5, the "Vineyard Lands," £2.5 per acre.
18. Edmund Randolph to Alexander Addison, July 29, 1792, quoted in Goodwin, "Notes," 273,

from photostat of original in Pennsylvania Historical Society.

19. Robert Andrews to St. George Tucker, July 1, 1793, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. Although Andrews went on to say that he had "expectations from various quarters, of a supply in a few days," the empty treasury shows the precarious situation of the College. Cash flow problems were by no means unprecedented. See, for example, *WMQ,* 1st ser., 4 (1895–96): 191.
20. Statute of Mar. 18, 1794, Matriculation Book, WMA.
21. *WMQ,* 2d ser., 10 (1930): 82, citing François Alexander Frederic La Rochefoucauld, *Voyage dans Ies Etats-Unis ...,* 4 vols. (Paris: Du Pont, [1799]), 4:286–96; Samuel Miller, *A Brief Retrospect of the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (New York: T. and J. Swords, 1803), 2:504.
22. Bursar's reports, 1804–18, folder 255, College Papers, WMA. Income in 1804 was $3,469.77 and in 1812 $4,610. The high point between these years was 1810: $7,883.28. From 1804 to 1812, inclusive, total income exceeded total expenditures by about $1,800. In arriving at the figure of $4,300 as the average, students' board, which was a relatively large item during the years 1807–11, was eliminated because it added virtually nothing to income, showing a net profit during those years of $227. For lottery details see Ruby Orders Osborne, "The College of William and Mary in Virginia, 1800–1827" (Ed.D. diss., William and Mary, 1981), 140–42, 148–51, 167, 223–24; Wilson Cary Nicholas to James Madison, July 4, 1804; Perez Morton to Wilson Cary Nicholas, Dec. 5, 1805, Wilson Cary Nicholas Collection, UVA.; Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 3:50–51; Faculty Minutes, May 9, 1825, WMA; Lyon G. Tyler, *The Letters and Times of the Tylers*, 3 vols. (New York: DaCapo Press, 1970), 1:240–41. For the sale of land, see advertisement in Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 10, 1805, quoted in Osborne, "William and Mary," 151. Four equal payments were to be made on January 1 of 1806–1809. Income from interest on private debts, the only category in the bursar's reports under which interest on land sales could fall, shows no appreciable increase until 1811, when it was $2,242.06 as compared to $1,030.32 in 1807. In 1812 it had reached $3,100.69 and in 1818, $4,216.34. The actual value of the income is impossible to determine because it is not known in what medium of exchange the payments were made. If they were made in notes of banks other than the Bank of the United States (which expired in 1811 and was replaced by the Second Bank in 1816), the specie value would probably be much reduced as compared with the face value. Of the approximately 17,000 acres the College had owned in 1804, 9,200 acres had been sold by 1821. All calculations are from bursar's reports, folder 255, College Papers, WMA.
23. Jefferson to James Madison, Jan. 6, 1800, Thomas Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC, microfilm.
24. James Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 17, 1800, *WMQ,* 2d ser., 5 (1925): 9.
25. For some years Jefferson seemed to have expected that his educational system ultimately might be enacted. See his *Notes on Virginia* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 139–45.
26. Lawrence Cremin, *American Education: The National Experience, 1783–1876* (New York: Harper and Row, 1980), 126; W. A. R. Goodwin, "The Reverend John Bracken …," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church* 10 (1941): 380–81.
27. Thomson, "Reform," 212.
28. Goodwin, "Bracken," 360, 372–73, 386–88; John Bracken, Faculty/ Alumni File, WMA. For arguments concerning alteration of the charter, see 3 Call 573, 581–90 (1790). For the Henley-Bracken contest, see Daniel J. Hurley, "Deism at the College of William and Mary, 1722–1826" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1974), 50–51.
29. Edmund Randolph to James Madison, Jr., Aug. 30, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 5:92; *WMQ,* 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 267.
30. Edmund Randolph to James Madison, Jr., Sept. 7, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 5:108.
31. See note 8, above.

32. Charles T. Cullen, "St. George Tucker and the Law in Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1971), 139; Bracken v. Visitors, 3 Call 573, 577 (1790); St. George Tucker, copy of "Letter to the Rector," Dec. 9, 1803, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. Tucker, who had been rector of the Board before joining the faculty, is the authority for the rule. For Tucker's rectorship, see the highly complimentary remark by J . Corbin to Tucker, Feb. 28, 1790, Tucker-Coleman Papers. Corbin also laments the "situation" of William and Mary , which, he says, would have been even more deplorable had it not been for Tucker's efforts.
33. James Madison, Jr., to Edmund Randolph, Oct. 15, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 5:200, 201 n. 5.
34. In November 1783 the College announced that McClurg would begin a course of lectures in January, but there is no evidence that he did so. Ibid., 201 n. 5. See also Thomson, "Reform," 212 n.181; Morpurgo, *William and Mary*, 193. In *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 55n, it is stated that Thomas Boswell "studied medicine at William and Mary for several years." In "A Provisional List ...," (Richmond: Division of Purchase and Printing, 1941), Boswell is listed as attending William and Mary in 1805, when there was, of course, no medical chair in existence.
35. Frank B. Evans, "Carlo Bellini and His Russian Friend Fedor Karzhavin," *VMHB* 88 (1980): 348–49, 351–53; Joseph H. Watson to David Watson, Nov. 4, 1799, "Letters from William and Mary College, 17981801 ... " *VMHB* 29 (1921): 145; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 121; Joseph C. Cabell to David Watson, July 8, 1798, Garritt Minor and David Watson Papers, DLC, photostat in Joseph C. Cabell Papers, WMM; "Charles Bellini, First Professor of Modem Languages in the American College," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 1–15.
36. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 18 (1909–10): 220. The degree of doctor of laws was conferred on Tucker two days before he assumed the chair of law. Cullen, "Tucker," 117–18. For Tucker's money problems, see John Coalter to Michael Coalter, Apr. 20, 1789, Grinnan Family Papers, UVA.; id. to id., Mar. 29, 1788, Brown, Coalter, Tucker Papers, WMM. Tucker told Coalter he could no longer afford to pay him for tutoring his children, and offered to pay in kind by tutoring Coalter in the law. See also Mary H. B. Coleman, *St. George Tucker, Citizen of No Mean City* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1938), 97.
37. Jefferson to John Banister, Jr., Oct. 15, 1785, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 8:635–37. Also Jefferson to Samuel Henley, Oct. 14, 1785, ibid., 635.
38. Jefferson to John Eppes, July 28, 1787, ibid., 11:635.
39. John Adams to Jefferson, Jan. 22, 1825, Lester J. Cappon, ed., *The Adams-Jefferson Letters ...* , 2 vols. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 2:607.
40. Jefferson to Ralph Izard, July 17, 1788, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 13:372.
41. Ibid.
42. Jefferson to William Short, Dec. 14, 1789, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 16:25–26. Wythe actually resigned Sept. 15, 1789, but seems to have finished out the academic term. Imogene Brown, *American Aristides: A Biography of George Wythe* (Rutherford, NJ.: Farleigh Dickinson University Press, 1981), 222–23. Wythe biographers cannot add anything to Jefferson's explanation of his resignation. Robert B. Kirtland, *George Wythe: Lawyer, Revolutionary, Judge* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1986), 143 n. 105, deals with this convincingly. For the Priestley letter, see Jefferson to Priestley, Jan. 18, 1800, Albert E. Bergh, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson*, 20 vols. (Washington: Thomas Jefferson Memorial Association, 1904–1907), 10: 140. It may be that Jefferson's faith in the College's future was also undermined when he learned of McClurg's departure, which he may not have heard of until he returned from France. Jefferson thought very highly of McClurg. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 6 (1897–98): 180n; James McClurg to Jefferson, Apr. 12, 1784, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 15:610. At the date of this letter, McClurg was still in Williamsburg.
43. Jefferson to Thomas Cooper, Jan. 16, 1814, Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 14:60. In this letter Jefferson does not specify the date at which the decline had set in, but inasmuch as he said if

Wythe left, it would be "over with the College," the inference may be justified. Although Jefferson had clearly given up on the College ever becoming what he would consider a modem university, he evidently continued to have some regard for it as providing a good grounding at the academy and collegiate level. See Jefferson to Elizabeth Trist, Nov. 23, 1816, in Roy J. Honeywell, *The Educational Work of Thomas Jefferson* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1931), 112.

44. James Innes to St. George Tucker, Mar. 4, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
45. Beverley Randolph to St. George Tucker, Mar. 8, 1785, ibid.
46. For this passage I have relied upon Jane Carson, *James Innes and His Brothers of the F.H.C.* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 1–2, 5–7, 40–52. F.H.C. may have stood for *"Fraternitas, Hilaritas, Cognitioque."*Ibid., 7.
47. Lynda Rees Heaton, ed., "Littleton Waller Tazewell's Sketch of His Own Family ... 1823" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1967) , 143; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 26 (1917–18): 229.
48. Hening, ed., *Statutes at Large*, 11:151–52. Tazewell said that Maury obtained use of the capitol from the legislature. Heaton, ed., "Tazewell," 144. For Tucker's good opinion of Maury, see William Cabell Bruce, *John Randolph of Roanoke, 1773–1833*, 2 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1922), 1:50; Martha Jefferson Carr to Jefferson, May 5 and 6, 1785, Jefferson to Martha Jefferson Carr, Aug. 20, 1785, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 15:618, 627, 620. James Madison, Jr., had recommended the school (see Martha Carr, first letter, above). Also: James Madison, Jr., to Jefferson, July 3, 1784, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 8:94; Walker Maury to St. George Tucker, Aug. 6, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 18 (1938): 105; James Madison, Jr., to Jefferson, Jan. 22, 1786, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 8:480. On Dec. 1, 1784, James Madison, Wythe, Bellini, and John Blair reported to the mayor, recorder, aldermen, and common council of Williamsburg that they had visited Maury's school at the capitol, examined the young gentlemen, and found that they were "making a good progress." *WMQ*, 2d ser., 18 (1938) : 105. Also, "A Defense of William and Mary College and Virginia Grammar Schools," *VMHB* 19 (1911): 315.
49. Walker Maury to St. George Tucker, Mar. 3, 1784, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; Carson, *Innes*, 47.
50. See Brafferton case records, in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 15 (1935): 222–23, for the want of "neighboring infidels." Herbert L. Ganter, for many years archivist of William and Mary, pointed out that there was no shortage of white infidels at the College at this time. See ibid., 366, for Governor Spotswood's effort to buy Indians taken in war "to be educated in pursuance of a donation left for that purpose by Mr. Boyle." Also Edmund Randolph to James Madison, Jr., Sept. 7, 1782, Hutchinson and Rachal, eds., *Papers of Madison*, 5: 108; Wilmer L. Hall, ed., *Journals of the Council of State of Virginia*, 5 vols. (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 193182), 3:323.
51. Carson, *Innes*, 47–52; Bruce, Randolph, 1:56, 72. For Maury's letters, see Carson, *Innes*, 49-51, originals in Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. Also Heaton, ed., "Tazewell," 142; Coleman, *Tucker*, 38.
52. *Virginia Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1787, from typescript in John Bracken, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA; date of advertisement is Nov. 10, 1786; also Goodwin, "Bracken," 380. For Maury and the Norfolk academy, see Edmund Wilson James, ed., *The Lower Norfolk County Virginia Antiquary*, 5 vols. (Baltimore: The Friedenwald Co., 1895–1906), 1:24. The date of the invitation extended to Maury by the mayor and aldermen of Norfolk was Oct. 3, 1786. Carson, *Innes*, 52. Bracken was certainly taking over Maury's school, not starting a new one, for his advertisement in the *Gazette* said that board and lodging in the capitol would be discontinued.
53. The Rev. John Bracken v. the Visitors of William and Mary College, 3 Call 573, 578 (1790); Charles T. Cullen and Herbert A Johnson, eds., *The Papers of John Marshall* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1974—) , 2:67–81.
54. Goodwin, "Bracken," 360, 383; Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 250; "Provisional List," 49. The assistant master and second professor of humanity was the Reverend James Henderson. For the divin-

ity degree, see "Statutes of the University of William and Mary" (Richmond: Augustine Davis, 1792), 12. These statutes, while published in 1792, were probably enacted earlier, perhaps 1790. They were a compilation of previous regulations. The date of the reestablishment of the College Grammar School is often given as 1791 or 1792, but the writer has not found the authenticated date; 1790 is not unlikely. With respect to the Board's partial counterrevolution, Kirtland, *Wythe*, says, "Perhaps Jefferson had won too easily; at any rate the conservatives and the Church slowly fought their way back into control of the institution" (p. 133). And, " It is true that the internal struggles at William and Mary turned on the effort to undo Jefferson's project. …" (143 n. 105). Madison's consecration took place on Sept. 19, 1790, at Lambeth Palace. The bishops of London and Rochester assisted the archbishop. William B. Sprague, *Annals of the American Pulpit . . .*, 9 vols. (New York: R. Correr and Brothers, 1857–69) 5:319. The University of Pennsylvania had bestowed the degree of doctor of divinity on Madison in 1785. Mandamus, May 6, 1785, University of Pennsylvania Archives, DH.

55. James Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 17 and Mar. 30, James Madison, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. These (and other) Madison: Jefferson letters have been published in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 93–94, 148–49. Forty-four letters between the two men are in Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC, microfilm.
56. "Copy of a Letter to the Rector of the Convocation of Visitors and Governors of William & Mary College," Williamsburg, Dec. 9, 1803, Tucker Notebooks, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
57. "J.M. J." to Board of Visitors, *Virginia Gazette*, Dec. 14, 1796, Chronology File, WMA.
58. Joseph H. Watson to David Watson, Dec. 9, 1799, "Letters from William and Mary, 1798–1801," 140, 149–50; Garritt Minor to [David Watson], Dec. 20, 1799, "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," *VMHB* 30 (1922): 234. During most of the 1790s, Andrews represented Williamsburg in the House of Delegates; "Biographical Materials," Robert Andrews, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
59. "Statutes of 1792," 14. Most of Tucker's students lived in the town, so it was no inconvenience for them to go to his house rather than to the College. St. George Tucker to John Ambler, Sept. 16, 1801, Ambler Family Papers, VHS. Tucker was appointed to the Supreme Court of Appeals in 1803.
60. "Letter to the Rector," Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; Cullen, "Tucker," 138–41. Tucker finished his course, which ran through March 1804.
61. William Nelson, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. Nelson was a younger brother of Thomas Nelson, signer of the Declaration and governor of Virginia. For Nelson's dancing, see George F. Blackburn to Frederick S. Campbell, Apr. 14, 1819, Ferdinand Stewart Campbell, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
62. It is not known when Jefferson and Girardin first became acquainted. Girardin to Jefferson, July 16, 1806, is the first letter of which the present writer is aware. The context shows it was not the first communication between them. Edith Philips, *Louis Hué Girardin and Nicholas Gouin Dufief and Their Relations with Thomas Jefferson...* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1926) , 5–6.
63. Girardin seems to have taught only French, which in any case was the modem language in most demand. As for his history and geography, nothing specific has been discovered about the nature of these courses. Jefferson came to have such a high regard for Girardin that he opened his papers to him so that Girardin (with Skelton Jones) could complete volume four of John Burk's *History of Virginia*, Burk having been killed in a duel in 1808. This was the volume embracing Jefferson's governorship. Jane Slaughter, "Louis Hué Girardin ... " (M.A. thesis, University of Virginia, 1935) , 1–47 and passim; L. H. Girardin to [Elizabeth Gordon Whiting], Dec. 4, 1789, Blair, Banister, Braxton, Whiting, Homer Papers, WMM; Margaret Meagher, *History of Education in Richmond* (Richmond: n.p., 1939), 37–40; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3 (1923): 50–51, from Richmond *Enquirer*, Apr. 9, 1805; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3 (1923) : 239–40, from Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 24, 1806; Ida Trosvig, "The Study and Teaching of History in the College

of William and Mary" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1935) , 50–55. For other references to Girardin, see Thomas Cary Johnson, *Scientific Interests in the Old South* (New York and London: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1936), 12n, 16, 94, and R. B. Davis, *Intellectual Life in Jefferson's Virginia, 1790–1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964) , 188, 263, 273, 283.

64. Philip Alexander Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819–1919*, 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan, 1920–22) , 1:148. The sketch of Cabell is in 145-57. Cabell regarded Madison "in the character of a Father, rather than that of a friend." J. C. Cabell to James Madison, Jan. 18, 1803, Cabell Family Papers, UVA, DH.
65. Joseph C. Cabell to Isaac Coles, Mar. 1 , 1807, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
66. Joseph C. Cabell to William H. Cabell, Jan. 23, 1807, quoted in Johnson, *Scientific Interests*, 12 n. 3; [G. C.] de la Coste to Jefferson, May 27, 1805; [Jefferson to de la Coste], Apr. 10, 1805; de la Coste to Jefferson, Apr. 10, 1807; Jefferson to de la Coste, May 24, 1807; all in Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC; Bishop James Madison to Joseph C. Cabell, Dec. 23, 1806, and Mar. 31, 1807, Mary S. Gwaltney, ed., "Bishop James Madison's Letters on Politics, 1787–1809" (History honors thesis, William and Mary, 1983), 128, 130. Cabell lent his mineral collection to the College and his herbarium to Girardin. Nathaniel Francis Cabell, *Early History of the University of Virginia, as Contained in the Letters of Thomas Jefferson and Joseph C. Cabell ...* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph, 1856), 4. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 226–27.
67. Joseph C. Cabell to Isaac Coles, Mar. 1, 1807, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
68. Id. to id., Mar. 16, 1807, ibid.
69. Id. to id., Mar. 1 , 1807, ibid.
70. Cabell, *Early History*, xxx. Italics, which seem to have been added by the editor, have been dropped.
71. Joseph C. Cabell to Isaac Coles, Mar. 16, 1807, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. In the letter cited in note 70, Coles urged Cabell to enter the legislature and work for the new university even if it might be years in the future. Cabell replied in this letter that he would do so when elected. He continued, "In the present state of the funds of William and Mary, or the want of an overawing population in the town, or a jurisdiction over it vested in the College, I shall never consider it a very valuable place of education. But we ought to make the best of it, as it is all we have," and he went on, as mentioned, to hope for better things.
72. Bursar's reports for 1807 and 1808, WMA, settle the date of Girardin's departure, hitherto a matter of speculation. In 1807 he received $375 of his full salary of $500. Plunkett is listed in the reports after Girardin's resignation as a teacher of French with a stipend ranging from $75 to $150.
73. Edmund Randolph to Alexander Addison, July 29, 1792, quoted in Goodwin, "Notes," 273.
74. Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 29, 1804, *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 152; also in Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC. Madison said he hoped to be able to offer more in the future. The salary for the chair was $500, which was unchanged for many years; the other "emoluments" must have consisted mainly of student fees, which were $15 per head. George Blow to [Richard Blow], Mar. 20, 1804, Blow Family Papers, WMM.
75. *DAB*, s.v. "Mansfield, Jared." This was the work that brought him to Jefferson's attention and led to his appointment as surveyor general with the rank of lieutenant colonel in the United States Army.
76. Jefferson to Madison, Feb. 24, 1804, Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC.
77. Osborne, "William and Mary," 143–44; see also James Madison to James Madison, Jr., Aug. 2, 1804, Madison Papers, DH.
78. Madison to Benjamin Rush, Oct. 5, 1804, Madison Papers, WMM.
79. Augustine C. Smith to Samuel Myers, July 11, 1809; Samuel Myers to John Myers, Apr. 10, 1808, in Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. For the "Williamsburg Female Academy," see

advertisement (photostat) in Richmond *Enquirer*, in George Blackburn, Subject File, WMA. See clipping from the same issue for his tutoring of students in Chronology File, WMA. For what one student called Blackburn's "inveterate hatred of the bishop," see Augustine C. Smith to Samuel Myers, July 11, 1809, Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.

80. Jane Carson, *We Were There* (Williamsburg: Colonial Williamsburg, 1965), 67.
81. Goodwin, "Notes," 262–63.
82. Ibid., 266.
83. "Shall our sons become the disciples of Voltaire ... or our daughters the concubines of the Illuminati?" Timothy Dwight, *The Duty of Americans ...* (New Haven: Thomas and Samuel Green, 1798), quoted in Stephen E. Berk, *Calvinism versus Democracy, Timothy Dwight and the Origins of American Evangelical Orthodoxy* (Hamden, Conn.: Archon Books, 1974), 130. For Federalist alarm at Jefferson's election, see John C. Miller, *The Federalist Era, 1789–1801* (New York and London: Harper & Row, 1960), 264–65, wherein Federalists predicted Jefferson's election would see "'dwellings in flames, hoary hairs bathed in blood, female chastity violated ... children writhing on the pike and halberd.'" For the belief of Dwight and others in the vast, sinister conspiracy of the Bavarian Illuminati, which had infiltrated American democracy, see Berk, *Calvinism*, 125–32. The quotation in the text is from Madison to Jefferson, Apr. 5, 1802, *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925) : 151; also in James Madison, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA.
84. Madison to Jefferson, Apr. 15, 1802, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
85. Hurley, "Deism at W&M," 93–112. See 63–92 for an informative discussion of the years 1776–1802, the high-water mark of deistic-related beliefs at William and Mary, and for speculation about the religious persuasion of the faculty, especially Madison.
86. Isaac A. Coles to Henry St. George Tucker, July 20, 1799, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 159.
87. Chapman Johnson to David Watson, Dec. 19, 1799, "Letters to David Watson," *VMHB* 29 (1921): 266.
88. Joseph S. Watson to David Watson, Dec. 24, 1799, "Letters from William and Mary, 1798–1801," 152. For "Anno. Rep." see id. to id., Feb. 9, 1799, ibid., 138; other examples could be given. Robert Andrews was the Federalist. Chapman Johnson to David Watson, Feb. 20, 1801, "Letters to David Watson," 276; Thomas L. Preston to Andrew Reid, Jr., Jan. 7, 1802, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 216; John S. Watson to David Watson, Mar. 2, 1891, David Watson Papers, UVA; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 62; Osborne, "William and Mary," 5356, 81–82; Robert J. Brugger, *Beverley Tucker, Heart over Head in the Old South* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 14–17. For political divisions among students, see John Tomlin to David Watson, Jan. 14, 1798, David Watson Papers, UVA: "The students are not half as sociable as they were last course, party spirit runs high, and we have no society among us." This would indicate a significant number of Federalist sympathizers, but the weight of evidence suggests that if so, the proportion had shrunk by the time of the election of 1800.
89. "J.C." [James Madison] to "Mr. Dwight, Author of an Oration, &c.," in *National Intelligencer*, Nov. 20, 1801, photostat in Chronology File, WMA. William Godwin, *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, ed. K. Codell Carter (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), xiii–xvii, 184–92 (Book IV, chap. 9, "Of Good and Evil"); Charles E. Cuningham, *Timothy Dwight, 1752–1817: A Biography* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942), 299. Dwight also included in the "whole mass of pollution" thus "vomited" the works of Voltaire and Thomas Paine. Late in life, Lieutenant General Winfield Scott, who attended William and Mary in 1805, said: "Bishop Madison ... contributed not a little ... by injudicious management, to the prevalent evil [i.e., infidelity]. It was his pious care to denounce to the newcomers certain writings of Hume, Voltaire, Godwin, etc., etc., then generally in the hands of seniors. These writings the good bishop represented as sirens, made perfectly seductive by the charms of rhetoric. Curiosity was thus excited. Each green youth became impatient ... to taste the forbidden fruit and, if necessary, to buy knowledge at whatever cost." Winfield Scott, *Memoirs of Lieut. General Winfield Scott, LL.D.* (New York: Sheldon and Company, 1864), 9–10.

90. Madison to James Madison, Jr., Oct. 24, 1801, James Madison, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA, original of letter in J. P. Morgan collection of Bishops' Papers, Pierpont Morgan Library.
91. "J. C." in *National Intelligencer*, Chronology File, WMA. In a private letter written several years before, Madison said: "Mr. Godwin's Work is a curious Production. Visionary indeed as you say; often right, as often wrong, & aiming at Impossibilities. I do not know how to describe him, unless I should say, that he is a very ingenious Fool." Madison to Henry Tazewell, Feb. 17, 1796, in Gwaltney, ed., "Letters," 79. To another he wrote: " … [T]he modern Philanthropist [looks for] the epoch of infinite Perfectibility. … Condorcet appears to me to be the ablest & at the same time, equally as visionary as Godwin, or any other." Madison to Jefferson, Feb. 11, 1800, ibid., 120; also in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 148, there dated Feb. 1. Godwin believed in infinite perfectibility, but did not believe perfection could ever be attained. Godwin, *Enquiry*, 58–60. James Ogilvie, "by far the most influential and widely known pedagogue of the era," was avowedly devoted to Godwin. He also ate opium. Davis, *Intellectual Life*, 40–42. In 1801 Joseph C. Cabell said that Godwin was read by only two or three students. Cabell to David Watson, Apr. 6, 1801, "Letters to David Watson," 278. For a student's comment on Madison's dislike for Godwin, see J. Shelton Watson to David Watson, "Letters from William and Mary, 1798–1801," 147. In this letter he reported that in a meeting of "our society ... there was an equal division on the question, 'Is gratitude a virtue?' From this you may guess at the esteem in which Godwin is held by the students." The Godwinites would not have held gratitude to be a virtue.
92. Osborne, "William and Mary," 95.
93. Augustine C. Smith to Samuel Myers. July 11, 1809, in Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. The Board was by no means wholly in agreement with Madison.
94. Osborne, "William and Mary," 96.
95. Ibid., 97–98.
96. For illustrative citations, see Davis, *Intellectual Life*, 3; Merrill D. Peterson, *Thomas Jefferson and the New Nation* (London, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1970) , 980–81; James Madison to James Madison, Jr., Jan. 9, 1800, James M. Owens Papers, WMM; Joseph C. Cabell to Isaac Coles, Feb. 17, 1807, Johnson, *Scientific Interests*, 12n; Isaac Coles to Joseph C. Cabell, —— 1807. ("Found a new one [i.e., university] which shall be worthy of the first State in the Union." Coles was then Jefferson's private secretary.) Cabell, *Early History*, xxx. For reaction to Virginia's decline, see Robert P. Sutton, "Nostalgia, Pessimism, and Malaise: The Doomed Aristocrat in Late Jeffersonian Virginia," *VMHB* 76 (1968) : 41–55. For the Kentish gentry, see Peter Laslett, "The Gentry of Kent," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 9 (1947): 148–63.
97. Surviving sources do not allow greater precision. For numbers of students, see Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 269; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 2 (1893) : 195n; typed list of students "attending," 1786–1825, folder 144, College Papers, WMA; Goodwin, "Notes," 257, 259, 266, 267, 278, 280, 281, 284, 287, 289, 293, 295, as well as *WMQ*, 1st ser., 18 (1909–10): 157; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900) : 218, 219, 222; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905) : 109; *VMHB* 30 (1922): 249; *VMHB* 29 (1921): 139; Miller, Retrospect, 2:503. The average number (fifty) is believed to be reasonably accurate for the years 1782–1812. Grammar School scholars are excluded from that number. By way of comparison, the approximate number of students (c. 1801) at other colleges is given by Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:492–506, as follows: Harvard, "on an average, from 180 to 200"; Dartmouth, 140; Rhode Island College (Brown), 107; Yale, 217; Columbia, 125; College of New Jersey (Princeton), 150; William and Mary, 52. The description of enrollment at the University of Pennsylvania is so qualified as to make the figure of "about 160" not very useful. Colleges established after the Revolution are not included here, although they are discussed by Miller, because enrollments were naturally small. The comparison with enrollments at other colleges may be deceptive, for the latter may include freshmen and sophomores, who would have been in grammar schools before coming to William and Mary as juniors.
98. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 79. All entering students had to promise to abide by College

regulations. This has sometimes been touted as the first Honor System. Cf. Lyon G. Tyler, *The College of William and Mary ...* (Richmond: Whittet & Shepperson, 1907), 66.

99. Carson, *We Were There*, 89.
100. The students protested against this policy in 1796. *WMQ*, 2d ser., 15 (1935) : 199–200. By the fall term, 1797, students were again living at the College; *VMHB* 30 (1922): 31.
101. Henry St. George Tucker to St. George Tucker, Aug. 8, 1801, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. The bishop fastened the head on with an iron plug and also repaired the nose. The new nose has not survived. See also Lee W. Formwalt, "An English Immigrant Views American Society," *VMHB* 85 (1977): 398; Isaac Coles to David Watson, Mar. 21, 1798, "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," 234, 241 (smearing the pulpit) . Norfolk *Herald*, Apr. 15, 1803, Chronology File, WMA (digging up the body); Osborne, "William and Mary," 120–21, who gives Madison's version of the exhumation; Benjamin Crowninshield to "Dr. Sir," May 30, 1804, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 16 (1907–1908): 126, quoting Richmond *Examiner*, Apr. 9, 1803; Joseph C. Robert, "William Wirt, Virginian," *VMHB* 80 (1972): 404; Samuel Myers to John Myers, Apr. 10, 1808, id. to Moses Myers, [Jan. 30, 1809]; Augustine C. Smith to Samuel Myers, July 11, 1809, all in Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; James Madison to ——, July 14, 1803; Madison to Judge Todd, Sept. 17, 1809, James Madison, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
102. William T. Barry to "Dear Brother," Jan. 30, 1804, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 109.
103. George P. Schmidt, *The Liberal Arts College ...* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1957), 83, for the Princeton quotation. For "legacy" quotation, Rudolph, *American College and University*, 40. For the UNC rebellion, Kemp P. Battle, *History of University of North Carolina*, 2 vols. (Raleigh: Edwards and Braughton, 1907–12), 1:155. For secularization, David L. Holmes, "William Meade and the Church of Virginia, 1789–1829" (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1971), 88. Even by the mid-nineteenth century, nine of ten college and university presidents were theologians, as well as a great majority of the faculty—about the same proportion that prevailed in 1750. Of the colleges established before the Revolution, the great majority were affiliated with or controlled by religious denominations.
104. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 38–39. For a more or less random sample of student attitudes and behavior, see Daniel Walker Hollis, *South Carolina Colleges*, vol. 1 of *The University of South Carolina*, 2 vols. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951–56), 1:52–56, 88–93; Walter C. Bronson, *The History of Brown University, 1714–1914* (Providence: The University, 1914), 115–18, 148–50, 152–53; Battle, *UNC*, 1:155, 194–218.
105. For a comparison, see rules at Rhode Island College (Brown) in 1803, Bronson, *Brown*, 182–83, and Battle, *UNC*, 1:190–93, 201–2. University of North Carolina regulations were stricter than those at William and Mary.
106. Statutes of Mar. 24, 1802, Matriculation Book, WMA.
107. James Madison to Gov. James Monroe, Dec. 23, 1803, folder 13a, College Papers, WMA.
108. E.g., Samuel Myers to John Myers, Apr. 10, 1808, Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
109. Notice by Madison in Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 19, 1806, quoted in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3 (1923): 204. There may have been hopes of turning a profit; if so, they were disappointed.
110. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 96–102.
111. Statutes of Oct. 26, 1808, Matriculation Book, WMA.
112. Statute dated July 6, 1810, Matriculation Book, WMA.
113. "George Tucker's Description of Williamsburg in 1796," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 19 (1939): 192.
114. William T. Barry to "Dear Brother," Jan. 30, 1804, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 109–10.
115. William Munford to John Coalter, Apr. 23, 1791, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 154, original in Brown, Coalter, Tucker Papers, WMM.
116. Chapman Johnson to David Watson, Dec. 19, 1799, "Letters to David Watson," 266.
117. Samuel Myers to John Myers, Oct. 25, 1808, Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.

118. William T. Barry to "Dear Brother," Dec. 30, 1804, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 110.

119. Thomas L. Preston to Andrew Reid, Jr., Feb. 22, 1802, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 216. Other examples could be given.

120. Garritt Minor to David Watson, Dec. 20, 1797, "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," 234; id. to id., Apr. 28, 1798, ibid., 245; Thomas L. Preston to Andrew Reid, Jr., Jan. 7, 1802, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 216; Wm. T. Barry to ——, Feb. 6, 1804, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 13 (1904–1905): 111; Joseph C. Cabell to Dr. William B. Hare, Jan. 4, 1801, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 215. Other examples could be given.

121. Carter H. Harrison to David Watson, June 11, 1797 (first quotation), Benjamin Howard to David Watson, July 14, 1797 (second quotation), "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," 227, 229; originals in David Watson Papers, UVA.

122. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 62.

123. George Blow to "Dear Father" [Richard Blow], Mar. 20, 26, 1804, Mar. 13, May 4, June 1 , July 9, 16, 1805, Blow Family Papers, WMM; Gary M. Williams, "Colonel George Blow, Planter and Political Prophet of Antebellum Sussex," *VMHB* 90 (1982): 433; Brown, Wythe, 270.

124. John S. Watson to David Watson, Feb. 9, 1799, "Letters from William and Mary, 1798–1801," 129; Robert Michie to David Watson, Nov. 3, 1797, "Letters to David Watson," 258; Chapman Johnson to David Johnson, Oct. 27, 1800, "Letters to David Watson," 273-74; Joseph C. Cabell to David Johnson, Oct. 27, 1800, "Letters to David Watson," 278–79; Janice Fivehouse, "The History of the Alpha Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1968), 23–25.

125. *WMQ*, 2d ser., 7 (1927): 294.

126. Jedidiah Morse to Ezra Stiles, Dec. 30, 1786, Goodwin, "Notes," 266.

127. Statute in Matriculation Book, WMA; also in *WMQ*, 1st ser., 25 (1916–17) : 236.

128. Jefferson to George Wythe, Dec. 17, 1789, Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC; Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 16:37.

129. Requirements for the bachelor of arts: mathematics—first six books of Euclid, plain trigonometry, "The taking of Heights and Distances," surveying, algebra, eleventh and twelfth books of Euclid, spherics, conic sections; natural philosophy-general principles of matter, mechanics, electricity, pneumatics, hydrostatics, optics, the "first principles" of astronomy. Must be "well acquainted with logic, the belles lettres, rhetoric, natural law, law of nations, and the general principles of politics." A competent knowledge of geography and ancient and modern languages was required. "Statutes of 1792," 13. For a claim respecting the "elective system," see Tyler, William and Mary College, 64, 66–67.

130. Davis, *Intellectual Life*, 52. A similar knowledge of modern languages was required. See note 129, above.

131. Barbara Wilbur, 'The Influence of English and Scottish Universities … " (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1957), 62; *Catalogue of the Alumni and Alumnae for the Years 1866–1932*, in *Bulletin of the College of William and Mary* (Williamsburg: n.d.), 26, No. 2: 153–57 for the years 1783–1861. The first master of arts listed appears in the mid-1820s. The list seems to be roughly accurate.

132. E.g., William Brockenbrough to Joseph C. Cabell, Apr. 29, 1798, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. This contains a rather curious argument against taking a degree, including reasons such as vanity, being under an obligation to those who confer it, thereby being expected to concur in opinion with them and thus not being able to act in a manner "perfectly unfettered." Then came the real reason: he did not think he was adequately prepared! One is reminded of the high-flown reasons given by John Winthrop for giving up hunting, which all boiled down to his being a bad shot.

133. Heaton, ed., "Tazewell," 173–75.

134. Joseph C. Cabell to David Watson, July 8, 1798, Garritt Minor and David Watson Papers,

1768–1821, DLC, photostat in Chronology File, WMA. Cabell was referring to Godwin's 1797 publication, *The Enquirer*. Tazewell, writing at some distance in time, says that degrees became easier to get. However, if the degree list in *Bulletin* …, 153–54, is not wildly inaccurate, this was an overstatement. Not until 1831 did the number of degrees exceed those given in 1798. The *Bulletin's* list shows for 1799: 1; 1800: none; 1801: none; 1802: 2; 1803: none; 1804: none; 1805: 1; 1806: 4; 1807: 7; 1808: 5; 1809: 5; 1810: 7; 1811: 10.

135. Statute in Matriculation Book, WMA, is incomplete; see *WMQ*, 1st ser., 16 (1907–1908) : 215–16 for the complete version.

136. Frederick Rudolph, *Curriculum: A History of the American Undergraduate Course of Study since 1636* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass Publishers, 1977), 44.

137. Richmond *Enquirer*. July 11, 1806, quoted in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3 (1923): 201–3. Such orations were the stock-in-trade at all levels of education at commencement. For a hysterically funny example, with authentic essays, readers will remember chapter 21 of Tom Sawyer.

138. Madison to Samuel Miller, July 23, 1804, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:493–540; Rudolph, *Curriculum*, 60; Davis, *Intellectual Life*, 35.

139. Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:504. Except for one minor matter, Madison made no objection to Miller's description of William and Mary. See Madison's letter, note 138, above. [Emma Savage Rogers], *Life and Letters of William Barton Rogers*, 2 vols. (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin and Co., 1896), 1 :401, states that Madison gave "the first regular courses of lectures on physical science and political economy ever given in the United States."

140. Jefferson to Peter Carr, Aug. 10, 1787, Boyd, ed., *Papers of Jefferson*, 7: 15.

141. Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:503; Madison in *National Intelligencer*, Chronology File, WMA. Where not given, the obvious titles have been supplied.

142. Joseph C. Cabell to David Watson, July 8, 1798, Minor and Watson Papers, DLC, photostat in Joseph C. Cabell Papers, WMM.

143. E.g., including Thomas Reid, Dugald Stewart, James Beattie, Adam Ferguson, Francis Hutcheson, and Hugh Blair. Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:503; Madison in *National Intelligencer*, Chronology File, WMA.

144. George Blow to [Richard Blow], Jan. —, 1804, Blow Family Papers, WMM.

145. Id. to id., Mar. 26, 1804, ibid.

146. Jennings, *Library*, 78–79; Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:503, gives the number as three thousand in 1801, the same as reported in 1781. Jennings assumes a net increase of one thousand by 1793, including the two hundred volumes from Louis XVI. The latter evidently heavily emphasized natural history. Miller, *Retrospect*, 2:498, gives Yale's collection as between three and four thousand, Columbia, Dartmouth, and Rhode Island College (later Brown) as three thousand each. For private libraries, see Davis, *Intellectual Life*, 88–119.

147. David Watson, lecture notes begun Oct. 28, 1796, pp. 4–6, 8, photostat, Owens Papers, WMM.

148. Augustine C. Smith to Samuel Myers, Nov. 6, 1800, Samuel Myers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; "James Madison, D.D.," Owens Papers, WMM. The connection between science and religious belief, such as Madison postulated, was commonplace at the time. See, e.g., Rudolph, *American College and University*, 226.

149. David Yancey to David Watson, June 6, 1795, "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," 224.

150. Brown, *Wythe*, 33–39, 47–49, 70, 81, 104–5, 139–40, 141–43, 216–17, 239–41.

151. Brown, *Wythe*, 222. One gentleman asked Wythe if he could borrow his "Electrical Machine for the purpose of electrifying a Mulatto girl who hathed [*sic*] a locked jaw for some time." W. A. Rino to George Wythe, Oct. 12, 1800 (typescript), George Wythe Papers, WMM.

152. Beverley D. Tucker, *Nathaniel Beverley Tucker: Prophet of the Confederacy*, 1784–1851 (Tokyo: Nan'un-do Co., 1979), 49.

153. Madison tried unsuccessfully to start a model legislature for the students generally. Chapman Johnson to David Watson, Oct. 27, 1800, "Letters to David Watson," 273–74, 278–79.

154. This brief account is based on Brown, *Wythe*, especially chapter eleven, and Kirtland, *Wythe*, who, however, does little with his subject's teaching career. For an excellent sketch of Blackstone, see William Searle Holdsworth's magisterial *A History of English Law*, 17 vols. (London: Methuen and Co., 1922–72), 11 :207–13. For Wythe's use of Blackstone, see the scanty surviving evidence in William Swindler, "John Marshall's Preparation for the Bar: Some Observations on His Law Notes," *American Journal of Legal History* 11 (1967): 207–13. Indirect evidence is the widespread popularity of Blackstone in America before and after the Revolution and the centrality of Blackstone to the course taught by Wythe's student and successor, St. George Tucker. See also Cullen, "Tucker," 117 and n. 2. Wythe's students would also have read, among others, Coke, Pufendorf, Montesquieu, Burlamaqui, and Vattel. Cullen, "Tucker," 10.

155. William Munford to John Coalter, July 12 and 22, 1791, Brown, Coalter, Tucker Papers, WMM.

156. Brown, *Wythe*, 219; Heaton, ed., "Tazewell," 158–64.

157. See Brown, *Wythe*, 214, 228 for more names.

158. *DAB*, s.v. "Tucker, St. George"; Coleman, *Tucker*, 124–25. Although it contains little about Tucker's William and Mary career, this biography, drawn from the extensive collection of Tucker papers now in the William and Mary library, is a charming and moving portrait of Tucker and his family. For Tucker as a poet, see William S. Prince, ed., *The Poems of St. George Tucker of Williamsburg* (New York: Vantage Press, 1977). See also Brugger, *Tucker*, 1–7.

159. To David Watson, Apr. 6, 1801, "Letters to David Watson," 277.

160. Benjamin Howard to David Watson, Jan. 30, 1799, "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," 248.

161. Except where noted, this summary of Tucker's law course is based upon Cullen, "Tucker," chapters seven and eight. See also Brugger, *Tucker*, 218n.

162. For the prevalence of antislavery sentiment among Virginia leaders, see Beverley B. Munford, *Virginia's Attitude toward Slavery and Secession* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1910), 82–90 and passim; Cullen, "Tucker," 161; Notebook 1, pp. 4, 18–19, box 63, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; Donna S. Bryman, " St. George Tucker and the Complexities of Antislavery Advocacy in Jeffersonian Virginia" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1972), 26.

163. Oct. 7, 1807, James Madison, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.

164. James Madison to James Madison, Jr., July 26, 1806, Gwaltney, ed., "Letters," 126. In this letter Madison said that "in Reality, the inducements to continue here are not very powerful in my Estimation." John Madison was lost at sea in 1808. See James Madison to Littleton W. Tazewell, Mar. 1 , 1808 (typescript) , Bishop James Madison Papers, DU, DH.

165. Jefferson to Madison, Nov. 1, 1807, Jefferson, Presidential Papers, DLC. In any event, he told Madison, "I should have had some qualms of conscience excited by my attachment to the college [!] on one side & to yourself on the other."

166. *WMQ*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 65.

167. John Tyler to St. George Tucker, July 10, 1795, quoted in ibid., 66.

168. *WMQ*, 3d ser., 45 (1988): 66; "Letters to David Watson," 266, 278; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 8 (1899–1900): 159; "Letters from William and Mary, 1795–1799," 241; Hurley, "Deism at W&M," 62–92; "Statutes of 1792."

169. For Madison's brief hope that a Federal University might be located in Williamsburg, see *WMQ*, 1st ser., 9 (1900–1901): 133; James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789–1897*, 10 vols. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1896–99), 1:66; cf. Neil M. Shawen, "Thomas Jefferson and a National University," *VMHB* 92 (1984): 309–35.

170. Madison to Madison, Jr., Nov. 12, 1794, Owens Papers, WMM.

171. Id. to id., Dec. 24, I 794, ibid.

172. Madison to Jefferson, Feb. 10, 1799, *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 92; id. to id., Feb. 11, 1800, Gwaltney, ed., "Letters," 120.

173. Madison to Madison, Jr., Jan. 9, 1800, Owens Papers, WMM, original in James Madison, Presidential Papers, DLC.

174. *VMHB* 29 (1921): 272.

175. Madison to Madison, Jr., Feb. 23, 1801, Owens Papers, WMM. He had been looking into the possibility of buying real estate in Louisa County. Osborne, "William and Mary," 65–66.

176. Madison to John Breckinridge, Jan. 8, 1802, Gwaltney, ed., "Letters," 122. As early as 1798, a friend reported that the bishop was thinking of buying a farm in Kentucky. Osborne, "William and Mary," 65. According to Charles Lewis Scott, "A Sketch of My Own Immediate Family ... (Jan. 23, 1899)," Owens Papers, WMM, Madison "duly entered and recorded" 150,000 acres of Kentucky land in Pike, Floyd, Martin, and Lawrence counties from which he derived no benefit. As early as 1787, Madison owned 50,000 acres in Russell County, Virginia; he also owned an unknown amount in the Guyandot and Sandy rivers region of what is now southwest West Virginia. James Madison to Thomas Madison, Oct. 1, 1787 (typescript), Draper Papers, Historical Society of Wisconsin; "The First Three Virginia Bishops," *The Churchman*, July 20, 1907, DH. See also James Madison to ——, Sept. 19, 1800, and to James Preston, Jan. 10, 1811, Preston Family Papers, VHS. No attempt has been made to investigate Madison's land speculations or his trips west.

177. Madison to Madison, Jr., Dec. 13, 1803, Osborne, "William and Mary," 129.

178. Ibid., 162.

179. William P. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of Virginia State Papers ...* , 11 vols. (New York: Kraus Reprint, 1968), 3:58; 5:341; 7:142, 145. See *DAB*, s.v. "Madison, James," for a useful brief account of his life. See also Sprague, Annals, 5:319–24; Gwaltney, ed., "Letters," 1–13; William A R. Goodwin, ed., *The History of the Theological Seminary in Virginia and Its Historical Background,* 2 vols. (New York: Edwin S. Gorham, 1923), 1:73; Holmes, "Meade," 179–90; Charles Crowe, "Bishop James Madison and the Republic of Virtue," *JSH* 30 (1964): 58–70; [George G. Cleaveland], "James Madison: College President, Episcopal Bishop, A Maker of America," Madison Papers, WMM.

180. David L. Holmes, "The Decline and Revival of the Church of Virginia," *Up from Independence: The Episcopal Church in Virginia* (Orange: Interdiocesan Bicentennial Committee of the Virginias, 1976), 65.

181. Osborne, "William and Mary," I 77–78; Madison to Joseph Cabell, Jan. 4, 1812, Madison Papers, WMM.

182. Mar. 11, 1812, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.

183. For various eulogies and other details, see Osborne, "William and Mary," 227–39.

2

HOW NOT TO RUN A COLLEGE 1812–1825

“The Simpleton Bracken”

Institutions of higher learning in the late twentieth century are of a size, complexity, and wealth inconceivable in Bishop Madison’s day. They have dynamics and momentum not easily changed. The class of professional administrators that has sprung up to preside over these educational conglomerates often resembles a sort of bureaucratic lichen, on but not of the host to which it is attached. Not infrequently the modern president “cometh up, and is cut down,” professionally speaking, “like a flower,” or “fleeth as it were a shadow,” moving upward, or downward, or sideways to another college, usually having done rather little to alter the direction in which the institution was already moving and leaving behind few changes that would not have occurred under almost anyone else. A fading repertoire of anecdotes, not necessarily complimentary, and eventually, perhaps, a posthumously named building may be the only relics unique to the departed.[1]

It was not so in earlier times. Then, no one could think of Yale without thinking of Ezra Stiles or Timothy Dwight, or of William and Mary without thinking of Madison. In an academic community consisting of a handful of faculty and a few score of students, the character and reputation of the College depended to no small degree upon who was president. This truism was never more vividly illustrated than when the Reverend John Bracken became the ninth man to hold that office.

The record reveals little concerning Bracken during the years following his reinstatement as professor of humanity and master of the revived Grammar School. Almost as little is known of the school itself. Madison reported in 1800 that it had not fulfilled the expectations of its champions. Enrollment, about sixty in the mid-1790s, had slipped to a mere thirty-two by the time of Madison’s death.[2] Students’ letters often discuss various professors, but not Bracken.[3] The state of Bruton Parish, of which he was rector for so many years, seems to have been quite dismal even when taking into consideration the general decay of the Episcopal Church in Virginia. William Meade’s account of his ordination in 1811 by Madison, assisted by Bracken, is suggestive. The church itself he found to be in “wretched condition,” with the winter wind swirling through broken windows. The shivering congregation numbered only seventeen, all of whom were friends and relatives of the ordinand.[4]

Late in the winter of 1812, with Madison’s illness clearly entering its final phase, Bracken resigned his professorship and the mastership of the Grammar School,[5] apparently confident of becoming the next president.[6] Nor was he disappointed. With an unseemly haste possibly calculated to forestall the development of an opposition, the Board elected Bracken, who rounded things off by preaching the bishop's funeral sermon.[7] Together with the declaration of war on Great Britain, this event would come to be seen as a major cause of the College's sharp decline during the next two years. Dr. Philip Barraud wrote St. George Tucker three days after Madison's death, "I do feel mortified at the want of respect to the memory of the Dear old Bishop by the Convocation and I am not satisfied with the appointment [of Bracken]. In my opinion it gives the Death blow to William & Mary"[8] Later in the year, James Semple, a Visitor and later professor of law, told Jefferson that the College had "sustained a rude shock in the appointment of Mr. Bracken to the presidency."[9] Jefferson was even more cutting; he deplored the failure to select someone of real ability instead of "the simpleton Bracken."[10]

Bracken's ecclesiastical career paralleled his presidency. Like one of those natural philosophy experiments then so popular with undergraduates wherein a dead dog was made to breathe by galvanic stimulation, Bishop Madison's passing stirred the vestigial Episcopal church into a semblance of life. The first so-called annual convention since 1805 met in Richmond on May 13, 1812, with twenty-eight delegates representing eighteen parishes—five less than in 1805.[11] As one of the few survivors of the colonial era and for thirty-nine years rector of the "cathedral" church of the diocese, John Bracken was what one historian has called "an automatic choice for bishop among the older delegates."[12] Nevertheless, his election met with an unrelenting opposition from a small minority led by William Meade, who years later would become bishop of the diocese. Meade objected because of Bracken's "unworthiness" for the position, although not making an explicit imputation of moral turpitude.[13]

After several months Bracken decided to decline the office. In his sermon for Madison he had mentioned both his poor health and unspecified family problems; and so at age sixty-six he may not have felt equal to assuming even the insignificant duties of a moribund church, along with the presidency of the College, especially considering the problems facing both.[14] In the eyes of many, he had become, one suspects, a somewhat shabby relic of a bygone age. Not long after his double promotion, a visitor to Williamsburg remarked that "the president [of the College] , who is also the new Bishop looks more like a tavern keeper than a divine. Indeed, I am told he has nothing divine about him but the name."[15] Possibly he had a drinking problem, as the following anecdote suggests. Having been invited to officiate at a wedding, the Reverend Bracken did not appear at the appointed time, whereupon the bride's father sent out a search party.

> We started and got to york and lo Mr Bracken alias (the Round Bellied Vicar) could not be found anywhere[.] Majr Griffin began to be very uneasy and sent off a servant to look for him[.] about Eight oClock he came in all covered with mud and water the greatest sight you ever saw—It seems the Worthy old gentleman with Miss Elizabeth Gatliff in the gigg with him had started from Wms-

> burg at eleven Oclock in the morning[.] being in his Cups he took the Martens Hundred Road and went to the [Carter's] Grove before he discovered he had lost his way, he then turned back and got almost to Mr Semples farm[.] he there upon a dead level upset the Gigg and broke it and fell on Miss Elizabeth Gatliff and almost killed her. We had grand doings there and Majr Griffin gave us some Wine which he said was the age of his daughter which he had saved for Her wedding.[16]

Bracken's tenure as president was quite as inglorious and almost as brief as his episcopal career. Probably seeking to mitigate the bad impression his election had created, the Visitors invited two alumni known to be close to Jefferson to join the faculty. One, Joseph Cabell, seems briefly to have considered accepting, but did not.[17] The other was Peter Carr, Jefferson's nephew. Judge Semple traveled to Albemarle County to persuade Carr—to his uncle "the dearest of living men"—to accept a professorship.[18] Carr's friends urged him to do so, and he did make a tentative commitment to the Board rather against his personal inclinations. But he would go no further in the matter as long as Bracken was president. William H. Cabell, Joseph's brother, a former governor, and now a member of the Court of Appeals, consulted with Carr and with William Wirt, the renowned attorney, to see if there was a legal way of deposing Bracken. Carr concluded there was not. As for Bracken's resigning voluntarily, Carr said, "I know the incumbent too well, to believe that any scruples as to his fitness for office, would induce him to give up the emoluments attached to it."[19] As long as Bracken was there, Carr believed that the income from the salary and fees he could expect would be insufficient to support him.

Something had to be done about Bracken, said Governor Cabell, for without some change, "the College is gone."[20] "If the Gordian knot cannot be untied," a Visitor wrote Jefferson, "I would at once cut it." The Board now included members elected since Bracken's elevation, and it began to take the necessary steps to force him out.[21] Having in mind a layman, it amended the statute of 1728 requiring the president to be in holy orders, a stipulation that had doubtless facilitated Bracken's election in the first place.[22] Then a committee was appointed to look into the causes for the unhappy state of the College. It met, received word from the president's friends that he was willing to resign, and reported that "such a change … in the state of the university" would make further investigation unnecessary.[23] On the same day, and surely not coincidentally, Bracken addressed a somewhat curious note to the rector of the Board: "Having for some time intended to resign the office of President of Wm and Mary College whenever peace should take place, I am willing even now to resign provided such resignation take place from the first of October next."[24] By peace he meant, of course, peace with Britain, which was not then in prospect. He did not explain the connection between his incumbency and a state of war. The allusion was probably an effort to save face: he had not intended to stay on very long anyway, he was saying, and so he was willing to unburden himself "even now." In any event, the Board now had his resignation in writing, something it had insisted upon, and so it agreed to let him stay on until October 1.[25]

During Bracken's two years, the Board presided over changes in the faculty and the curriculum. In July 1812 the professorship of humanity and the Grammar School were discontinued. Four professorships were announced: law, mathematics, natural philosophy, and chemistry, the separation of the last two being a temporary expedient.[26] The Board made no mention of moral philosophy, although it evidently did not intend for the subject to be dropped permanently.[27] Madison had taught both natural and moral philosophy; as president, Bracken taught nothing. Probably he was not qualified to teach the former or trusted to teach the latter.

The chair of mathematics was empty. The irritable George Blackburn had finally wearied of trying to teach adolescents who were so woefully unprepared. Matriculants avoided his subject both because they were not ready for it and because it simply was not popular. Few students meant few fees to augment his salary of $500. He had appealed publicly to the Visitors to establish a school under his supervision. Entering students would have had to take an entrance examination; those who failed would then have enrolled in Blackburn's school, thus supplying, as he put it, a competence for his family and hopes for his old age. The Board took no action, and Blackburn resigned early in 1812 to take a position at South Carolina College, where the "emoluments" were much greater.[28]

Jefferson was ready as always to use the College as an asylum for displaced academics of the right political stripe, and he recommended Josiah Meigs as a replacement for Blackburn. This gentleman had been at Yale under the genial Ezra Stiles, but when Timothy Dwight, a Federalist, assumed the presidential office, Meigs, an ardent Jeffersonian, found his situation awkward. He refugeed to the gestating University of Georgia, made himself unpopular by attacks on the trustees, and by 1810 found himself unemployed.[29] As it happened, the Board had already picked a local candidate, Ferdinand S. Campbell, a recent graduate and former student of Blackburn's. This young man had stepped in to complete the bishop's moral philosophy course in the spring of 1812 and also to carry the Grammar School through the end of the session. When Blackburn heard of the Visitors' intention, he objected. "Your College," he told them, "has recently been wounded," and "if you appoint those to office in it who are themselves only beginning, you should not expect that in the existing State of Science it can rise very high above its present condition."[30] The Visitors nevertheless stuck with Campbell, a decision that may have derived at least in part from his recent marriage to a well-connected widow ten years his senior, Elizabeth Corbin, granddaughter of Carter Braxton.[31] Campbell inspired a banal undergraduate jingle so invariably quoted whenever he is mentioned that one hesitates to break with tradition: "Here comes old Ferdy / With a rectilinear walk / His head full of diagrams / And his pockets full of chalk."[32]

The College was briefly fortunate in attracting Dr. John Maclean to the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry. A Scot with a medical doctorate from Aberdeen and a diploma in surgery and pharmacy from Glasgow, where he was for several years on the faculty, Maclean had come to the United States in 1795. He settled in Princeton on the advice of Benjamin Rush and soon joined the faculty of the College of New Jersey (later Princeton University) as professor of chemistry. The young Benjamin Silliman was the recipient of Maclean's help when just embarking upon what was to be an outstanding career in chemistry. His benefactor, said Silliman, was "a man of brilliant mind, with all the acumen of his native Scotland; and a sprinkling of wit gave variety to his conversation. I regard him as my earliest master in chemistry. … "[33] Internal changes at New Jersey, including a new president, induced Maclean to come to William and Mary despite the meager salary.[34] Unhappily, his failing health forced him to resign early in 1814. He returned to Princeton and died there in February. His replacement, Thomas P. Jones of Philadelphia, undertook his duties in the fall of the year. Nothing is known of his recruitment or antecedents. His stay at the College would be brief and unpleasant.[35]

Meanwhile, Judge William Nelson, he of the silvery locks and nimble feet, passed to his reward in 1813. Conveniently at hand to keep the chair of law from growing cold was his nephew, Robert Nelson, judge of the chancery court for the Williamsburg district.[36] This may have been one of several incidents that would lead Jefferson to accuse the College of sacrificing its character on the altar of nepotism and favoritism.[37]

"But We Hope a New Era Has Risen upon Us"

Finding a new president was naturally a matter of greatest importance. The College was suffering from the loss of Madison, frequent changes in the faculty, renewed student misconduct, falling enrollments, and dislocations caused by the war with Britain. There was a crying need for strong leadership, a man of substance and stature who could rescue the foundering institution. Here Joseph Cabell intervened and helped to persuade his friend Dr. John Augustine Smith to take the presidency that he had probably persuaded the Board to offer him.[38] Unquestionably, Cabell believed he was doing the College a service.

Smith was an alumnus, originally from Westmoreland County, and the first layman president of William and Mary. He would hold that office until 1826. A recitation of the bare facts of his life leaves the impression of a successful man. He studied medicine in London, became a member of the Royal College of Surgeons, and by 1807 was on the faculty of New York's newly formed College of Physicians and Surgeons as professor of anatomy and surgery. This college affiliated with Columbia in 1811, leading to his sharing a professorship with the well-known physician, Wright Post. Possibly this change induced Smith, never a good sharer, to return to the College in 1814. His post—William and Mary career would take him back to the College of Physicians and Surgeons, of which he became president from 1831 until his retirement twelve years later.[39]

So far, so good. On the other hand, when one looks behind the biographical sketches, one finds that wherever Smith was he became a focus of controversy and contention. If he always had his supporters, he never failed to raise up bitter enemies. Thomas Cooper, himself no slouch at antagonizing people, disparaged both his professional qualifications and his character. At best a tolerable dissector, ignorant of the classical languages, bad tempered, duplicitous: such was Cooper's assessment. Late in Smith's career, while he was president of the medical college in New York, a colleague whom he had displaced repeatedly and publicly accused him of mendacity, trickery, dishonorable intrigue, and professional incompetence, to name only a few things. There were surely two sides to this quarrel, yet the charges are too circumstantial to be dismissed out of hand. Perhaps more telling are some unintentionally revealing passages from an in-house history of the school: "He was thought by some to be more versed in philosophic generalities than in the exact details of specific information. … Though not distinguished for any remarkable traits of scientific originality," and so forth.[40]

The picture drawn by Smith's critics during his William and Mary years reveals a man almost pathologically tenacious in opinion and purpose, an egocentric, self-righteous, insensitive authoritarian who could not abide opposition and whose chief joy was the exercise of power, in the acquisition and use of which he was not especially fastidious. Either the Visitors did not see these traits when they selected him, or if they did, were more impressed by the invincible self-assurance with which they were necessarily accompanied. In the crisis of the College they may have believed that after the gentle Madison and the incompetent Bracken, self-assurance was needed above all else. Moreover, they must have realized that Smith was intelligent and perceptive. He saw as clearly as anyone and more clearly than most what was wrong with the College and what had to be corrected. Unfortunately for all concerned, his overbearing personality would prevent him from accomplishing what he knew needed to be done.

The new president unconsciously illustrated this fact in what might be called his inaugural address, delivered at the opening of the College in the autumn of 1814. Everyone agreed that William and Mary was in a "depression," a "fallen state," a "wretched condition."[41] It was sick. Dr. Smith thereupon gave his diagnosis in a manner described by the Richmond *Enquirer* as both impressive and argumentative.[42] Smith's points were well taken, yet his elucidation of them had something to irritate almost everyone.

The most important immediate cause of the College's decline, he said, was the war with Britain. Few would have disputed that. But then he went on quite gratuitously to question the expediency of the war, thus offending those who had supported President James Madison's call to defend the national honor. He gave particular attention to the General Assembly's action in repealing the time-honored exemption of students from militia duty. Pointedly alluding to what he called the "ostensible" purpose of the law, he said its actual effect was to favor the rich over the poor student. The former could escape to seminaries in other states where "juster laws" encouraged learning.[43] The members of the legislature who had voted for the law, to say nothing of their constituents who agreed with it, could not have been pleased when accused by innuendo of passing an unjust law for the ulterior purpose of favoring the rich over the poor.

Next, Dr. Smith complained of critics who had besmirched the College's reputation by "industriously" spreading rumors that doctrines hostile to Revelation were taught within its walls. "little do those who have propagated such reports resemble Christians, in one respect at least, that is, if they could believe such a man as Bishop Madison could have been a hypocrite." Then, in a grudging and ineptly phrased attempt to reassure the devout, he said: "My own opinion on this subject may be singular; but putting the verity and importance of christianity out of the question[!], as pertaining more particularly to the clerical profession, I do think some knowledge of the rise, progress and effects of religion essential to a well educated Gentleman," better to enable him to "detect the latent springs of human action." Therefore, he was "decidedly in favor of a Professorship of Divinity being established in the College." One may doubt if this announcement won over many of the sanctified.

The third cause of the College's low repute was "the total want of discipline," although he asserted, correctly, that conditions were far worse in some other seminaries. Nonetheless, the enemies of William and Mary, "for reasons which are well known," took great pains "to blazon forth whatever irregularities were committed by the students of this College." How unfair, when at the root of student misconduct was the "public at large." Among them, "during the fever that was produced by the French Revolution, nothing was heard of in this country, but *Liberty* and *Equality*, the latter exempting beardless citizens from parents', and of course collegiate authority, the former allowing them to indulge in every untoward propensity." Not to worry, however, for this Francophile "phrenzy" had passed, and if any youths should bring lingering symptoms of the infection to William and Mary, they would simply be expelled. His conservatism in these matters was à la mode in other colleges at this time.[44]

Finally, prospective students had been kept away by Williamsburg's undeserved reputation as a disease-ridden place. Smith conceded that the town was "very unhealthy" during the late summer and early fall, but that for the months when the College was in session it was quite a wholesome place. As proof he claimed that since 1782 only two students had died of "complaints peculiar to this lower country."[45]

This extended account of President Smith's address may shed some light on events that occurred during the succeeding years of his incumbency and help to explain why the "new era" many looked for did not come to pass. Still, at the time the Board and others must have thought there was good reason to expect that the College had turned the comer. The despised Bracken was gone, and the new president was obviously forceful and confident, even if not the soul of tact. The new rector of the Board was the youthful Robert G. Scott, son-in-law of the late Bishop Madison, who was just setting forth on a successful legal and political career that would carry him to the top echelons of the Richmond bar and into the councils of Virginia's movers and shakers.[46] The curriculum was, at least for the moment, relatively complete. Unlike Bracken, Smith would teach, his subject being moral philosophy. Campbell had mathematics, Jones offered natural philosophy and chemistry, enhanced by an enlarged experimental apparatus, and Nelson held the chair of law. Modern languages remained dormant, the long-dead chair of medicine remained dead, but the degree in divinity was still on the books, ready to be revived by Smith. An innovation of debatable wisdom was the elimination of a knowledge of languages, ancient or modem, from degree requirements, and the prolongation of the course of study from two to three years, a change that tended to increase the cost to students and that would have to be abandoned in the hard times of the 1820s.[47] In an access, some would say excess, of generosity, the Board more than doubled faculty salaries.[48]

During the honeymoon period of Smith's presidency, the Visitors were disposed to give him whatever he asked for with respect to the internal governance of the College. At his request, now he and he alone would meet with and report to them. This contrasted to the practice in Madison's time, when the whole Society made such reports. Again at his insistence, Smith was given the responsibility of inquiring into and describing to the Visitors just how well each professor was performing his prescribed duties.[49] The new president was determined to use an iron hand in controlling the students' behavior, academic and otherwise. As a member of the Board recalled, "He applied to the visitors to strengthen the arm of the faculty, and a statute was passed authorising them to inflict the punishment of suspension or expulsion upon any student who refused to give evidence upon his honor, against any other student … or who refused to make a solemn declaration of his own innocence."[50] He even went so far as "to dismiss young men from the institution, without trial, without permitting them to be heard in their own defense. … He would meet a young man … [and] accost him after this manner, 'you have done this, (naming his offence) don't deny it; I can prove it upon you; you are dismissed the College.' From this sentence there' was no appeal."[51]

The Board of Visitors issued an address to the public at the conclusion of the first session under Smith's leadership, announcing the success of the new regime and laying greatest emphasis on "the introduction of a strict system of police."[52] The system was indeed strict, and as administered by Smith it was to raise up powerful enemies and provide the College's critics with a sharp-edged weapon during a most important turning point in its history. A less arrogant man might have learned something from the outcome of a contretemps that occurred during the spring term in 1816. According to Smith, "A Gentleman, whose son is a student here, was grossly insulted" during a chemistry lecture. The students refused to identify the offenders because of their "mistaken notion of honor." Therefore, the chemistry lectures were suspended.[53] The gentleman in question was Robert Greenhow, sometime mayor of Richmond, the College's agent for the collection of surveying fees, and a former member of the Board.[54] At this time the number of boys from Richmond was larger than it would be for years afterward. Richmond parents, including Greenhow, held a meeting which produced a prompt resumption of the chemistry lectures.[55] One angry parent was former Governor Cabell, who asked his brother Joseph if it was "right in the professors to involve the innocent with the guilty? … The Professors must give over the idea of compelling the students to give evidence against each other, & themselves." He would never, he said, place another son "under the guardianship of men who are capable of such injustice."[56] Far from backing off, Smith's "state of the College" message that summer defended the policy that had so embittered Cabell and others.[57] During the next session, no fewer than eighteen students were suspended and two expelled, ten of the former for the crime of breaking into the belfry and ringing the College bell.[58]

Less than a year later, there was another controversy that should have made the Visitors wonder what kind of loose cannon they had on their hands. The precipitating incident was a midyear change in the professorship of chemistry, Dr. Robert Hare replacing Dr. Thomas P. Jones. The course fee per student was twenty dollars per academic year, but Hare charged twenty dollars for the remaining half year. Forty-five students remonstrated against this as unjust. Hare complained that the remonstrance constituted an attack on his character, and Smith suggested to the students that they apologize. Thereupon, most of them signed a statement disavowing any intention of wounding the professor's feelings; it was the act alone to which they objected. Smith deemed this to be inadequate and demanded a total retraction of the remonstrance. When the students refused, the Society suspended twenty-five of them.[59]

The grand total of suspensions and expulsions for the sessions of 1816–17 and 1817–18 came to fifty. As for the Hare imbroglio, the reaction of the community was that the conduct of the president and the professors was "equally as reprehensible as that of the students."[60] The incident would come up again and again. Seven years later a member of the Board would tell a legislative committee that "when at one fell swoop twenty-nine [*sic*] high minded and honorable young men were sent from the College, for asking justice at the hands of a professor in dignified language, the public mind became most strongly prejudiced against the institution." Smith himself came to be seen as "high-handed and arbitrary, tyrannical in his disposition, and inclined to magnify frivolity and indiscretion into crime."[61] The only immediate reaction by the Visitors was to prohibit the charging of full fees for half-year courses.[62] Ultimately and belatedly, when the College seemed threatened with extinction, the Visitors would humbly and publicly acknowledge the unwisdom of the statute requiring self-incrimination and informing.[63]

Smith was not the first nor would he be the last president to suffer in reputation because of failure to deal effectively with student unrest. Although many pointed to the president's unfairness and excessive severity as the main cause of the trouble, there was blame enough for everybody. Students came to the College at an early age; many were no more than fifteen or sixteen years old. Once there, a goodly number behaved like spoiled brats. On the other hand, their misbehavior can be seen as partly the consequence of frustration. Their ignorance of and hatred for mathematics even at the most elementary level had been notorious for years, and they were frequently little better prepared for other subjects. While a student, William Barton Rogers, who would one day succeed his father, Patrick Kerr Rogers, as professor of natural philosophy, said of his fellows that "with the exception of about eight, there was perhaps never an assemblage of young men so totally destitute of genius and so miserably deficient in understanding. Yesterday … Dr. Smith inquired of a student what was the nature of material substance, the answer was, 'One which affects our senses and exerts reason!' Father asked the same person for a definition of a solid; after much hesitation, a good deal of muttering, and abundance of broken sentences, the gentleman answered with great philosophical gravity that it was 'A-a -body which was solid.'"[64] So the College too often consisted of irritable, penurious professors force-feeding the incomprehensible to beardless malcontents. In the confining precincts of a small college in a small town, trouble was inevitable.[65]

When all due weight has been given these reasons for student discontent, the fact remains that Smith's disciplinary system greatly exacerbated matters. Nor were the students alone in feeling the president's heavy hand. The coveted duty given him by the Board of reporting annually on each professor caused dissension and ill will that spilled over into the student body and the community. The first to fall under Smith's hostile scrutiny was Dr. Thomas P. Jones. The president told the Visitors that even before Jones had assumed his professorship in the fall of 1815, he had been instructed to prepare himself in mathematics as an essential qualification for the teaching of natural philosophy. Moreover, Jones was to write a new introductory lecture for the course. He did neither, and so Smith sent him to Campbell to study mathematics and did not allow him to teach natural philosophy during his first term at the College. The Board was apprised of these problems in 1816.[66]

The Visitors remarked huffily that they had expected something better after all the special consideration they had given the chair of chemistry. They invited Jones to come before them and defend himself. He did so, and on that occasion the Visitors found his explanation to be satisfactory. The students, to show their animosity toward Smith as much as their sympathy for Jones, gave the latter a testimonial dinner.[67]

In July 1817 Smith reported Jones's continuing deficiencies, alleging that neither his lectures in natural philosophy nor in chemistry were scientific, but were "what are called popular lectures."[68] Meanwhile, a Visitor had heard rumors about Jones; the man would have to go, he told Smith.[69] The press reported charges circulating among the people of Williamsburg concerning Jones' s "forgetfulness of that dignity of deportment which became the chemical chair of so venerable and rich an Institution as William and Mary."[70] This time Jones resigned before the opening of the 1817 session, ultimately moving on to a successful career at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia.[71] According to one identifying himself only as "Alumnus," Jones left because "the want of harmony existing between himself and the President, gave disgust to a sensitive and superior mind like his. And he refused to remain in the humiliating condition of being subject to the inquisitional eye [of the president]."[72]

Robert Hare succeeded Jones, but illness prevented his teaching in the fall term, leaving a gap in the curriculum during that time and preparing the way for the famous fee uproar already described. Well on his way to becoming one of the most accomplished scientists of his day, Hare was another in a series of distinguished men for whom the College was a way station on the road to bigger things. No doubt the fee debacle made leaving Williamsburg easier, but he had never intended to stay. For him William and Mary was merely a place where he could hone his teaching skills until he could secure an appointment at the University of Pennsylvania, which he did in 1818. He remained there for the balance of his career as professor of chemistry in the medical school.[73]

Simultaneously with Hare's resignation, Judge Robert Nelson unexpectedly expired at the age of forty from "bilious fever."[74] A year elapsed before the Board filled the chair of law with Judge James Semple of the General Court, like all previous law professors a former member of the Board. He was the brother-in-law of John Tyler, the future president of the United States and a member of the Board.[75] The chair of natural philosophy and chemistry remained vacant for the same period, during which the Society consisted only of Smith and Campbell. This fact, combined with the unusually large number of suspensions and expulsions in 1817 and 1818, produced a sharp drop in enrollments from which the College was not to recover fully until the mid-1830s.[76]

The professorship of natural philosophy and chemistry fell to Patrick Kerr Rogers, appointed at the same time as Semple. Remembered chiefly for the achievements of his four sons, William Barton in particular, Rogers was a Protestant from Northern Ireland who settled in Dublin, then fled to the United States in 1798 to avoid the consequences of his open support of the rebellion of that year. He took a degree in medicine from the University of Pennsylvania, but as a practicing physician, first in Philadelphia and then in Baltimore, he was a financial failure. For years he and his family struggled with debt, poverty, and pursuing creditors. In 1819 he applied to Jefferson for a professorship in the University of Virginia, only to find that it was not ready to open its doors and that in any event Jefferson had offered the chair of chemistry to Thomas Cooper. Jefferson may well have referred Rogers to William and Mary, as he had done for others before.[77]

Rogers was a big, ruddy-faced, sensitive, affectionate, excitable Irishman.[78] That he and Smith would collide is not surprising. Before his first year was over, Rogers had an encounter with a student who happened to be Smith's nephew, John A Dabney. Rogers criticized Dabney's conduct before the rest of the class. Outside, Dabney accosted him in a menacing manner and warned the professor that "his gray hairs only protected him from the punishment which his conduct merited." Rogers reported this insulting behavior to the Society: Smith, Campbell, Semple, and himself. Rogers voted for expulsion, the others for suspension, a vote that Smith, the relentless disciplinarian, took pains to show had nothing to do with his relationship with the culprit.[79] Two months later several students complained that Rogers had hurt their feelings "very much."[80] In Philadelphia, Rogers had been accustomed to lecturing to adults, including professors of the University of Pennsylvania,[81] so he may not have been prepared for the restiveness of a William and Mary classroom.

Such incidents no doubt encouraged President Smith to discharge with extra zest his cherished duty of reporting on the professors to the Board. He proposed to visit Rogers's class and watch what went on. Regarding Smith as at most primus inter pares among the professors, Rogers objected to his role as the Board's nark and resented in no uncertain terms the proposed visitation. He was perfectly willing for Smith to examine his students or to be present when he examined them, but would not acquiesce in a colleague's sitting in judgment on him personally. "The control or mastership which your alleged duty involved must *poison the harmony of the society* as long as they are exercised. In my department they have already evinced their mischievous operation" by projecting an attitude of suspicion and mistrust.[82]

On another occasion, during the February examinations, Smith and Semple were talking about something else while Rogers was questioning his students. Their conduct, Rogers told the Society, was "indecorous" and "insulting both to himself and to the students some of whom had actually spoken to him on the subject." The conversation went downhill from then on, with Smith declaring that he would "not sit there and be insulted" and would dissolve the meeting if Rogers kept on. He did, and Smith did.[83] Other incidents of a similar nature occurred periodically. There was fault on both sides. Smith complained that he had no control over Rogers, who, he charged, "lectured when, how, or not at all as he thought proper." The lectures in natural philosophy ceased in mid-May 1821, "perhaps for the want of a class," and there was a two-week hiatus in the chemistry lectures that Smith could not account for.[84] No wonder many came to attribute the College's troubles to a "highly censurable president" and professors "ever jarring and quarreling with each other."[85]

Everything Smith touched, it began to seem, turned to acrimony; he accumulated enemies at a rapid rate. Even so, he might have turned the tide somewhat if he had been able to assuage those critics who saw him and William and Mary as tainted with deistical heresies by establishing an Episcopal seminary at the College. Certainly there was ample historical precedent. The royal charter of 1693 had proclaimed the training of priests to be an essential duty of the institution. The deistic tendencies of the Enlightenment were fast retreating before the ground swell of evangelicalism then beginning to spread over the country. Even Episcopalians adopted it, in a tasteful form, of course, and strenuous efforts were under way to reinvigorate the church in Virginia. The College's traditional, if suspended, role in the propagation of the gospel, the library 's excellent theological collection, and the church's need for ministers all lent plausibility to the idea of reviving a chair of divinity.

In the fall of 1814, not long before he traveled to Williamsburg to take Bracken's place, Smith encountered Richard Channing Moore on the streets of New York. It was an odd coincidence, for Moore had recently been chosen to replace Bracken as bishop of the Virginia church. Smith raised the subject of reviving a chair of theology at William and Mary. Moore was agreeable, and the following year Smith addressed the church's convention and asked the members to find money for the enterprise. Moore and others pursued the matter, and in the early twenties the Committee on the State of the Church recommended the establishment of a theological seminary at the College. Steps were taken to solicit funds and to secure the cooperation of the Maryland and North Carolina churches.[86] Meanwhile, Smith had been at work, and the Visitors created a professorship of humanity and universal history, as they called it, with a salary of $1,000 plus the usual fees.[87] The Board directed the faculty to make a provisional appointment before the opening of the fall session.[88]

President Smith may not have taken the Board wholly into his confidence. Traditionally, the professor of humanity had been master of the Grammar School, defunct since 1812. At least one Visitor and possibly others believed the new chair was prelusive to the rebirth of that school.[89] Smith had other ideas. He contacted the Reverend Reuel Keith, rector of St. John's in Georgetown. Keith accepted and told Smith that "he had talked with the most respectable members of the Episcopal Church both laity and clergy, who have promised their active exertions in favor of the College. The Reverend Mr. Meade was especially warm on the subject and will use his influence to turn the current of students from his part of the state to Williamsburg. . . ."[90] The board of trustees of the prospective Episcopal theological seminary later appointed Keith professor of theology with a stipend of $200, stipulating that he was to deliver his lectures at William and Mary. A Low Church, Calvinist Episcopalian from Vermont, Keith was an earnest young man "of fine attainments, and great simplicity of life and manners," but "nervous, … moody, and subject to spells of deep depression" from which he would emerge and pass on to periods of "high exaltation." He must have been a singular figure, with his tall, stooping frame, piercing eye, and intense emotions.[91]

Just what Keith did at William and Mary and when he did it are not easy questions to answer. The faculty minutes of November 7, 1820, report that he had arrived and was ready to enter upon his duties, which he discharged until June, when he got Campbell to fill in for him so that he could visit his family. The faculty examined the classical (ancient languages) classes in July 1821, presumably consisting of students taught by Keith and Campbell. He did not meet with the faculty until November 7, 1821, having been ill, at which time the class schedule for the "Department of History" was decided upon. There were two classes, history and classics; there were no lectures in theology listed.[92]

A member of the Board described the reverend gentleman's position as "a perfect sinecure," yet Smith insisted on keeping him on because, as the president put it, "it was essential to the interests of the College that a man of Mr. Keith's description, should be retained in it, that it would make friends to the institution, that it would bring students to it."[93] This belief in the advantages of a connection with the Episcopal church would be a recurrent idea during the antebellum years.

Keith's perfect sinecure meant that the project for a theological seminary at William and Mary was a perfect failure. His classes of any sort were always very small, and at length he had no class at all. During his years at the College, he may have had one or two ministerial students.[94] So the experiment was abandoned in 1823, and the Episcopal seminary was located in Alexandria, although Smith would persist in his efforts to move it to Williamsburg.[95] Thus, the claim for another William and Mary priority, that "instruction in American history antedates that of any other college by more than a decade,"[96] is rather insubstantial.

Whatever credit Smith might have gained by ostensibly trying to return the College to its religious moorings was undercut by reports of his heterodoxy, if not worse. For example, Bishop Moore received a disturbing account from a highly connected individual relaying accusations directed at Smith by "two young gentlemen" who were convinced that Smith held "atheistical" views. Moore knew that Smith was not orthodox and might be a Socinian or Unitarian, but he defended the president against these allegations of atheism. At the same time, he warned Smith to be careful and say nothing that could be construed as undermining the cause of Christianity.[97] Coming from one who was both a bishop and a Visitor, this admonition would have been heeded by a prudent man. But Smith was not one to curb his tongue, and the taint of being anti-Christian continued to cling to him.

Thoughtful observers understood that external events as well as these internal problems powerfully affected the fortunes of the College. Smith doubtless spoke truly when he blamed the War of 1812 for falling enrollments. Williamsburg could not have seemed a very safe place for parents to send their sons, with the British raiding the Chesapeake Bay littoral in 1813, attacking the approaches of Norfolk, and committing shocking atrocities in the village of Hampton. The year following saw a great enemy expedition sail up the bay, crush the American army at Bladensburg , and capture Washington, D.C. The blockade worked a steady hardship on planters who lived by exporting; scarcity of money was added to fear of the British as a cause for scanty matriculations. Students of military age were sometimes called upon for service in the field.[98]

Then the Treaty of Ghent opened up European markets for American commodities. Money became plentiful, credit easy, and these good times, together with the desire for an education of those youths who had been kept away by the war, were the main reasons for the surge in enrollments during the early years of Smith's presidency. The average number of matriculations jumped from twenty-four during 1812–14 to eighty-seven for 1815–17.[99] The upward trend was suddenly reversed by the large number of suspensions and the absence of two professors during the 1818–19 session. Next came the severe depression precipitated by the Panic of 1819, and the average number of matriculants[100] fell to thirty-four for the years 1820–25, inclusive.[101]

It is impossible to calculate precisely the relative influence on enrollments of external events and internal management, or mismanagement. Although economic cycles affected the number of students at institutions of higher learning, one statistically sophisticated study shows that in "the context of a wildly vacillating economy the variance of the attendance series is surprisingly low."[102] In the case of a particular college such as William and Mary, where attendance fluctuated greatly, probably internal causes (e.g., John Augustine Smith) were at times relatively more important.[103]

A period of low enrollments was a serious matter for professors because of lost fees. Even after salaries went up in 1815, fees were a significant portion of their income. For example, although Campbell received $1,250 in salary, he found himself financially embarrassed when he had to refund the fees of those students suspended in the wake of the 1818 troubles.[104] Fee revenues were a major part of institutional income, although separate from it. In 1815 endowment income amounted to slightly less than $7,000. If all seventy-five students who matriculated that year had taken the prescribed three courses at $20 a head per course, the total from fees would have been $4,500. Actual or prospective loss of students was thus a serious matter for the professors and led them to begin looking elsewhere for employment. There can be little doubt that the attempt to move the College to Richmond in 1824–25, discussed below, owed a good deal to their desire to tap the relatively large pool of college-age youths in that city.[105]

Careful stewardship of the endowment was naturally of the first importance. Well before the dark days of the depression, the Board came to suspect that both the bursar and the Society were mismanaging the funds. For one thing, what seemed an inordinate amount was spent on repairs, $2,242 in 1816 alone. During the years 1815–17, when the economy was booming, income totaled $20,519 and expenditures $28,461: three years of unprecedented deficits.[106] A Board investigation convinced that body that William Coleman, former member of the Board and bursar since 1804, had gotten out of control and that the Society was spending capital. This was "highly improper" and must cease, the Visitors told the Society.[107] Neither were they satisfied with Coleman's bookkeeping, which left many things unexplained. They did well to be concerned. After Coleman died in 1819, his successor, Edmund Christian, experienced "much difficulty" in sorting out Coleman's records. For example, there was no list of the bonds that had come into Coleman's possession at the time he took office in 1804, and he had received other moneys or securities that he had never entered on the books. These and other irregularities, not to use a stronger word, plus other debts, eventually came to more than $10,000. The debt was in suit for many years after Coleman's death and was finally compromised at $8,000.[108]

One feature of the bursar's records that immediately catches the attention of the modern student is the extent to which the College served as a lending institution, especially for certain well-placed people. During the seventeen-year period 1804–21, loans to sitting or former members of the Board came to at least $25,000, some of the debts being held jointly with relatives or associates.[109] If done today, this would appear to be a clear conflict of interest.[110] On the other hand, one should remember the comparatively undeveloped and informal system of credit prevailing in those years, wherein gentlemen endorsed the notes of family members, friends, and political allies and expected them to reciprocate when the need arose. The Society, which administered the College's funds, probably saw nothing whatever wrong in participating in these commonplace practices. Nevertheless, as bad debts showed, the policy was not in the best interests of the institution.

One loan in particular would haunt the College for years to come. In 1811 the Society approved a loan of $24,705 to the prominent Jeffersonian politician, Wilson Cary Nicholas, soon to be governor of Virginia. This sum represented about one-fifth of the College's wealth. In the aftermath of the Panic of 1819, Nicholas was an abject bankrupt. His insolvency threatened Thomas Jefferson with financial catastrophe, for Jefferson had endorsed $20,000 of Nicholas's notes to the Bank of the United States. William and Mary came to the rescue. As the collateral for the Nicholas loan was sold, the money was then lent to Jefferson, enabling him to live out his remaining years in ease and comfort. Upon his death, his grandson and cosigner, Thomas Jefferson Randolph, took over the debt. The College was never able to collect fully, and that unhappy fact contributed mightily to its having to close its doors in the 1880s.[111]

The depression of the 1820s deepened as Mr. Christian struggled to bring order out of his predecessor's accounts. Collection of moneys due was often impossible. "If it should be supposed," Christian told the Society, "that the interest uncollected is greater than it should be, the Bursar can only say, that he finds it very difficult to collect interest from the most punctual of the debtors."[112] Even threats of legal action produced little, for the debtors realized that "suits cannot be instituted, without considerable loss to the College. … This will account for the circumstance that a full quarter's salary is now due the professors."[113] Net losses from bad debts ran into tens of thousands of dollars, some of which was the result of fraud.[114]

The nominal value of the "capital stock" in 1822 was $159,635.43. Because of bad debts and interest arrears, the estimated income for that year was a mere $6,457, a return of 4 percent. Estimates of operating expenses, salaries, and the like came to $6,504, to which were added items such as repairs, anticipated loss of capital, and so forth, for a total expected expenditure of $8,454.[115] Year after year during this decade, debts turned sour, interest arrears climbed, and deficits recurred. It is difficult to see how these deficits were covered except by using capital, including the proceeds from the sale of land. In his report to the Board in 1821, President Smith said that if there was a deficit, land would be sold to make it up; yet in the same document he insisted that the Society never touched capital, as if land was not capital.[116] Six years later the Society was still agonizing over how to meet the deficit without going into capital and admitted to the Board that if the Coleman debt (then in chancery) could not be collected, they would have to sell land.[117] A year later the Board found it necessary to call in capital (loans) to pay arrears in faculty salaries.[118] Selling land was nothing new. The more than 20,000 acres owned by the College before the Revolution had dwindled to 16,386 in 1804 and to less than 6,000 in 1821.[119] The price of land fell with the price of commodities. Land sold between 1804–21 brought an average of $6.88 per acre; in 1824 the bursar estimated the value of the remaining 6,000 acres at less than $3.00 per acre—scarcely surprising when the price of wheat was so low that farmers fed it to their horses.[120] Today the great benefaction of King William and Queen Mary has vanished, and the scattered landholdings of the College amount to a mere 2,000 acres.[121] Scarcely anything in the history of the College is more disheartening than the dissipation of this resource.

"He That Doeth These Things Shall Never Be Moved" (Psalms 15:5)

Steadily falling income and enrollments in the early 1820s portended a precarious future for the College.[122] That was not all. Looming menacingly on the horizon was the University of Virginia, which was expected to begin receiving students in the near future.

Thomas Jefferson had seen his comprehensive plan of public education come to nothing in the 1770s, but his interest in the subject had never died. As pointed out earlier, after his return from France in 1789 he relinquished any remaining hope that William and Mary could ever become a true university, worthy to stand at the pinnacle of a statewide system. He then focused his attention on founding a new institution near Monticello. The evolution of the University of Virginia from Albemarle Academy and then Central College is an engrossing case study in state and local politics as well as educational theory; it cannot, of course, be told here. Suffice it to say that with the indispensable and indefatigable assistance of Joseph C. Cabell, by now a state senator, by 1819 the university was legislatively launched, and the campaign for sufficient public funding was ultimately crowned with success. A plan by supporters of the College to trade their votes for a $5,000 annual subsidy to William and Mary came to nothing.[123]

The threat posed by the University of Virginia was clear to the friends of William and Mary from the first. As the day drew near when this feared rival would welcome its first students, President Smith and others concluded that when the university's doors opened, those of the College would close, so unequal would be the competition for students. Already young men who might have come to Williamsburg were looking forward instead to taking up residence in Jefferson's new "academical village" at Charlottesville. The nearly deserted College presented a dreary contrast A tourist from New England reported his visit to "the ruins of William and Mary College. It has been very much neglected, and will soon go quite to ruin. The steps are mostly out of the place. Some of the windows are entirely broken out and most or all of them more or less broken, some not having more than three panes of glass in them. The cellar is used for a barn, and the building has more the appearance of a gaol in ruins than the remains of a college."[124] A distinguished alumnus advised his son not to matriculate at his alma mater. It was, he said, a "declining institution" about to relinquish "its flickering blaze."[125]

Joseph Cabell often visited Williamsburg, where he had close personal and family ties, and kept in touch with opinion in the College and the town. He believed that the College faction's opposition to the university had been entirely broken, rendered "extinct" by the accelerating university bandwagon.[126] John Augustine Smith said as much.[127] The faculty saw their situation as "highly perilous," though unwilling to admit it openly. Cabell knew these men and sympathized with them. Perhaps something could be done for them. "I think the President would gladly accept a professorship in the University," Cabell wrote Jefferson, "as would Campbell and Rogers. If they were sure of their fixed salaries, they would be better reconciled to the course of events. But there are now but thirty-two students, and on the opening of the University a further reduction may be anticipated."[128]

Yet even as Cabell read the last rites over his alma mater, Smith and his coadjutors were preparing a counterstroke. The crisis called for desperate measures. What was to be done? Smith's answer, seconded by Campbell and Rogers, though not by Semple, as well as by a large fraction of the Board, was to transfer William and Mary to Richmond. Smith knew he could count on influential collaborators in that city, some of whom felt injured because they had lost the university to Charlottesville.[129] In Richmond enrollments would unquestionably increase dramatically. The city's physicians and lawyers would demand a medical school and an enlarged law school. Perhaps the Episcopal Theological Seminary could be induced to leave Alexandria. Furthermore, the old College would once again be located in the state's capital city, with all the advantages that would accrue from influential social and political contacts. Public and private financial aid would surely be forthcoming.[130]

Cabell soon got wind of Smith's bold strategy. In considerable alarm he informed Jefferson that he had discovered a "scheme" to move William and Mary to Richmond. Except for Semple, all the faculty favored it, and the proponents believed they had a majority of the Board on their side. What was even more ominous, influential men such as Thomas Ritchie, editor of the *Enquirer*, and Philip Norborne Nicholas, a leading banker and member of the so-called Richmond Junto, reportedly favored the plan. "The clergy, the Federal party, the metropolis, and probably the faculty of medicine throughout the State, will advocate the removal." Cabell was naturally opposed because under these new circumstances the College would become a rival of the university. Still, he and other friends of the university would find it painful "to oppose an institution struggling to save itself, and to thwart the natural endeavors of literary men to advance their fortunes."[131]

This sound of a distant trumpet roused the old war-horse of Monticello:

> The professors are the prime movers, and do not mean exactly what they propose. They hold up the raw-head and bloody-bones *in terrorem* to us, to force us to receive them into our institution. Men who have degraded and foundered the vessel whose helm was entrusted to them, want now to force their incompetence on us. I know none of them personally, but judge of them from the fact and the opinion I hear from everyone acquainted with the case, that it has been destroyed by their incompetence and mismanagement. … It is now dwindled to about twenty, and the professors acknowledge that on opening our doors, theirs may be shut. Their funds in that case, would certainly be acceptable and salutary to us. But not with the incubus of their faculty.[132]

At this stage of affairs, Jefferson saw the removal "scheme" more as an opportunity than a threat. Should Smith and his followers persist, they would be admitting that the College was a failure. Then its endowment could be put to other use, and what better than the university? Only eight of the university's ten professorships had been funded. The College's endowment produced an income of $6,000 and would "give [us] the two deficient professorships, with an annual surplus for the purchase of books." He told Cabell that their proper strategy was "to say as little as we can on this whole subject; give them no alarm; let them petition [the legislature] for the removal; let them get the old structure completely on wheels, and not till then put in our claim to its reception."[133]

Unaware of the ambush being prepared for him, Smith opened his offensive. On July 1 the Richmond Common Hall, the city's legislative body, resolved to cooperate with any effort the College might make to remove to the capital, promising to provide a site and buildings at a cost up to $30,000. The resolution reached the Board through a member, Robert G. Scott, who favored removal. He told his fellow Visitors that in his belief the $30,000 would be augmented by the assets of the Richmond Academy, an institution which had never materialized, amounting to from $10,000 to $20,000, and by at least $10,000 in private contributions.[134]

A few days later, Smith formally began his campaign. He was nothing if not blunt in his report to the Board. By examination time only eight students remained at the College.[135] There would be fewer still when the university opened. "If an increase of students cannot be secured, the legislature will, doubtless, in a very short time, put an end alike to the hopes and the fears of the friends and the enemies of William and Mary. Something then must be done to obtain those numbers, without which the College cannot exist." There was only one solution: move to Richmond. The choice was between a new location on one hand and annihilation on the other.[136]

The Board was divided on the question of removal, but because its records have been lost little is known of the discussions that may have transpired. One outcome of the July convocation was the publication of a lengthy statement concerning the reasons for the low state of the College. It proposed a reformation that included the repeal of "odious" disciplinary statutes and promised to alter in some unspecified manner the duties of the president. The Board was then to meet in November to gauge the effect of this announcement on enrollments.[137] The plan represented at least an ostensible compromise.[138] A decision would be postponed until then, although critics of removal would argue that no improvement could be expected in so short a time, that the measures adopted were no more than the first steps in a general reformation, and that to regard what had been done as the finished work was merely a device intended to provide specious evidence that rehabilitation was impossible, hence that there was no alternative to removal.[139]

Late in October the aged Marquis de Lafayette, then on his famous American tour, attended an elaborate reception at Yorktown celebrating Cornwallis's surrender forty-three years before. He then proceeded to Williamsburg in a procession of carriages so long that the head was in the old capital as the tail was leaving Yorktown. John Augustine Smith was one of the three principal hosts at a dinner for the general at the Raleigh Tavern, where the guests included Chief Justice Marshall, Secretary of War John C. Calhoun, Governor James Pleasants and his council, and other notables of state and national repute. Earlier that day Lafayette had gone to the College, where President Smith offered a welcoming speech to which the old hero made an appropriate reply.[140] One can easily believe that all this was the breath of life to the doctor.

Even the invigoration of mingling with living monuments of American history did not allay certain misgivings that were troubling Smith. Perhaps he had heard something from one of the numerous political figures passing through town, for he called on Judge William Cabell, then staying at the house of St George Tucker, and "anxiously enquired" as to Jefferson's course toward the College. Cabell replied that he knew nothing about Jefferson's views, but that he himself favored removal because the College could then be useful in preparing students for the university. The College as a preparatory school for the university was not what Smith had in mind. "His countenance seemed to me, to fall very suddenly; as he made no reply, I went on to observe that if the College of William and Mary should be able with its limited means to rival the University with its ten professors, & immense income supported by the patronage of the legislature, that no friend of Literature could wish to repress it" Of course, Cabell told his brother, there was no doubt that the College would remain secondary and inferior to the University of Virginia and would never get "one cent" from the legislature. The people of Virginia could no more be made to regard William and Mary as the rival of the university than they could be made to believe "that the Frog could swell himself to the size of the ox."[141]

Fourteen of nineteen members of the Board attended the convocation of November 26. They voted eight to six to ask the legislature for authority to move the College. The recently elected members tipped the scales, and there were those who charged that they had been chosen with an eye to this outcome.[142] President Smith was jubilant. Exultingly he exclaimed that "the removal of the College was the move on the chess-board that had escaped the eye of Mr. Jefferson; that it had thrown him *all a-back*, that he would never get over it."[143] Smith set out for Richmond to press his case before the General Assembly.

James M. Garnett, member of the House of Delegates from Essex County and one of the new Visitors, introduced the memorial. It was referred to the Committee of Schools and Colleges, which heard testimony and took depositions from Smith, Judge Semple, Board member John B. Seawell, students, citizens of Williamsburg, and others.[144] Semple and Seawell were connected to John Tyler by marriage and like him opposed removal.[145] President Smith attributed the College's "depression" to hard times, the high cost of board in Williamsburg (something everyone seemed to agree upon), the small number of potential students residing in the Middle Peninsula, fear of the unhealthy climate of Williamsburg, competition from new institutions, the impending opening of the university, and—the only internal cause he would admit to—the unpopularity of the College because it had been "obliged" to send away so large a number of students at different times.[146]

Those opposed to removal denied that the College was in desperate straits and blamed its small enrollment on Smith and, to a somewhat lesser degree, on the faculty. They pointed to the repressive disciplinary rules enacted at Smith's behest, his tyrannical attitude toward his faculty, and his alleged attempts to discourage prospective matriculants so as to strengthen the case for removal. His reputation as a deist alarmed parents, who kept their sons from his contaminating influence.[147] He was attacked by a member of the Board for denying that the legislature could of right instruct Virginia's United States senators how to vote on particular questions. This was a dangerous heresy to those of the Jefferson faith. Said the Visitor, "By many, the entertaining such an opinion would be considered the greatest misfortune that could befall a son. It has acted as a complete barrier to all preferment in the State."[148] Moreover, said Smith's critics, he habitually rushed through his classes and hurried off to his favorite pastime, hunting, annoying the good people of the town by riding booted and spurred through the streets, sounding his horn, with baying hounds following after.[149] Directly or implicitly, *l'affaire* Hare was raked up again in the committee, on the floor of the legislature, and in the newspapers.[150]

In all of the arguments before the committee and elsewhere, it was to the interest of the proponents of removal to dismiss or minimize Smith's failings and other internal considerations and to contend that unalterable external circumstances made the change imperative. Conversely, opponents blamed internal mismanagement that could easily be remedied by the Board of Visitors, whereupon the College would flourish in its ancient situation. The voluminous letters, memorials, and speeches must be read with this in mind, and also in the light of accumulated antagonisms stemming from issues such as founding the university, where to put it, concerns about setting up a state-supported stronghold of Jeffersonian deism, old Federalist-Republican grudges, local ambitions, and even the question of relocating the state capital. This does not exhaust the list of the factors, which would require a monograph to dissect.[151]

Joseph Cabell found himself under increasing pressure from proremoval forces. Advice not to obstruct the measure came from friends and relatives who were themselves warm supporters of the University of Virginia. His brother William warned him, "I really think it would ill become the friends of the University who have got for that institution so much of the public money, now to oppose the wishes of a large portion of the State to remove another institution already endowed, to a place where it may be *more useful* to the public than it is at present." If he himself were in the legislature, he would, as a friend of education and of the university, aid removal in any way he could, and he hoped Joseph would do the same.[152] William and Mary could never rival the university, and the opposition of the university faction was beginning to make them look like dogs in the manger.

By mid-December Cabell began to retreat. He decided to vote for removal provided that the College came under legislative control and that half of its capital be used to begin the financing of an intermediate system of colleges. He took some comfort from the fact that the Richmond Common Hall, or at least a majority, saw William and Mary only as a means of preparing students for the university, even though the College lobby and the enemies of the university aimed at "a great institution connected with a medical school." Should the champions of the university oppose removal, those who favored bringing the College to Richmond would in the future try to "defeat every measure brought forward for the University." This clearly alarmed Cabell, for he believed that the influence of the city in the legislature was "vast."[153]

Yet when Cabell wrote Jefferson just four days later, he had changed his mind. Reflection had persuaded him to resist removal completely. "In taking this course, I oppose the wishes of my nearest and dearest relatives and friends, and bring upon myself the powerful resentment of the metropolis."[154] This letter crossed one from Jefferson, who told Cabell, "The proposition to remove William & Mary College to Richmond, with all its present funds, and to add to it a medical school, is nothing more nor less than to remove the University also to that place; because, if both remain, there will not be students enough to make either worthy of the acceptance of men of the first order of science. They must each fall down to the level of our present academies, under the direction of common teachers, and our state of education must stand exactly where it is."

He then modified the strategy he had recommended to Cabell the previous May. First of all, he was glad the College had indeed asked the General Assembly's permission to move and had thus acknowledged its legislative authority. This would help to finesse constitutional objections based on the Supreme Court decision in the case of *Dartmouth College v. Woodward* (1819), which had invoked the contract clause of the Constitution to protect from legislative interference the charter given Dartmouth in the name of George III.[155] In the light of a warning from Cabell that there was no chance of getting William and Mary's funds for the university, Jefferson took a new tack. With its authority thus conceded, the legislature now had the "happy opportunity" of using William and Mary's endowment to create ten state colleges and so at last establish the intermediate stratum of education Jefferson had for so many years recommended in vain, and at no cost to the taxpayer. "Will you not have every member in favor of this proposition except those who are for gobbling up the whole funds themselves?"[156] In the heat of the battle, he seems to have forgotten his role as the original gobbler.

Cabell made good use of this letter. After carefully blotting out some remarks sure to offend Richmonders, he showed it around circumspectly and to good effect. Both its substance and the fame of its author carried weight. Nevertheless, the proremoval forces continued to display disconcerting strength. More ammunition was needed. He appealed to Monticello for help: Jefferson must draft a bill abolishing William and Mary and establishing the collegiate system. "***You alone*** can prepare a bill that will enable us to vanquish the host opposed to us."[157] So Jefferson took up his pen, and with a painfully arthritic hand he indited a statute to be introduced as a substitute should the House of Delegates be inclined to vote for removal. It contained this doomsday decree: "Be it therefore enacted by the General Assembly, That the said College of Wm & Mary, from and after the 1st day of November in the ensuing year 1826, shall be discontinued and dissolved. …"[158] The endowment would be used to erect the ten colleges, one of which could use the buildings of the old College at Williamsburg.[159] Cabell promoted the plan energetically, for he "saw the gathering necessity of setting up the colleges against the Richmond party." He wrote for the press an extensive essay, signed "A Friend of Science," presenting a comprehensive summary of Jefferson's educational ideas and recommending the distribution of the College's "extensive endowments" over "the surface of the state."[160]

Meanwhile, the proposed transplantation of the College had aroused great interest, even excitement Smith was without question in his element when he appeared before the Committee of Schools and Colleges and treated the numerous members of the legislature who came to watch to "long harangues … on every branch of human knowledge."[161] He was described by one observer as "a very smart fluent little fellow." Things seemed to be going his way. A vote in the House of Delegates on a collateral question appeared to presage success, as did the action of the committee when it reported favorably on removal.[162] After considerable discussion, the House of Delegates agreed to allow Smith to defend the petition at the bar of that chamber, which he did on January 31, 1825. His was an able, aggressive, and unrepentant performance. He gave not an inch to his critics, even on the "obnoxious statute" on discipline. John Tyler, member of the Board, delegate from Charles City County, and soon to be governor of Virginia, spoke ably and eloquently in rebuttal.[163] Other members spoke at length, reviewing the whole subject fully if somewhat repetitiously.[164]

At length Cabell was able to tell Jefferson that "our efforts have eventuated in success … the College party have been defeated in the House by a majority of 24. You need not give yourself any further trouble on this subject."[165] President Smith had not expected to lose, and he informed Cabell that he intended to fight on by public attacks on the university party and on Jefferson himself. Cabell advised him not to.[166] There was no point to it. The battle had been lost. Smith may have been "a very smart little fellow," but he was no match for the old maestro on the little mountain in Albemarle.

The College might well have exclaimed, *"Et tu, Brute?"* to its alumni, from Jefferson and Cabell down through the ranks of other sons who had deserted it in its hour of need. For there can be little doubt that removal to Richmond would, in time, have transformed it from a struggling provincial seminary into a prosperous university, even as Jefferson and Cabell feared. Smith had been right. Yet the College owed him little thanks, because he had contributed both to its decline and to the failure of his own efforts to revive it. Not for the last time, a president's arrogance and egotism had injured it grievously. Of course, some friends of William and Mary who for sentimental reasons cannot envision it as being elsewhere than in Williamsburg will rejoice at Smith's failure. Others who ponder the full sweep of the College's history may ask, what price sentiment?

NOTES

1. Quoted passages are from the Episcopal burial service, 1928 version; *The Book of Common Prayer* (New York: Seabury Press, 1953) .
2. Madison to Jefferson, Jan. 17, 1810, "Letters of ... Madison to . . . Jefferson," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 5 (1925): 145; Carra Garrett Dillard, "The Grammar School of the College of William and Mary, 1693–1888" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1951), 90, citing St. George Tucker's reply to Jedidiah Morse.
3. For a rare exception, see George Blow to "Dear Father," Mar. 26, 1804, Blow Family Papers, WMM; Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 269.
4. Holmes, "Meade," 141, quoting William Meade, *Old Churches, Ministers, and Families of Virginia*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: J. Lippincott and Co., 1857), 1:29; Goodwin, "Notes," 374.
5. St. George Tucker to Robert Wash, Oct. 2, 1812, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
6. The inference is based on the proximity of the two events and the well-known terminal nature of Madison's illness. However, a year and a half earlier, Bracken was said to be thinking about leaving the College for reasons not stated. J. P. Galt to Dr. A. D. Galt, Oct. 22, 1810, Galt Family Papers, WMM: "Mr. Bracken intends to given [*sic*] up his place in College shortly."
7. "Sermon Preached at Funeral of the Right Rev. James Madison, D.D. ... by the Rev. John Bracken, D.D. . . ." (Richmond: John O'Lynch, 1812), DH.
8. Mar. 9, 1812, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
9. Jan. —, 1812, Worthington C. Ford, ed., *Thomas Jefferson Correspondence ...* (Boston: n.p., 1916), 203.
10. To William Short, Nov. 9, 1813, Thomas Jefferson Papers, WMM.
11. Holmes, "Meade," 217.
12. Ibid., 218.
13. Ibid., 219.
14. Ibid., 221; Bracken, "Sermon," 9; Goodwin, "Bracken," 374–75. Bracken also evidently lacked "the requisite Testimonials from a majority of standing Committees. ... Altho in such a case our line of duty will be clear, it will be a disagreeable circumstance." Bishop William White to Bishop Thomas J. Claggett, Oct. 6, 1812, Maryland Diocesan Archives, copy in WMA.
15. S. Mordecai to Ellen Mordecai, May 25, 1812, folder 14, College Papers, WMA; Osborne, "William and Mary," 253. If not reorganized, Mordecai went on to say, William and Mary "will soon cease to be a college."

16. Parke Rouse, Jr., *A House for a President ...* (Richmond: Dietz Press, 1987), 97; quoted by permission of the author.
17. Joseph C. Cabell to Isaac Coles, June 8, 1812, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
18. Thomas Jefferson to James Semple, Oct. 2, 1812, Ford, ed., *Jefferson Correspondence*, 202; Thomas Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, Feb. 23, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 290–92.
19. Carr to Joseph C. Cabell, Jan. 2, 1813, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
20. W. H. Cabell to J. C. Cabell, Dec. 12, 1812, ibid.
21. The Visitor was James Semple; Semple to Thomas Jefferson, Jan. —, 1812, Ford, ed., *Jefferson Correspondence*, 203. Three new members were elected in 1812, none in 1813, and six in 1814. It is not known if the last became members in time to take part in the move against Bracken. The "Provisional List," 51–55, gives only the year of election. It is possible, even probable, that many members of the Board were absent when Bracken was elected. Absenteeism was frequent and chronic, so much so that often a quorum was not present, and so no business could be conducted.
22. Undated document, endorsed "Relative to Presdt Bracken's resignation," folder 49, College Papers, WMA. The Board's records until 1860 are few and often actually fragmentary, and sometimes undated. For the 1728 statute, see Knight, ed., *Documentary*, 1:517.
23. Document dated May 31, 1814, folder 49, College Papers, WMA. The writer's assumption is that the committee was appointed after the statute of 1728 was amended.
24. To William Brown[e], May 31, 1814, John Bracken, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; also in William and Mary Papers, DLC.
25. Undated documents, folder 49, College Papers, WMA. In 1818 Bracken "passed to the world of Spirits—tranquil and resigned as Job." Robert Saunders to Joseph Prentis, [July 30, 1818] , Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF (from typescripts of originals in the Alderman Library, UNA).
26. Ordinance of July 7, 1812, Matriculation Book, WMA, microfilm.
27. Osborne, "William and Mary," 261.
28. George Blackburn to the Governors and Visitors of William and Mary College, n.d., George Blackburn, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. From internal evidence, it is assumed that Blackburn's lengthy appeal dates from 1810 or 1811. His stay at South Carolina College was even unhappier than at William and Mary. He resigned in 1814, probably to escape dismissal. For his troubles, see Hollis, *S. C. Colleges*, 57–58, 61–62, 280–81 n. 44.
29. Jefferson to James Semple, Oct. 2, 1812, Ford, ed., *Jefferson Correspondence*, 202-3; *DAB*, s.v. "Meigs, Josiah." Probably at Jefferson's instance, Madison appointed him surveyor general and then, in 1814, commissioner of the General Land Office.
30. He urged instead the appointment of the person who had finished out his course in 1812, Mr. Wood. George Blackburn to the Board of Visitors, May 26, 1812, in Wilson Cary Nicholas Papers, DLC, microfilm. Wood also finished the natural philosophy course after Madison's death. According to one account, he did a wretched job. Charles G. Tyler to William A. Linton, Apr. 11, 1812, Marshall Family Papers, VHS, DH.
31. St. George Tucker to Robert Wash, Oct. 2, 1812, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. Wash was from Louisa County, received a bachelor of law degree from William and Mary in 1808, and moved to St. Louis the next year. From 1825 to 1837 he was a judge of the Missouri Supreme Court. He died in 1857. *WMQ*, 2d ser., 10 (1930): 350; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 14 (1934): 178. Campbell's chances may have been improved by the fact that his uncle, John Campbell, was a veteran member of the General Assembly and was at this time in the Senate. Cynthia Miller Leonard, comp., *The General Assembly of Virginia, July 30, 1619–January 11, 1974: A Bicentennial Register of Members* (Richmond: Virginia State Library, 1978) , 233, 237, 241 , 259, 264, 268.
32. Inter alia, *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 82.
33. *DAB*, s.v. "Maclean, John," quoting G. P. Fisher, *Life of Benjamin Silliman*, 2 vols. (London:

Sampson, Low, and Marston, 1886), 109–10.

34. *DAB*, s.v. "Maclean, John." John Maclean, *History of the College of New Jersey, 1746–1854*, 2 vols. (New York: Arno Press and *New York Times*, 1969), 2:98–99, 147; John Maclean, *A Memoir of John Maclean, M.D.* (privately printed, 1876), 19–20, 48–49, 51–52. (This author is Maclean's son, who became president of the College of New Jersey, or Princeton University, as it became.) At New Jersey, Maclean's salary for some years before 1812 was $1,250; at William and Mary in 1813 it was $771.10. Bursar's report for 1813, College Papers, WMA.
35. See below, pp. 209–10.
36. W. Hamilton Bryson, *Legal Education in Virginia, 1779-1979 ...* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1982), 489.
37. Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, Feb. 23, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 291 .
38. Cabell to Jefferson, Mar. 5, 1815, ibid., 40. Smith and Cabell overlapped at the College for a time; "Provisional List," 37. A scattering of correspondence between them and other references show them on friendly terms, at least until 1825 when Cabell did so much to thwart Smith's attempt to move the College to Richmond. In 1821 Smith acted as Cabell's physician. Cabell, *Early History*, 222.
39. *DAB*, s.v. "Smith, John Augustine." John C. Dalton, *History of the College of Physicians and Surgeons in the City of New York ...* (New York: Columbia College, 1888), 70.
40. Dalton, *College of Physicians*, 70–71. For a laudatory account of Smith, see the authorized history of Columbia (no author), *Columbia: A History of Columbia University, 1754–1904* (New York: College University Press, 1904) , 314, 317–18. For Cooper's remarks, see Cooper to Jefferson, Feb. 20, 1818, typescript of original in Jefferson MSS, UVA, in J. A. Smith, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. For the attack by a colleague, see James R. Manley, M.D., "Exposition of the Conduct and Character of John Augustine Smith … " (New York: n.p., 1841), passim.
41. Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 24, 1814.
42. Ibid.
43. The act was dated May 24, 1813. *Acts Passed at a General Assembly of the Commonwealth of Virginia ...* (Richmond: Samuel Pleasants, Printer to the Commonwealth, n.d.), [May 17, 1813] Supplement, chap. II, 3.
44. Steven J. Novak, *The Rights of Youth: American Colleges and Student Revol.t, 1798–1815* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977) , 105.
45. This synopsis of Smith's address is taken from the Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 24, 1814. His paean to Williamsburg's salubrity does not take into account the cases of nonfatal illness, or those sufferers who may have gone home and died.
46. Obituary, from the Monroe *Eagle*, Claiborne, Alabama, Jan. 29, 1870, typescript copy, Robert G. Scott, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; William H. Gaines, *Thomas Mann Randolph* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966), 118; Harry Ammon, "The Republican Party in Virginia" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1948), 396–404; Charles Lewis Scott, "A Sketch of My Own Immediate Family," Owens Papers, WMM.
47. William Fry, "The Officers, Statutes and Charter of the College of William and Mary" (Philadelphia: Wilson Fry, Printer, 1817), 59–60; Faculty Minutes, Mar. 20, 1821; "Report of the Committee of Schools and Colleges on the Subject of the Removal of the College of William and Mary" (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), 12. This report can also be found in *Journal, House of Delegates*, 1824–25, reports section. The reason for abandoning the three-year course is an inference.
48. "Committee of Schools," 18.
49. Resolution of July 14, 1817, as quoted in resolution July 6, 1825, Matriculation Book, WMA, microfilm; also statute July 7, 1824, Matriculation Book, referring to the statute allowing the president to sit with the Board. The record of Board statutes and resolutions is incomplete and not always clear as to meaning. See also John Tyler in Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 10, 1825;

"Committee of Schools," 17.

50. "Committee of Schools," 17, testimony of John B. Seawell.
51. Ibid., 17. The Board by an act of July 5, 1816, had opened the door for this, but closed it July 5, 1817, by requiring that punishments not be imposed by the president alone, but by the Society. Matriculation Book, WMA.
52. Printed flyer dated July 4, 1815, in folder 49, College Papers, WMA.
53. John A. Smith to John Robinson, May 12, 1816, Moncure Robinson Papers, WMM (typescript).
54. The identification of Greenhow as the insulted gentleman is partly inferential. The son referred to was doubtless Robert Greenhow; "Provisional List," 19, 52; Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 21, 1813. William A. Christian, *Richmond, Her Past and Present* (Spartanburg, S.C.: Reprint Company, 1973), 88.
55. John Robinson to John A. Smith, May 14, 1816 (a frigid letter from this parent), Moncure Robinson to John Robinson, May 17, 1816, Moncure Robinson Papers, WMM (typescripts).
56. William H. Cabell to Joseph Cabell, May 14, 1816, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. While it is assumed that the son, Nicholas, was involved in the chemistry incident, he evidently had other problems as well.
57. Norfolk *American Beacon*, Aug. 2, 1816, Chronology File, 1816–24, College Papers, WMA (typescript).
58. Francis Leigh Williams, "The Heritage and Preparation of a Statesman, John Y. Mason, 1799–1859," *VMHB* 75 (1967): 320, citing Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 2, 1817. The "riot" occurred on Feb. 4, 1817. For table of suspensions and expulsions, see "Committee of Schools," 10.
59. Faculty Minutes, Feb. 27, Mar. 2, July 5, 1818; Moncure Robinson to John Robinson], Mar. 30, 1818, Moncure Robinson Papers, WMM (typescript). Nothing was done with respect to the first paper because many students who had signed it did so without knowing what it contained. The number of suspensions because of this incident was originally twenty-six, but one student, Samuel Sawyer, agreed to retract.
60. [Margaret Page] to Mrs. Lowther, Mar. 18, [1818], Page-Saunders Papers, WMM.
61. "Committee of Schools," 18. The Board member was John B. Seawell of Gloucester, a severe critic of Smith.
62. Ordinance, July 4, 1818, Matriculation Book, WMA.
63. "Committee of Schools," 5.
64. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:17.
65. Cf. Rudolph, *American College and University*, 197–200; Ferdinand Campbell to Board of Visitors, July 6, 1824, Ferdinand Campbell, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. For a challenge to the conventional picture of the disjunction between the curriculum and social realities, see Colin Bradley Burke, "The Quiet Influence: The American Colleges and Their Students, 1800–1860" (Ph.D. diss., Washington University, 1973), 1–14, an impressive study. However, the situation at William and Mary appears to conform to the traditional interpretation. Of course, beginning with Jefferson's 1779 reform, there were attempts to make the curriculum more "relevant." Burke's study makes the comparative failure of those attempts more understandable.
66. Smith to Board of Visitors, July 11, 1817, folder 57, College Papers, WMA.
67. Undated document and document dated July 6, 1816, folder 49, College Papers, WMA; Osborne, "William and Mary," 301–2; Moncure Robinson to John Robinson, Nov. 5, 1816, Moncure Robinson Papers, WMM (typescript).
68. Smith to Board of Visitors (annual report), July 11, 1817, folder 57, College Papers, WMA.
69. Ibid.; according to Smith.

70. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 27, 1824.

71. *DAB*, s.v. “Jones, Thomas P.” This is where the *DAB* article picks up. Jones had been in Philadelphia at the time of his appointment to William and Mary (see Smith's report to Board of Visitors, July 11, 1817, folder 57, College Papers, WMA). In 1823 Jones, then in Hillsborough, North Carolina, asked Joseph Cabell's help in getting the chair of chemistry at the University of Virginia. Cabell reported that he "advised him to look elsewhere for promotion." Cabell to Jefferson, Feb. 5, 1823, in Cabell, *Early History*, 276. T. P. Jones to J.C. Cabell, Dec. 17, 1822, and Jan. 3, 1823, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. For an effusively complimentary account of Jones on the occasion of his resignation, see Norfolk *American Beacon*, Nov. 8, 1817.

72. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 27, 1824. "Alumnus" clearly detested Smith. For a contrary view in reply, see "Honestus," ibid., Aug. 3, 1824.

73. See *DAB*, s.v. "Hare, Robert." George H. Daniels, *American Science in the Age of Jackson* (New York and London: Columbia University Press, 1968), 210 and passim; Chandos Brown, *Benjamin Silliman, a Life in the Young Republic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1989), 107–9; John C. Greene, *American Science in the Age of Jefferson* (Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1984), 176, 181–86. Hare apparently left on friendly terms with his colleagues, especially Campbell and probably Smith. See undated testimonial, Campbell on Hare; J.A Smith to Hare, Dec., 29, 1824, Robert Hare, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. Hare evidently resigned July 10, 1818. Compare bursar's report for 1818, College Papers, WMA.

74. Bryson, *Legal Education*, 489; Ferdinand Campbell to John Campbell, July 10, 1818, Campbell Family Papers, VHS.

75. Bryson, *Legal Education*, 567; Semple was a member of the House of Delegates from New Kent and then from Williamsburg. He remained in the General Court until his death in 1834. Semple's first wife was Tyler's sister, Anne Contesse Tyler, who died in 1803. Two years later Semple married Tyler's cousin, Joanna Black Mackenzie, a ward of Tyler's father, Judge John Tyler. Tyler, *Letters*, 1:194. The relationship is an illustration of Jefferson's remark about nepotism at the College.

76. Enrollment statistics vary depending on the source. According to the table in Tyler, *Williamsburg* , 269, the numbers for all students were as follows: for 1817, 92; 1818, 50; 1819, 49; 1825, 14; 1836, 114. The number of suspensions and expulsions, as mentioned above, during the years 1816–18 came to 50. By comparison, at Yale in 1817 there were 250 undergraduates and 50 or 60 medical students. Brown, *Silliman*, 302.

77. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:1–13. All four sons would become students. Rogers was elected an honorary member of the Medical Society of Maryland in 1817. John B. Caldwell to Doctr. Rogers, Dec. 15, 1817, W. B. Rogers Papers, MIT.

78. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:14–57, passim.

79. Faculty Minutes, Mar. —, 1820. Dabney's offense upon which Rogers had animadverted was whispering in class.

80. Ibid., May 20, 1820.

81. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:10.

82. Rogers to Smith, Dec. 13, 1820, Rogers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.

83. Faculty Minutes, Feb. 25, 1822.

84. Smith's report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1821, folder 57, College Papers, WMA.

85. Petition of Williamsburg citizens opposing removal of William and Mary to Richmond, "Committee of Schools," 31.

86. Chronology File, 1781–1815, WMA. Documents and extracts in Reuel Keith, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. Bishop Moore became a Visitor in 1817. He was also on the board of the theological seminary. See also Francis L. Hawks, *Contributions to the Ecclesiastical History of the United States of America*, 2 vols. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1836), 1:149 (Journals pagination). Judg-

ing from the church's budget, Hawks, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1:140, not much money could have been raised.

87. Document dated July 5, 1819, folder 49, College Papers, WMA. The committee recommending this action cited "the present prosperous condition of the funds of the College." The significance of the nationwide economic collapse then under way seems to have been lost on the Visitors. In his report to the Board on July 5, 1819, Smith reported a $1,500 surplus of income over expenditures and recommended it be used to establish a professorship of classics and history (civil and ecclesiastical) at a salary of $1,000. Folder 57, College Papers, WMA.
88. Osborne, "William and Mary," 341–42. At the same time, Semple and Rogers were appointed.
89. John B. Seawell in "Committee of Schools," 20.
90. Faculty Minutes, Feb. 14, 1820.
91. Robert Saunders to Joseph Prentis, Dec. 26, 1820, Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF. Research note by George J. Cleaveland, "The Restored Divinity Lectures …," in Keith, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. This appointment was made on July 11, 1822, after Keith had assumed his professorship at the College. Goodwin, ed., *Theological Seminary* 1:545–47. Rev. Robt. B. Croes to Bishop James Kemp, Oct. 17, 1825, Maryland Diocesan Archives, photocopy in "Backlog," WMA. While some found Keith eloquent, Robert Saunders said he had "no great oratory."
92. Faculty Minutes, Nov. 7, 1820, July 3, Nov. 7, 1821; J. A. Smith report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1821, folder 57, College Papers, WMA. Among the books designated for use in Keith's classes for languages were Virgil, Sallust, Cicero, Horace, Xenophon, Homer, and a collection called Grecia [*sic*] Minora; for history: Hume for English history and Ramsay for American history. Faculty Minutes, Feb. 14, Nov. 13, 1820.
93. John B. Seawell testimony, "Committee of Schools," 20. Judge Semple (p.16) said that Keith's appointment was intended to bring students to the College. Seawell believed Smith's real purpose was to counter the accusations of those who charged him with being a deist. While in Williamsburg, Keith served as rector of Bruton Parish Church.
94. "Committee of Schools," 4, 16; Cleaveland in Keith, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; Osborne, "William and Mary," 434; Dillard, "Grammar School," 93, states that Keith had forty-six students in the "classical department," but the source she cites does not mention the subject. Because the Board did not meet in 1822, Smith was free to limit Keith to teaching the "higher classics."
95. Although Keith resigned his professorship in the summer of 1823, for some reason as yet undiscovered he continued to receive his salary for another year; possibly this was payment for arrears. ("Committee of Schools," 16.) Bursar's report for 1824, College Papers, WMA. Keith attended no meetings of the faculty after Dec. 9, 1822. (Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 5, 1825.) He taught at the seminary in Alexandria from 1823 until his death in 1842. Goodwin, ed., *Theological Seminary*, 1:545.
96. Ida Trosvig, "The Study and Teaching of History in the College of William and Mary" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1935), 60.
97. Richard Channing Moore to J. A. Smith, Nov. 23, 1822, Richard Channing Moore Letterbooks (typescript), Bishop Payne Library, VTS. These and other items from Moore's letterbooks were most kindly identified and supplied by Ms. Julia E. Randle, archivist.
98. *The Farmers' Register* 6 (1838): 293.
99. Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 269.
100. This term was used to describe all students who entered the College, not merely first year students.
101. Tyler, *Williamsburg*. Tyler does not give the number for 1824. Campbell put the number at five. Ferdinand Campbell to John Campbell, Oct. 30, 1824, F. Campbell, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA. It is possible there were a few more who came on later. Some report as many as twenty or twenty-two.
102. Burke, "Quiet Influence," 24.

103. Attendance figures follow tobacco prices with considerable symmetry throughout the antebellum years except in the case of internal crises, such as the mid-1820s and late 1840s, when the College was closed altogether for a year (1848–49). There is also a sharp disparity in the late 1850s. Of course, the small numbers of students make any statistical comparisons somewhat risky. For a claim that declining enrollments could not be the result of hard times, see "Publius," in Petersburg *Republican*, copied in Richmond *Enquirer*, May 11, 1824. For John Tyler's assertion that hard times and the high cost of living in Williamsburg were the main reasons for the College's decline, see his speech before the House of Delegates opposing removal to Richmond, ibid., Feb. 10, 1825.

104. Ferdinand Campbell to John Campbell, July 31, 1818, from VHS photostat, Ferdinand Campbell, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.

105. By way of comparison, at Yale in 1817 tuition fees made up about one-third of the college's income. The fee there was $16, at least for Benjamin Silliman, whose salary in 1814 was $1,100. Brown, *Silliman*, 282–83, 302.

106. Bursar's reports for 1815, 1816, 1817; draft resolution, Board of Visitors, July 15, 1817, folder 49, College Papers, WMA.

107. Resolution July 15, 1817, Matriculation Book; also draft resolution, July 12, 15, 1817, folder 49, College Papers, WMA.

108. For a good illustration of Coleman's slipshod methods, see Coleman to John Ambler, May 27, 1816, Tucker-Coleman-Washington Papers, WMM. For the compromise ($8,000 plus legal expenses), see Faculty Minutes, July 7, 1842. Bursar's reports, 1819–21, College Papers, WMA.

109. Ferdinand S. Campbell to Robert Hare, July 13, 1821, Hare, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; notation on "Account of bonds belonging to William and Mary College … [1804–18]," bursar's reports, College Papers, WMA.

110. Or perhaps not, given the financial practices that scandalized the late twentieth century.

111. Ludwell H. Johnson III, "Sharper than a Serpent's Tooth: Thomas Jefferson and His Alma Mater," *VMHB* 99 (1991); 145–62.

112. Bursar's report for 1822, College Papers, WMA.

113. Ibid. Rents were also in arrears, but this was a very small item.

114. Faculty report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1828, folder 57, College Papers, WMA. Bursar's reports, 1819–21, and passim, College Papers, WMA. Four accounts alone totaled $27,000 in bad debts. After 1819 the College lost its share of surveyors' fees, but this was a negligible item.

115. Bursar's report for 1822, College Papers, WMA.

116. Smith's report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1821, folder 57, College Papers, WMA.

117. Faculty report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1827, ibid.

118. Faculty report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1828, ibid.

119. Bursar's reports for 1821, 1832, and passim, College Papers, WMA. About the same amount remained in 1832. Evidently no land was sold from 1821 to 1824 (Faculty Minutes, July 3, 1821), very likely because there were no buyers. For example, the Society directed the bursar to sell 400 acres of "very poor land" in Sussex for $2.50 per acre, but a year later it remained unsold. Faculty Minutes. July 1, 1823.

120. Bursar's report for 1824, College Papers, WMA; see also Faculty Minutes, Apr. 30,June 29, 1821. For a debt lost because of the "prodigious" drop in real estate near Richmond, see Faculty Report to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1828, folder 57, College Papers, WMA. Also Jefferson to H. Nelson, Mar. 12, 1820: "This state is in a condition of unparalleled distress. ... In other places I have known lands sold for one year's rent. ... Our produce is now selling for one-third of its price." Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 15:238–39.

121. According to Ms. Nancy Nash, William and Mary Office of Administration and Finance, 1991

real estate holdings were 2,044 acres, about half in Williamsburg.

122. Income estimates: 1822, $6,451; 1823, $5,718; 1824, $5,347. See bursar's reports for those years, College Papers, WMA. Matriculations: 1822, 47; 1823, 33; 1824, probably fewer than 20.
123. Bruce, *University of Virginia*, 1:passim. For a briefer account, see John S. Patton, *Jefferson, Cabell, and University of Virginia* (New York and Washington, D.C.: Neale Publishing Co., 1906), 1–67. This part of Patton's book is based on Cabell, *Early History*. For the $5,000 subsidy proposal, see J. C. Cabell to Jefferson, Dec. 24, 1818, Patton. *Jefferson, Cabell*, 142.
124. "A New Englander's Picture of Williamsburg," Boston *Evening Transcript*, Nov. 21, 1934, clipping file, Research Department, CWF (typescript). It is remarkable that $5,600 could have been spent on repairs between 1814 and 1817 with so little to show for it.
125. Norma Lea Peterson, *Littleton Waller Tazewell* (Charlottesville : University Press of Virginia, 1983), 105.
126. Joseph C. Cabell to Jefferson, Mar. 1 7, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 298–99.
127. Joseph C. Cabell to Jefferson, Feb. 26, 1823, ibid., 278.
128. Mar. 17, 1824, ibid., 299.
129. Cf. Jefferson to Cabell, Dec. 22, 1824, Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 16:84–89.
130. Perhaps the longest and most persuasive case for removal was made by Smith at the bar of the House of Delegates. See Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 3, 5, 1825.
131. Cabell to Jefferson, May 5, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 305–7. In this letter Cabell lists the members of the Board and gives his opinion as to their position on removal. Four vacancies would be filled in July, enlarging the element favoring the move.
132. Jefferson to Joseph C. Cabell, May 16, 1824, Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 16:40–41. In an earlier letter to Cabell (Feb. 23, 1824) , which Cabell for some reason must not have seen when he first suggested finding a place for the William and Mary faculty at the university, Jefferson said that the College had "lost its character of primacy by indulging motives of favoritism and nepotism, and by conferring appointments as if the professorships were entrusted to them as provisions for their friends." Cabell, *Early History*, 291.
133. Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 16:40–41. Reception of its endowment, that is. Jefferson went on to say that he did not believe the Board would agree to move. That was "impossible," he said. In this he was mistaken.
134. Robert G. Scott to John Tyler, July 6, 1824, folder 15, College Papers, WMA; Richmond *Enquirer*, July 2, 6, 1824. The Common Hall described the College in Richmond as being a step below the university in the educational hierarchy, perhaps to quiet anxiety felt by champions of the latter. This was also the attitude of the *Enquirer*, July 2, 1824. For the Richmond Academy, see *Enquirer*, Aug. 8, 1824.
135. This was, however, by no means unprecedented; most students were in the habit of leaving before the July examinations, but it was a good arguing point for Smith to use to a Board that had not met for at least two years, and, to put it mildly, was not in close touch with College affairs.
136. Smith's report to Board of Visitors, July 5, 1824, folder 57, College Papers, WMA; printed in "Committee of Schools," 3–4.
137. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 13, 1824. John Tyler, who wrote the report thus published, placed very heavy stress on the disciplinary statute and attempted to rebut Jefferson's strictures about the unhealthiness of Williamsburg and its noncentral location. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 9, 1824.
138. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 9, 1824.
139. E.g., testimony of John B. Seawell, Board of Visitors, "Committee of Schools," 21; letter from "A Friend of William and Mary," to Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 19, 1824; "Memorial and Remon-

strance of the Citizens of Williamsburg. ... ," Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 31, 1824; John Tyler's speech, Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 10, 1825. On Sept. 10, 1824, a brief announcement appeared in the press over Smith's signature telling prospective students to ignore rumors about removal, for the College would function just the same whether at Williamsburg or Richmond. Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 10, 1824. He also reported the repeal of the disciplinary statute. There were those, besides Smith, who regarded this as a mistake and pointed to similar laws at other institutions. Osborne , "William and Mary," 432.

140. Robert D. Ward, *An Account of General La Fayette's Visit to Virginia ...* (Richmond: West, Johnston, and Co., 1881), 42–43; Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 5, 1824; Faculty Minutes, Oct. [indecipherable], 1824; Tyler, Williamsburg, 88; Lafayette stayed at the house of Mrs. Mary Monroe Peachy, now the Peyton Randolph house. The faculty had voted Lafayette a doctor of laws degree, which Smith bestowed later in Richmond, no doubt with an eye to the greater visibility of that venue.
141. William H. Cabell to Joseph C. Cabell, Oct. 28, 1824, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
142. "Committee of Schools," 31. Three Richmond Visitors voted yea, three of the four Williamsburg Visitors nay. Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 18, 1824. The Board resolution directed the faculty to present a memorial to the General Assembly to procure enactment of a law giving the Board authority to change the site of the College; the location was not specified, but was understood by everyone to be Richmond. It was the faculty memorial that came before the Committee of Schools and Colleges. Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 31, 1824.
143. Semple's remarks as reported by Seawell, "Committee of Schools," 24.
144. Testimony from various witnesses accompanying the committee's report.
145. Tyler, *Letters*, 1:194, 3:215, 216. Semple had been an early champion of the University of Virginia. Honeywell, Educational Wark, 65. John Tyler's father, the governor, had been an ardent supporter of Jefferson's educational ideas.
146. "Committee of Schools," 10; see also Smith's speech before the House of Delegates, Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 3, 5, 1824.
147. Smith responded by saying he had also been called an atheist, a rigid Calvinist, and a bigoted Episcopalian. The next thing he looked for, he said, was "a charge of gluttony and drunkenness." "Committee of Schools," 12 and passim.
148. "Committee of Schools," 18. The Visitor was John B. Seawell. For the right of instruction, see Clement Eaton, "Southern Senators and the Right of Instruction, 1789–1860," *JSH* 18 (1952): 303–19, esp. 303–5, and Daniel P. Jordan, *Political Leadership in Jefferson's Virginia* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983) , 185–89. Jefferson wholeheartedly endorsed John Taylor's categorical affirmation of instruction. (Eaton, "Southern Senators," 305.) Seawell had gone so far as to discuss with Judge Semple, professor of law, the necessity of forbidding Smith from denying the right of instruction in his classes. Semple thought it unnecessary, for Smith had never made a single convert, and Semple, to counteract whatever effect Smith might have, took pains in his course to uphold the right. ("Committee of Schools," 20.) In his *Syllabus of the Lectures ... on Government* (Philadelphia: Thomas Dobson and Son, 1817), Smith devoted fourteen of seventy-seven pages of text to demolishing the right of instruction (34–47). On page eight he claimed that he taught "the purest principles of republicanism," but admitted his heterodoxy on the right of instruction and his belief that the franchise should be confined to landowners. Early on in his presidency, Smith had asked Cabell to solicit Jefferson's advice as to the best textbook on government, he not being satisfied with Locke or Rousseau. (J. C. Cabell to Jefferson, Jan. 23, 1816, Cabell, *Early History*, 45.) Jefferson highly recommended as the best elementary book on the principles of government "the Review of Montesquieu, printed at Philadelphia, a few years ago." He regarded "Chipman's and Priestly Principles of Government, and the Federalist" as in many ways excellent, but for "fundamental principles, not comparable to the Review [of Montesquieu]." (Jefferson to J. C. Cabell, Feb. 2, 1816, Cabell, *Early History*, 53.) Smith adopted the "Review."
149. Cabell, *Early History*, 22, 31; Richmond *Enquirer*, July 27, 1824.

150. E.g., "Committee of Schools," 7–8; Richmond *Enquirer*, July 27, Dec. 31, 1824, Feb. 10, 1825.

151. Cabell, *Early History*, passim.

152. William H. Cabell to Joseph C. Cabell, Oct. 28, 1824; see also John Coalter to Joseph C. Cabell, Dec. 27, 1824, both in Cabell Family Papers, UVA

153. Joseph C. Cabell to Jefferson, Dec. 17, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 316-18.

154. Id. to id., Dec. 21, 1824, ibid., 318–19.

155. In the letter being abstracted, Jefferson did not refer to this case, but he certainly had it in mind. It was mentioned repeatedly as a serious obstacle to removal.

156. Jefferson to Cabell, Dec. 24, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 320–23.

157. Joseph C. Cabell to Jefferson, Jan. 16, 1825, ibid., 333.

158. MS draft, Jan. 22, 1825, Cabell Family Papers, UVA; also Cabell, *Early History*, 500.

159. Hampden-Sydney would have been one of the recipients of the College's funds provided it became a state institution. The other eight colleges or academies were to be located at Lynchburg, Fredericksburg, Richmond, Winchester, Staunton, Fincastle, Lewisburg, and Clarksburg. Cabell, *Early History*, 500.

160. Inter alia, in Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 3, 1825; see also Cabell, *Early History*, 341. This brief account cannot do justice to Cabell's generalship or to the complicated maneuvering that transpired from December to February.

161. Osborne, "William and Mary," 451 .

162. Richmond *Enquirer*, Jan. 15, 1825; "Committee of Schools," 2.

163. For these speeches (Smith took an hour and a half), see Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 3, 5, 8, 10, 1825.

164. These speeches can also be found in the Richmond *Enquirer*.

165. Feb. 7, 1825, Cabell, *Early History*, 341 .

166. John Augustine Smith to Joseph C. Cabell, Mar. 3, 1825; Cabell to Smith, Mar. 24, 1825; Smith to Cabell, Apr. 7, 1825, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.

3

ATTEMPTS AT REHABILITATION
1825–1836

"Make Their College Useful"

Williamsburg was a place that time forgot, or so it must have seemed to those of its people who ventured into the larger world. When Richmond became the seat of government, the town ceased to be the center of the state's political and social life. Since then the decades had rolled serenely on. Only occasionally did something such as the threat of a cholera epidemic, Nat Turner's bloody massacre, and, more remotely, the Nullification crisis disturb the even tenor of its ways. Otherwise, the inhabitants were left to follow their accustomed rounds of visiting, gossiping, marrying, birthing, and dying, comfortably entangled in a generations-old web of social and family relationships, content in the belief that the future would be much like the past.

In contrast to this quiet backwater, the nation at large was undergoing a rapid transformation. The 1820s saw the beginning of the Industrial Revolution in the United States. The application of steam to transportation, the growing importance of manufacturing, the accessibility of new markets, and the westward push of the frontier all seemed to promise unlimited opportunity for everyone in a democratized society. A rising class of new men challenged what they saw as an eastern elite's monopoly of privilege. They aimed to displace the mercantile and planting aristocracy whose hegemony was rooted in the colonial period. It was a time of evangelical egalitarianism, and Andrew Jackson's victory in the election of 1828 left conservatives as thunderstruck as Jefferson's victory had left their Federalist fathers a generation before.

Higher education, or what passed for it, was part of this social ferment and often found itself pulled in different directions. The passion for leveling symbolized by the Jacksonian slogan "any man is good enough to hold any office" carried over into all forms of human endeavor. If any man was good enough for any office, he was also good enough to be a lawyer, physician, minister, or professor. Yet Americans, then as now, wanted some kind of formal cachet, a diploma or certificate authenticating their democratic entitlement to universal privilege. Moreover, in the frenzy of reformism and religious enthusiasm that constituted the Second Great Awakening, multiplying sects and communities started what they called colleges as instruments of regeneration and progress. Many were no more than rustic academies ladling out an anemic version of the liberal arts, while the professions filled up with lawyers ignorant of the law, doctors with diplomas from storefront quack factories, and ministers innocent of theology.[1]

The same religious upwelling that created so many sectarian colleges also affected existing institutions and sometimes brought into collision the Enlightenment ideals of the old gentry, supposedly exemplified by Jefferson's university, and the fundamentalist beliefs of evangelical Protestantism. One historian has named the result "the great retrogression."[2] Jefferson himself could not withstand the wrath of the Virginia Presbyterians and found it necessary to give up the appointment of Thomas Cooper to the university primarily because of their objections to that eminent scientist's unitarianism.[3] This was merely an intensification of the hostility once directed at the alleged deism of Bishop Madison and John Augustine Smith.

Besides being attacked as propagators of heresy, colleges came under fire for clinging to an outdated curriculum irrelevant to the entrepreneurial millennium just dawning. Homer had little to teach, after all, about building canals and railroads; iron horses not wooden horses were in demand. The practical application of education had always been important to the Enlightenment, an expected dividend of the search for nature's laws.[4] On the other hand, neither Jefferson nor many of his forward-looking contemporaries were willing to jettison the classics, which they saw as an essential acquirement of the properly educated mind. Nor had they abandoned the idea of a natural aristocracy, an elite of innate talents to which the educational system should be tailored if the nation was to have principled guardians of the republican flame. Besides, to update the curriculum meant adding professorships and buying expensive equipment. Even though the nation's investment in education grew during the antebellum period, the proliferation of colleges would have made a widespread reformation more costly than the American people were willing to consider.[5] Eventually, adjustments would come. At William and Mary the decades before the war of 1861 would see the revival of modem languages and efforts to provide professional training in engineering and medicine. But there, as at colleges generally, social and economic restraints would leave the traditional course of study fundamentally intact. Believers in the old curriculum received powerful encouragement from the so-called Yale Report of 1828. Coming from an institution whose graduates were very influential in educational development in the South and West, this stirring reaffirmation of time-tested values heartened those who still believed that in the larger scheme of things the ability to read Homer might after all be as important as knowing how to build a railroad.[6]

Meanwhile, back at the College the future must have seemed bleak indeed in the aftermath of the removal fiasco. At least two members of the faculty doubted if William and Mary had a future wherever it was located. Professor Ferdinand Campbell tried to abandon ship in the summer of 1824. He visited Philadelphia looking for an appointment to the University of Pennsylvania, a quest that failed despite the support of his friend Robert Hare, then professor of chemistry at the medical college.[7] Late in October he wrote his uncle, "Our College, as you anticipated is I think completely gone, there being at present about 5 students only attending the lectures, and two who had entered have already left town to seek some other more flourishing seminary."[8] His colleague, Patrick Rogers, was equally pessimistic. He told Jefferson, who was not likely to disagree, that there was "something in the organization of William and Mary which, independently of its location or other permanent disadvantages, must forever prevent it from being successful or prosperous." When the university opened, he continued, the College would probably close. He proposed to visit Monticello soon and was clearly angling for an invitation to join the university's faculty.[9]

As for John Augustine Smith, he had made it known that he intended to leave the College if it did not relocate in Richmond. He continued to be hardheaded and tenacious, refusing to take the House of Delegates' rebuff as the end of the battle. He told the Visitors at their July convocation that he still believed the move to be indispensable,[10] and there are indications of behind-the-scenes maneuvering by Smith to get the Visitors to try again. But his day was drawing to a close. The first order of business was to be reform, not removal. The dreaded rival in Charlottesville had begun operations in March. What could the College do to survive?

A year before, Jefferson had predicted that when the Richmond project failed "they will recall their grammar school, and make their college useful as a sectional school of preparation for the University."[11] There were Board members who had devised a contingency plan somewhat similar to Jefferson's prophecy: revive the Grammar School, provide room and board in the College to reduce costs to students, and if the College was still unable to recover, surrender the ancient charter to the state.[12] Judge Semple and Visitor John Seawell had said much the same in their testimony before the Committee of Schools and Colleges,[13] although without suggesting giving up the charter.

A consensus already existed, then, when the Board asked the faculty for advice at its meeting of July 1825. The Society recommended reestablishing the Grammar School, where classical languages and literature would be taught. Many agreed with Professor Rogers that classical learning was essential in any seminary, and that the Grammar School would be useful to the people of Williamsburg and the vicinity.[14] It was important to cultivate the good will of the community, which often exercised a commanding influence in the affairs of the College. The Society also made recommendations about internal governance: repeal the statute of 1817 that made it the duty of the president alone to report on the conduct of the professors and restore the policy prevailing under Bishop Madison of having the Society as a whole annually inform the Visitors of the state of the College. Dr. Rogers was especially vehement on this point, as might have been expected, protesting against a system that presumed to enforce the execution of duties by "the excitement of perpetual fear or apprehension" and by "menaces from a colleague," a reference to President Smith.[15] The professors also requested that all of them, not just the president, be permitted to meet with the Board, a request the Visitors ignored.

Otherwise, the faculty recommendations were accepted, except for a vague suggestion about reforming the disciplinary code.[16] Students would now board in the College unless exempted for sufficient reason, as many would be. The Society was to appoint a steward who would provide bed and meals for $100 per session, with washing and candles $20 more, thus keeping living expenses within the reach of families of modest resources. The Grammar School and the professorship of humanity were reinstituted. If income should be insufficient to pay for this new professorship, the deficiency would be made up by assessing the salaries of the other faculty members.[17]

John Augustine Smith was left glowering amid the ruins of all his plans. The Society had resumed the weekly meetings that Smith had scotched in 1814; now, with the repeal of the 1817 statute, he found himself broken to the ranks. In the words of one observer, he was "little more than the mere nominal head … stripped of all his power," the only shred of presidential status left to him being his right to preside at faculty meetings.[18] The Visitors delivered a gentle hint by raising the possibility of cutting his salary,[19] and in July 1826 Smith wisely seized the chance to return to the New York College of Physicians and Surgeons whence he had come twelve years before. As mentioned, he rose to the presidency and continued to pursue the pungent style of leadership he had brought to perfection at William and Mary.[20]

The reorganization of 1825 was intended to re-create the College as it had been at the time of Madison's death. Therefore, it was to be expected that when Smith resigned the Visitors would resume the practice of electing as president a man in holy orders, someone who would free the College from the taint of deism. Furthermore, such an appointment would be consistent with the prevailing practice of American colleges, the rising religiosity of the times, and the implicit requirements of the charter with respect to the College's missionary responsibilities. "It had been strongly urged from almost every quarter," asserted "A Citizen of Williamsburg," "that a Clergyman ought to be placed at the head of the College." On the other hand, the president traditionally taught moral philosophy, which had come to embrace politics, political economy, and "national law." Many believed that these subjects should be taught by a layman.[21] Religion and politics were best taught separately.

The obvious solution was to establish a new professorship to take care of these secular disciplines. But could the College afford an addition to the faculty? The accounts continued to show annual deficits with depressing punctuality, and there was no reason to expect that income would grow; shrinkage was more likely. If the new chair was to be funded, the only recourse was the salary pool. This had amounted to a total of $2,900 under Bracken, but the new salary scale had raised it to $5,050 by 1815, the end of Smith's first year.[22] That sudden surge had stuck in some people's craw from the first,[23] and now with the addition of the humanity professorship, what today would be called the instructional budget had climbed to $5,720. So the Visitors cut salaries sufficiently to pay all but $250 of the cost of a new professor of political law, thus leaving to a clergyman-president the more religiously sensitive elements of moral philosophy and silencing critics who feared that, as in the past, a layman teaching those subjects might nurture infidelity.[24] Such was the combination of pressures that led to the creation of the professorship whose first occupant would be Thomas Roderick Dew, ironically a former student and warm admirer of John Augustine Smith. The subjects attached to the chair were listed by the Board as "National and Natural Law, Political Economy, Political History, and the Philosophy of the human mind."[25]

The new president and professor of moral philosophy was the Reverend William H. Wilmer, D.D., heretofore rector of St. Paul's in Alexandria. His connection with the College reached back to the early days of Smith's tenure. Then he had supported the latter's efforts to revive the chair of theology which they hoped would be the nucleus of an Episcopal theological seminary, the only result being the short-lived and unsuccessful professorship of Reuel Keith. Wilmer' s interest in religious education continued unabated, and when the seminary was actually founded in Alexandria in 1823, Wilmer, Keith, and Oliver Norris undertook the instruction of ministerial students. Wilmer's other link to William and Mary was through Richard Channing Moore, bishop of Virginia. Together with fellow evangelicals William Meade and Norris, he had persuaded Moore to be a candidate for the episcopate at the 1814 convention, convinced that only an evangelical bishop with Moore's demonstrated abilities could save the church.

Moore was elected, became rector of the new Monumental Church in Richmond, and three years later joined the College's Board of Visitors. Meanwhile, Wilmer' s standing in the church grew rapidly as the church itself gained new strength, and many looked to him as Bishop Moore's probable successor.[26] The bishop himself was anxious to see an able priest in the presidential office, and he threw the full weight of his considerable prestige into a campaign to choose Wilmer. As soon as he heard of Smith's resignation, he wrote Wilmer urging him to accept the position if it were offered and expatiating on its advantages. Not only would he have his salary and fees, but the rectorship of Bruton Parish and an additional $500 per year therefrom. You could do much good at William and Mary, he told Wilmer, and you would also promote the interests of the Episcopal church. The bishop corresponded or met with many Visitors, including John Tyler, now governor of Vrrginia, and succeeded in rounding up a large majority of the Board. On October 16 the Visitors warmly invited Wilmer to accept their election of him as president.[27] Wilmer heard the Visitors' urgent plea as "a call from heaven to the Presidency of William and Mary."[28] He may have been the only person ever connected with the College who saw the Visitors as receiving their instructions from on high; many have at times wondered if their lines of communication did not run in quite a different direction.[29]

A more radical change in styles could scarcely have been imagined. A skeptic president who went galloping off to the chase with horn tooting and hounds baying had given way to one who held semiweekly prayer meetings in private homes and scoured the countryside for lost sheep in a zealous baptismal crusade.[30] The people of Williamsburg, it was said, gave up their balls, routs, and squeezes for psalm singing, although Wilmer was not above serving wine along with the psalms at his own parties.[31] The new Episcopalianism might discountenance "gaming, attending on theatres, public balls, and horse racing" as occasions of sin, but no one in his right mind would have expected the faithful of Williamsburg to give up a genteel glass of wine.[32]

Wilmer quickly became much beloved by all.[33] At the College, Patrick Rogers doubtless agreed fully with his son, who observed that Wilmer' s amiable disposition "must be particularly pleasing from the contrast it forms with the very opposite character of his predecessor. It is like a mild, vernal sunshine succeeding to cold, changeful, blustering weather."[34]

Drifting in the Doldrums

Delusive dreams of grandeur at Richmond dispelled, the Grammar School restored, a common table reestablished, Smith gone, and a popular clergyman of stature and undoubted piety at the helm: surely the future must have seemed brighter. Unfortunately, these events only introduced another period of uncertainty and instability. The most shocking blow was Wilmer' s sudden death soon after the end of the 1826–27 session from the effects of that scourge of the lowlands, "bilious fever."[35] Doubtless at Bishop Moore's instance, the Visitors cast about hurriedly for a replacement and sounded out William Meade, upon whom the College had just conferred an honorary degree of doctor of divinity. Meade declined,[36] possibly because he saw improved prospects of becoming bishop now that Wilmer was gone. Moore then recruited the Reverend Adam Empie, rector of St. James in Wilmington, North Carolina, whom the bishop recommended in terms that left his colleagues "no alternatives." "We know nothing certainly of him," said another member of the Board, "but have reason to hope he will give entire satisfaction. …"[37] Empie's election was unanimous.

The Visitors must have possessed at least a curriculum vitae of the new president, even if most of them lacked personal knowledge of him. Empie was a forty-two-year-old New Yorker, an Episcopal priest whose parents were native Hollanders, and an alumnus of Union College. He was said to be "a churchman & no presbyterian, & zealous & consistent." Among his earlier positions had been a professorship of history, geography, and ethics at the United States Military Academy (1813–17), where he was also chaplain. From West Point he moved to St. James in Wilmington and made his mark on the Episcopal church of North Carolina. According to one experienced observer, Empie "commenced his course with favorable impressions. … He seems desirous to please, and, perhaps, to shine;—his talents are most respectable—pleasing exterior, graceful manners—classical in style and taste, and of ready elocution … but, still, he is not, to my discernment, Dr. Wilmer:—This *entre nous*."[38] Empie would be president of the College for nine years, many of them difficult.

Another newcomer in 1827 was a teacher of modern languages. For some time there had been sentiment for bringing back this Jeffersonian innovation. Now that Spain's empire in America had dissolved into independent republics open to the trade of the world, a knowledge of Spanish took on, at least in theory, a political and commercial importance.[39] As for French, it had always been the modern language of choice. Early in 1827 the Grammar School usher, Mr. Henry James, had undertaken to teach that language, but then had a falling out with Professor Dabney Browne, master of the school.[40] In the autumn Colonel C. de la Pena took his place in the Grammar School as teacher of French, Spanish, Italian, and Latin. He proposed also to open a music school, wherein young ladies would be taught to play the piano and the Spanish guitar. [41] Other than his being a native Spaniard and a refugee from the revolutionary troubles afllicting his country, little is known of Pena. He remains another of those shadowy figures who flit through the history of the College.[42]

Senor Pena's first impression of Williamsburg, presented with a rueful melancholy, is perhaps worth reproducing in part:

According to my promise I write to you from this sad place of solitude and exile. … As time destroys every thing, nothing remains here that would ascertain its past glories, but an old statue of an old english general[43] who was the first governor of this state, and many half ruined wooden houses which afford a tranquil and peaceful asylum to insects of every description. The streets give an idea of the wonderful fertility of this soil, by their being covered with grass, and several cows, pigs, horses, mules and goats are to be seen pasturing undisturbed along them. I thought I was transported to Noah's Ark, when I first came into this town, so prodigious was the quantity of animals I met with, without seeing a single person till I reached the post office . . . .[44]

The following July the Board revived the professorship of modern languages, to which Pena was appointed—without salary. He was, however, allowed to charge his students the usual twenty-dollar fee. Possibly the Visitors thought he could make ends meet by teaching fandangos to the young ladies. He lasted two years. The first anyone knew of his resignation was when the Society sent Pena, then in Richmond, the usual notice to be given to the newspapers announcing the beginning of the fall term. When the notice appeared, the members saw with astonishment that Pena had expunged all reference to the professorship of modern languages. Exit Senor Pena.[45] With him modern languages vanished from the curriculum for nearly thirty years.

There were still other changes and vacancies that must have made some prospective students think twice about matriculating; one never knew, it seemed, what would be taught or by whom. In 1827 Empie was weeks late in arriving, and so Rogers had to teach his course in moral philosophy. Then in the summer of 1828, Rogers himself died of what was called a malarial fever.[46] With all due respect, in this case the College was the gainer. To fill his chair the Visitors elected his son, William Barton Rogers, an alumnus then lecturing at the Maryland Institute in Baltimore and a man who had a most distinguished career before him.

A vacancy in the mathematics professorship had no such fortunate outcome; far from it. In 1827 the holder of that position, Ferdinand Stewart Campbell, fell heir to the barony of Ascog on the Isle of Bute. He took leave of absence during 1828–29 to begin the long and complicated process of claiming his inheritance, which involved, among other things, becoming a British citizen. To teach his classes he made an arrangement with John Page, a Williamsburg lawyer, member of the Board, and son of the late governor of the same name who had been a lifelong intimate friend of Thomas Jefferson.[47] Ferdinand Stewart Campbell-Stewart—his new patronymic was a condition of inheriting—returned to teach during the 1829–30 session and then resigned. His days of scrabbling for $20 fees were over, for he was soon to sell Ascog for £80,000.[48]

Campbell-Stewart's departure precipitated an unpleasantness that provides a glimpse of the College's inner history, revealing the ingrown, parochial, often neper tistic sociopolitical environment which was so much a part of the life of the institution. John Page, now in 1830 rector of the Board of Visitors, for years had coveted the mathematics chair. When Campbell, whose student Page had been, tried to escape to the University of Pennsylvania in 1824, John Augustine Smith assured Page he would be Campbell's successor if the latter did not return. Now that Campbell-Stewart had finally resigned, Page expected his endorsement and was "mortified" when he heard nothing, doubly so when it was rumored that Campbell-Stewart had recommended Henry Rogers, brother of William B. Rogers.[49]

As rector, it was Page's responsibility to call a meeting of the Board to fill the vacancy. Page's brother-in-law, Robert Saunders,Jr., whose father was on the Board, tried to help. He wrote Visitor Joseph Prentis urging him to attend. He referred to the "strange" yet "certain influence that Judge Semple is known to possess over many members of the visitation." Page could not be elected unless Visitors free from that influence "attend in sufficient number to throw that party … into a minority." The basis of this factionalism may have been at least partly political. Semple was connected by marriage to John Tyler, recently governor of Virginia and a member of the Board. Saunders (and presumably his father, a Visitor) was extremely conseivative and was on his way to becoming an ultra-Whig. It may have been that the Tylerites, who were at heart proto-Democrats, were expected to oppose a candidate connected with the Saunders family.

As it turned out, there was no vote on Page because his call did not produce a quorum.[50] With the session of 1830 about to begin, the Society had to take steps to see that mathematics was taught Courses in that subject could not be suspended without serious consequences. Students intending to take a degree or those who needed mathematics for other reasons would be likely to go elsewhere, nor would new students wish to enter an institution with so radical a gap in its curriculum. On October 23, not long after the Board failed to achieve a quorum, the Society appointed William Barton Rogers to teach mathematics as well as his other courses, his only additional compensation being student fees.

Page was beside himself, as were others who championed his cause. Among these was the elder Robert Saunders. Page's mind, said Rogers, "is wound up to a pitch of phrensy by the action of the faculty. … He and Saunders and others of the same interest are raging with passion and hatred against me." Rogers had made no bones about his opinion that Page was not competent to teach mathematics, and upon being interrogated by Page, told him to his face that if asked he would say so to the Board. Thereupon, Page "talked of fighting with muskets and so forth." Undismayed by these threats, Rogers went to work enthusiastically to "place the mathematics department on a more elevated and scientific footing than it has hitherto occupied."[51]

Page's qualifications, whatever they may have been, were not the only reason for giving the job to Rogers. Expenses continued to outrun income. The professors' salaries were chronically in arrears. Saving the salary of the mathematics chair by assigning its duties to one or more incumbent professors was apparently the only way of balancing the budget and recovering the delinquent salaries. Judge Semple, professor of law, seems to have been the principal advocate for this policy,[52] and the Society advised doing so in its report to the Board in July 1831. Rogers had discharged the duties of the position "greatly to the benefit and satisfaction of both Mathematical classes," said the report, and should someone be brought in to replace Campbell Stewart, income would be wholly inadequate to pay salaries, which had accumulated arrears of $5,544. Moreover, a recent drop in enrollment from sixty-four to fifty-seven had been caused by the uncertainty of the public as to whether mathematics would be taught and—pointedly—"by whom." The matter needed to be settled.[53]

The Visitors, in their wisdom, did not accept the cogency of these arguments. Although they had exhorted the faculty to reduce expenses and had prohibited the spending of capital, they nevertheless demonstrated their adherence to deficit financing by trying to fill the mathematics chair, though with Rogers, not Page. The professorship of chemistry and natural philosophy was offered to the president of Hampden-Sydney College, Jonathan Cushing. When Cushing declined, Rogers continued to do double duty, and as a result the budget briefly threatened to show a small surplus. At last, in 1833, the Board elected the younger Robert Saunders to the mathematics chair. It was a close contest between Saunders and James Cabell, nephew of Joseph C. Cabell, who had been so long and intimately connected with the College and Williamsburg. Uncle Joseph made a serious effort on James's behalf, but failed by a narrow margin. The vote was six to five. Five of the six were Visitors who, like Saunders, were residents of Williamsburg . Among them was John Page, the winner's brother-in-law, although the senior Saunders, the candidate's father, very properly abstained. No doubt he had counted noses. Still, young Mr. Cabell had his reward. In 1837 he became professor of anatomy and surgery at the University of Virginia, where Uncle Joseph sat on the Board of Visitors.[54] Meanwhile, the law professorship had been vacated by Judge Semple in 1832 and would remain empty for two years before being filled by a man who would become one of the College's brightest ornaments, Nathaniel Beverley Tucker.[55]

Although the problems posed by all these changes and vacancies were often difficult to contend with, at least the College had turned the comer on the vexing matter of student behavior. There was, however, much unhappiness before the comer was reached.

After the departure of John Augustine Smith, the Society tried to adopt a milder, more paternal policy in dealing with their young men. This seemed to work well during Wilmer's brief tenure, even if the reverend himself had to pursue and collar a nocturnal bell ringer.[56] Empie's first year was fairly quiet, except for some incidents of drunken vandalism. One led to the presentation of Mr. John J. Clarke to the grand jury for "knowingly and willfully" shooting two oxen belonging to Dickie Galt.[57] At the end of the academic year 1827–28, the faculty awarded faint praise: the session had manifested "less of what is riotous and disorderly than had usually been the case at this seminary."[58]

The next session saw an increase in "irregularities." Meetings of the Society in the Blue Room of the Main Building were interrupted by bricks coming through the windows. Doors and furniture were broken, and the professors were doused with water as they came down the front steps. Professor Pena was accosted in a disrespectful way by Mr. William Whiting, the latter at the time being held upright by two friends.[59] This ongoing guerrilla warfare disrupted the educational process, poisoned the atmosphere of the campus, and hurt the College in the estimation of the public. It also absorbed a remarkable amount of the faculty's time and attention, as the most cursory reading of the faculty minutes will show. Perhaps the *reductio ad absurdum* was reached when Judge Semple found himself embroiled in an argument with a local landlord over the cost of washing to students, an issue arising out of misbehavior by the students who lived there.[60]

The main cause of friction between faculty and students here as in other American colleges was the prevailing practice of requiring the former to act as policemen. By contrast, happy was the lot of the dons at Oxford and Cambridge, where policing was the responsibility of deans, proctors, and beadles, not of those who taught.[61] Eventually, American colleges would become large enough to afford a separate bureaucracy and relieve the faculty of this unwelcome duty. Until then, they had to muddle through as best they could.

In 1829 the Society sent the Board a long analysis of the problem and a rather piteous admission of helplessness. Liquor, said the professors, caused much of the trouble, as was true "in society at large." They knew whereof they spoke, because the consumption of alcohol was at an all-time national high during the 1820s.[62] The liquor was bought with pocket money supplied by parents, and it was the pocket money that was "the root of all evil," leading to "idleness[, gambling,] dissipation[, and] intemperance." The precipitating cause of the worst disorders was the combination of the February examinations and the Washington's Birthday Ball. After acquitting themselves respectably in the former, many students thought themselves "at liberty to become comparative idlers for the remainder of the course." They were so numerous as to be "beyond the reach of ordinary punishment. The high excitement and intense application existing previous to the exam. naturally gives place to the opposite extreme. … The evil is enhanced by the ball of the 22d. which is the subject of hopes and excitement and preparations for weeks before and manifests its effects still more for weeks afterwards." The result was more drinking and more rampages, and so the downward spiral continued.

By the time this stage was reached, said the report, the faculty was powerless. "Strike any one of them directly or indirectly or threaten the whole mass and in either case they act in concert … persuaded that the largeness of their numbers will insure impunity. … " True, there was a statute on the books allowing the Society to treat everyone as guilty who could not prove his innocence, but it could be used only in "the greatest emergencies." If the rule were invoked to detect the guilty, admittedly a very difficult thing to do, the College would be in a continuous uproar. Experience had shown that to invoke this rule so unified and aroused the students that the outcome would be to suspend all of them and so deal a death blow to the institution.

The faculty asked the Board to break the mainspring of the cycle of disorder by abolishing both the midyear examinations and the February 22 ball. [63] As to the latter, they could have done so themselves. Although they had the authority to refuse permission for the students to hold the ball, they nevertheless routinely granted it, probably because they feared the consequences of not doing so.[64] The Board took no action at this time; in fact, it is not known if there was a convocation in 1829. The next session saw a continuation of misconduct. Incidents were fewer in number, but they included an ugly riot early in March. Led by students in disguise, the rioters stoned the President's House, threatened faculty members with pistols and sticks, broke into the Blue Room, where they smashed furniture and windows, tore up and "defiled with human ordure" the Society's records, and vandalized things generally.[65]

At their convocation in July 1830, the Visitors, in an unaccustomed paroxysm of legislative zeal, took cognizance of disciplinary problems by passing a "Statute for the Good Government of the College."[66] Partly a codification or digest of earlier laws, it also contained new rules the clear intent of which was to avoid needless provocation of student resentment and to prevent every incident, many of which were certainly trivial, from becoming a full-scale confrontation between the Society and the offender. For example, the professors were "enjoined from making any remarks by way of reproof or otherwise, injurious to the feelings of students during Lecture, or on any other occasion."[67] When a case of misbehavior was reported, instead of immediately hauling the suspect before the whole Society, one or more professors would be appointed as a committee "to confer with and advise in private and in a friendly manner with such Student" Should he deny "on his honor as a gentleman the offence of which it has been believed he was guilty, such denial shall be taken as conclusive evidence of his innocence."[68] On the other hand, failure to deny, or if guilt was admitted, to pledge future good behavior subjected the srudent to such punishment as the Society deemed appropriate.[69] The Board accepted the faculty's advice concerning the midyear public examinations, which were abolished. But instead of doing the same for the February 22 ball, the Board explicitly allowed it.[70]

The graph line of student disorders showed a marked decline from this time on, with occasional minor protuberances here and there. The Washington's Birthday Ball of 1832 had its usual effect, but this celebration appears to have been held less frequently afterwards. Concerted action, such as the riot of 1830, gave way to scattered incidents involving individual sinners. Although some were serious—duels, acrual or attempted, and "affrays" with weapons—most were cases of frequenting taverns and intoxication.[71] To what extent the new rules were responsible for this improvement it is impossible to say. They may have helped by encouraging the faculty to distinguish between mountains and molehills and to proceed with more tact in their investigations. The Board deserves credit for this sensible approach. The Society continued to urge parents to withhold that "root of all evil," excessive spending money, and asked local merchants not to extend credit to students, a practice ultimately outlawed by the legislature.[72] Finally, faculty and Visitors would have been more than human if they had not derived some satisfaction from comparing the conduct of their young men with that of students enrolled in Mr. Jefferson's university. There, the turmoil be gan almost immediately after it opened and continued with a persistent level of violence, including the murder of a professor, which the old College could not pretend to rival.[73]

The convocation of 1830 also acted on matters other than student discipline. When the faculty said rather plaintively that everything possible had been done, without success, to bring expenses down to the level of income, a compassionate Board lent a helping hand by cutting salaries by $100[74] and stipulating that salaries, or portions thereof, would be paid only after all other annual expenses had been met. If further arrears ensued, the faculty would have first claim on anything that might be collected from the unpaid debts owed the College.[75] In what might be called the Admiral Byng approach, the Board thereby encouraged the professors to persevere in their economies and to put the screws on debtors.

"Each Professor may have two classes; but no Professor shall receive from the same Student more than twenty dollars in the same collegiate year." Behind this innocent-sounding injunction, which was part of a long statute describing and prescribing course content and required books, lay an unpleasant controversy. It involved young Thomas Dew, who had recently come to public notice with the appearance of his *Lectures on the Restrictive System*,[76] and who was perhaps feeling his oats. Although the affair proved to be transitory, the issues involved illustrate some important educational and fiscal facts about the College. Only the essential details need to be given.

The normal assignment for a professor was two full-year courses, but when the chair of political law was created in 1826 and Dew elected to it, some members of the Society and of the Board had evidently expected that he would teach only one course: the part of the moral philosophy course subtracted from the presidential professorship at the time of Wilmer's election. Dew believed that these subjects plus history were too much to compress into one course. The Society approved his request to be allowed to offer a separate half-time course in history, Wilmer and Rogers dissenting, on condition that it not be required for a degree or interfere with those courses that were.[77] This and a half-year course in metaphysics gave Dew the equivalent of two full courses, which seemed to him only fair. Two courses meant more student fees than one course.

Early in the 1829–30 session, the Society rescinded the resolution permitting Dew to teach a separate history course, although permitting him to do so without fees until the Board could decide the question. These two facts are connected. As pointed out earlier, fees could make up a large portion of a professor's income, sometimes substantially more than his salary. Unpopular or demanding teachers or those with unpopular courses were at a disadvantage in competing with popular teachers and popular courses. Such would not have been the case had all students been made to take the same program of study. There was a "regular" course that all students were supposed to take; however, the sheer necessity of maintaining enrollments meant that numerous exceptions were made, the beneficiaries being called "irregular" students. During the 1829–30 session, fully half were "irregulars."[78] Dew's troubles began when considerable numbers of students began to ask for exemption from the "regular" course to make room for Dew's history class. These applications, said Dew, "produced discussions of the most unpleasant character … calculated to engender warmth of feeling, and elicit remarks disparaging to the dignity, usefulness, & importance of the political chair or some of the studies belonging to it."[79]

Dew obviously believed that competition for fees was the real issue.[80] Therefore, he asked the Board to consider seriously putting all fees into "a common purse," which was the practice, he said, in almost every college in the country where course fees were collected. He had reason to believe that most of the other professors supported such a system. The pooling and division of fees, incidentally, had been recommended to the

Committee of Schools and Colleges by Judge Semple more than five years before.[81] On the other hand, there were those (not professors) who believed in more, not less, competition, and who were willing to make the faculty more dependent on fees by reducing salaries. Then they would be spurred to greater efforts in order to make a living.[82] This was the reasoning of no less a figure than Thomas Jefferson, and the fee system prevailed at the University of Virginia for many years with the same consequences as at William and Mary.[83]

Not until after Dew's death did the Board take his advice.[84] Meanwhile, it clung to this destructive piecework, sweatshop philosophy of academic management that has its modem parallel in the infatuation of the late-twentieth century administrator with merit evaluations and the rule of publish-or-perish, the idea being to stimulate publicity-generating "productivity" by fomenting the same kind of Hobbesian war of all against all that caused Dew's troubles. The wheel turns and the same old spoke comes up again.

After their unusual burst of activity in 1830, the Visitors lapsed into their accustomed torpor. Soon the College began to show signs of dwindling away. With modem languages defunct since 1830, no regular mathematics professor for several years, and no one teaching law from 1832 until 1834, a decline in enrollments was to be expected.[85] Instead of a gradual decline, enrollments collapsed from fifty-three in the fall of 1831 to twenty-three in 1832.[86] Lack of a law course, which had enrolled fourteen in 1831–32, accounted for some of the drop, but the faculty believed the main cause to be "that appalling scourge of Asiatic cholera," which had been "raging all around us" weeks before the beginning of the 1832 term. Indeed, "at the very moment that College was opening a report … was suddenly spread abroad that the cholera was raging at Wmsburg. & several on their way to the Institution returned home & went to seminaries at that time more favored."[87] Combined with Williamsburg's reputation for unhealthiness, this rumor was bound to devastate enrollments. The fearsome cholera pandemic that had swept across Europe in 1831 and 1832 reached the United States via New York in the latter year. By July it was in Norfolk. Then it appeared in the lower Chesapeake Bay region generally and by September was in Richmond, eventually reaching into the Piedmont, northern Virginia, and the Shenandoah Valley. The mortality rate was sometimes as high as 30 to 50 percent, with death coming as soon as three hours after the illness manifested itself. Four hundred died in Norfolk, and in Richmond, 498 of a population of 10,000.[88] Yet Williamsburg, that supposed pesthouse, experienced no such ravages. The faculty publicly but vainly denied that cholera was in their midst They insisted there had been only one case of violent disease since late October that might possibly have been cholera; otherwise the town and the College had never been more healthy. One possible case was enough; give a dog a bad name. … [89]

On the Upward Roll

The cholera passed on, yet the College continued to shrink, in part, no doubt, because of fears that the disease might be lingering where it never actually was. Eighteen students matriculated in the fall of 1833. By the end of the session, these had dwindled to a dozen or so.[90] To add insult to injury, a vicious tornado swept through the town on June 21 and inflicted costly damage on the College buildings.[91] The commencement exercises, if any, must have been a melancholy affair; Mr. Humphrey Wynne stood in solitary splendor as the only degree recipient.[92]

There was, however, a convocation. With difficulty, a bare quorum of the Visitors was achieved, probably because five vacancies had been filled the previous year. According to a new member, they found the institution "nearly prostrate" and undertook "a system of reform and improvement."[93] As noted before, the chair of law was filled by the election of Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, son of St George Tucker, who would bring much attention and an enhanced reputation to the College. Besides taking this essential step, the Board instituted a program of awarding testimonials or certificates to students who had worked hard, behaved themselves, and had performed well in one or more subjects. The testimonials were to be published along with the names of students who received degrees. Bearing the College seal, these documents were a kind of consolation prize for those who did not go on to earn degrees. The great majority had never done so—in fact, less than half stayed for more than a year—and the William and Mary degree historically had not been easy to achieve. In contrast to the large number of institutions where a degree could, simply put, be bought, the College's degree had to be earned.[94] The testimonials also opened a new route to a degree, one that the Visitors no doubt hoped would encourage more students to try for one, stay longer, and so bolster enrollments. Testimonials in those courses required for a degree would be sufficient to secure one, a change that eliminated the necessity of enduring the public examinations heretofore required.[95]

Another reform was to begin the transformation of the ancient languages department into a full-fledged classics department similar to those found in better colleges. Eventually, the Grammar School would disappear and its upper grades would be absorbed into the first year of a three-year course of study.[96] The Board also hoped to revive modern language instruction, something that would not be accomplished until the 1850s.[97]

Enrollments grew during the late thirties despite the hard times brought on by the Panic of 1837 and the competition from new colleges in Virginia and in adjoining states.[98] By the end of the decade, the number of students had risen to an all-time high of 140, a figure not exceeded until 1889.[99] During these years enrollments at the University of Virginia, which had a four-year course and enjoyed an annual $15,000 subsidy from the state, were only averaging about 191,[100] and so the Visitors could take pride in what seemed to be the result of their work.[101]

In the interim William and Mary was embarrassed to see its recreant alumnus, Joseph C. Cabell, lure William Barton Rogers to Charlottesville in 1835, a loss that would have been much greater had not John Millington accepted election as the new professor of chemistry and natural philosophy.[102] No one, however, could really replace Rogers. Only twenty-three years of age when he succeeded his father, he was from the first an enthusiastic and successful teacher. His younger brother, Robert, one of his students, left this description ofWilliam’s pedagogy:

> His class are advancing very well indeed, and they are all very much pleased. William has divided his classes into four divisions, which are called *clubs*; he meets one of them every night of the week except Saturday and Tuesday, and the students attend with the greatest alacrity possible; there is not the least disorder among them, either at college or at the table; they are sociable, but polite, towards William.[103]

A professor whose students attended extra night sessions with “the greatest alacrity” was no ordinary teacher; he was, indeed, well on his way to becoming a lecturer of mesmeric eloquence. Rogers even made them like mathematics, that black beast of undergraduates, and must have gained some celebrity among them when as part of a chemistry experiment he allowed them to inhale nitrous oxide (laughing gas) , which in some cases produced “the most powerful effects.” Rogers tried it himself in private and found the emotions it produced to be “pleasurable,” with sensations of “vastness, grandeur, sublimity and solitude,” enabling him to look around himself “with the haughty disdain and towering importance of the Great Mogul.”[104] The lofty elevation induced by nitrous oxide did not prevent Rogers from emphasizing the mundane applications of his courses, a policy carried further by Millington and one consistent with the general trend in American education. In chemistry Rogers explained such practical processes as bleaching, dyeing, tanning, the manufacture of glass and porcelain, and so forth. In natural philosophy he explained the construction of bridges, roads, and steam engines, the strength of materials, and the principles of architecture.[105]

Rogers’s interest came to focus on geology, and by the early thirties he had earned a reputation that extended far beyond Vrrginia.[106] He gave an address before members of the General Assembly on the importance of geology that was followed by the funding of a state geological survey under Rogers’ s direction. Almost simultaneously he left William and Mary for the University of Virginia, where he would remain until 1853. Then he moved to Boston and became the founder and first president of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.[107] His is still another name on the list of distinguished men who passed through the College on their way to illustrious careers on a larger stage. Even so, he long retained a fondness for William and Mary and the old town.

No one could have missed Rogers more than President Empie and his wife, his intimate friends with whom he had lived for a time.[108] The Empies were not long in following his example. Such evidence as survives suggests that they had never been happy in Williamsburg. With a large family to support, the president apparently had a hard time making ends meet; he borrowed small sums from friends and colleagues and at one time owed the College $800.[109] Once, probably after he had been at the College for three or four years, Empie added up in parallel columns his professional income (there was likely no other) from the United States Military Academy, his church in Wilmington, and the presidency of William and Mary. The last was the least.[110] The family was plagued by illness, which some attributed to the large stagnant pool in the road behind the President's House.[111] "There seems to be no prospect of our ever enjoying health in this wretched place," he wrote in the spring of 1836, "though we were to spend our lives here." He resigned that summer to take the rectorship of a Richmond church.[112]

Empie left an institution that remained as he had found it financially and materially: expenses exceeding income, salaries in arrears, landholdings dwindling, buildings in need of repair, and an inadequate "philosophical apparatus."[113] However, in terms of enrollments and the quality of the faculty, Empie left on the upward roll. Millington was a worthy replacement for Rogers, the chair of law was filled by Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, and Empie was followed in the presidency by one whose reputation had already spread beyond the boundaries of the Old Dominion: Professor Thomas Roderick Dew.

Notes

1. There were, of course, honorable exceptions in these professions.
2. Richard Hofstadter, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the College* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 209. See ibid., 247, for Howard K. Beale's succinct characterization: "Jeffersonian democracy (which was aristocratic in its leadership) was 'anti-theological and liberal,' while Jacksonian democracy, which was profoundly popular, was 'pious and intolerant.'"
3. For a blistering attack on the Presbyterians, see Jefferson to William Short, Apr. 13, 1820, Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 15:246. See also Cabell, *Early History*, 233–36n.
4. Cf. Walter P. Metzger, *Academic Freedom in the Age of the University* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961), 9–11; Brook Hindle, *The Pursuit of Science in Revolutionary America, 1735–1789* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1956), 190–91; John C. Greene, *American Science*, 416–18.
5. Burke, "Quiet Influence," 12–15, 34. This study, a statistical tour de force, challenges the traditional interpretation, including the "great retrogression" view of Hofstadter and many others, of an educational system willfully refusing to change with the times.
6. When compared to the Yale Report, William and Mary was neither fish nor fowl, thanks partly to the legacy of the Jeffersonian reform of 1779. For extended excerpts from the Yale Report (taken from "Original Papers in Relation to a Course of Liberal Education," *The American Journal of Science and Arts* 15 [Jan. 1829]: 297–351), see Richard Hofstadter and Wilson Smith, *American Higher Education: A Documentary History*, 2 vols. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), 1:275–91. See also Rudolph, *Curriculum*, 65–75, which points out, inter alia, the sensible and constructive parts so often overlooked then and later, probably because of the report's insistence on the necessity of a thorough knowledge of Latin and Greek. In Rudolph, *American College and University*, 130–35, the emphasis is more toward seeing the report as a classic statement in defense of the old order (130). See also Schmidt, *Liberal Arts College*, 54–57; Cremin, *American Education*, 272, 405–6. The above citations refer to the Yale Report, but the works are also cited for their importance in providing the general context for the introduction to this chapter. Briefer and more assimilated than the encyclopedic Cremin and more comprehensive than Rudolph and Schmidt is John S. Brubacher and Willis Rudy, *Higher Education in Transition: A History of American Colleges and Universities, 1636–1976*, 3d ed. (New York: Harper and Row, 1976).
7. J. A. Smith's report to the Board of Visitors, July 6, 1824, folder 57, College Papers, WMA; F.

Campbell to John Campbell, Oct. 30, 1824, Campbell Family Papers, VHS.

8. F. Campbell to John Campbell, Oct. 30, 1824, Campbell Family Papers, VHS.
9. Rogers had sent Jefferson his work, *An Introduction to the Mathematical Principles of Natural Philosophy* (Richmond: Shepherd and Pollard, 1822). See Rogers to Jefferson, c. 1823, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:26 and n; Jefferson to Rogers, Jan. 29, 1824, Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 16:1–4.
10. J. A. Smith to Board of Visitors, July 4, 1825, folder 57, College Papers, WMA.
11. Jefferson to J. C. Cabell, May 16, 1824, Bergh, ed., *Writings of Jefferson*, 16:41.
12. J. C. Cabell to Jefferson, Dec. 31, 1824, Cabell, *Early History*, 327. Cabell said he had been advising just this program "for years past."
13. "Committee of Schools," 14, 18–19.
14. Rogers's letter to John Tyler, July 6, 1825, is in P. K. Rogers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; see also Faculty Minutes, July 6, 1825.
15. Faculty Minutes, July 6, 1825.
16. Ibid; Richmond *Enquirer*, July 26, 1825. The infamous statute requiring self-incrimination and informing, it will be recalled, had been repealed in 1824.
17. Statutes, July 6, 1825, Matriculation Book, WMA; Faculty Minutes, July 8, 1825.
18. Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 13, 1825, letter from "A Lowlander," who was trying to reassure those who disliked Smith that they need not desert the College merely because he was still there.
19. In J. A. Smith to John Tyler, July 6, 1825, folder 57, College Papers, WMA, Smith said he could not consent to a reduction of his salary. A statute that seems to bear on this matter (Matriculation Book, July 7, 1824) is very obscurely worded. Bursar's reports for 1824–25 and 1825–26, the latter Smith's last year at the College, show no reduction in salary.
20. Manley, "Exposition," passim, depicts a presidency that in many salient points almost uncannily duplicates the most unfortunate aspects of Smith's William and Mary career. For what may have been one last effort by Smith to reassert himself and revive the Richmond project, see Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 18, 1825, Nov. 25, 1825, Dec. 13, 1825; Faculty Minutes, Dec. 19, 1825; faculty report to Board of Visitors, July 1, 1826, Faculty Minutes, Dec. 19, 1825. A call by the rector for the Board to meet in the fall of 1825 was taken by some to presage a renewal of the attempt to move to Richmond, a prospect that would tend to discourage prospective students from enrolling. Thus, the faculty published a denial of any participation in such a scheme, over Smith's objection. In 1834 Smith asked Cabell's help in securing an appointment at the University of Virginia. Smith to Cabell, June 1, 1834, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. Cabell was not surprised at his desire to leave the New York College, but rather at his readiness to take "almost any place in our University." Cabell to John H. Cocke, July 2, 1834, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. Smith told Cabell he was "heartily desirous of returning to a simple College life—the only one for which I am fitted." Smith to Cabell, Aug. 13, 1834, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
21. Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 22, 1826; R C. Moore to W. H. Wilmer, Sept. 23, 1826, Moore Letterbooks (typescript), VTS. In the years before 1861, of 288 college presidents, 262 were ordained ministers. Of the 26 layman presidents, all took office after 1776. George P. Schmidt, *The Old Time College President* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1930), 184. As for clerical faculty, they made up 35 percent of the total during the period 1800–1860 at Harvard, William and Mary, Miami, Oberlin, Lafayette, Princeton, and Middlebury. Metzger, *AcademicFreedom*, 23. Schmidt, *Liberal Arts College*, 35, speaking of the years before 1850, says that the "great majority of faculty were clergymen rather than trained scholars or teachers."
22. "Committee of Schools," 18.
23. E.g., John B. Seawell, ibid.

24. Bursar's reports, 1826–27; statute of Oct. 16, 1826, Matriculation Book, WMA. Smith's salary had been $1,750; Campbell and Rogers, $1,250 each; Semple, $750; Dabney Browne, professor of humanity and head of the Grammar School, $500, and his usher, $250: total $5,750. The new scale was: the president, Campbell, Rogers, and the new professor of political law, $1,100 each; Semple, $700; Browne, $600, and his usher, $250: total $5,950.

25. Statute of Oct. 16, 1826, Matriculation Book, WMA.

26. Goodwin, *Theological Seminary*, 1:76–81; Sprague, *Annals*, 5:515–19; John Johns, *A Memoir of the Life of the Right Rev. William Meade, D.D.* (Baltimore: Innes and Company, 1867), 64–69; J. P. K Henshaw, *Memoir of the Life of the Rt. Rev. Richard Channing Moore, D.D.* (Philadelphia: William Stavely and Co., 1843), 117–39; Holmes, "Decline and Revival," 75–85; Holmes, "Meade," 222–28; David Holmes, "William Holland Wilmer: A Newly Discovered Memoir," *Maryland Historical Magazine* 81 (1986): 160–64. Holmes describes Moore as a moderate evangelical. Wilmer's standing in the church is clear from a reading of the proceedings of the Episcopal conventions. Cf. Hawks, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1 :91–199, passim (Journals pagination). According to one view, he was "by all odds the leading clergyman in Virginia." William A. Clebsch, "The Rev. Dr. William Holland Wilmer (1782–1827): His Life, Work, and Thought" (S. J. M. thesis, Virginia Theological Seminary, 1951) , 28.

27. R. C. Moore to W. H. Wilmer, Aug. 8, 22, Sept. 6, 11, 23, 28; to James Garnett, Aug. 21, Sept. 29; Hugh Nelson, Aug. 22, Sept. 29; Robert Saunders, Aug. 22; William Meade, Aug. 24; W. H. Wilmer to R. C. Moore, Sept. 8, all dates 1826, Moore Letterbooks (typescript) , VTS. According to Moore, of the eighteen Visitors, several "of the most influential" wanted a clerical president. Of the fifteen of whose opinions he was aware, only one was opposed to a clerical president on principle.

28. Osborne, “William and Mary,” 540–41, quoting from Richard Hooker Wilmer, *The Recent Past from a Southern Standpoint* (New York: T. Whittaker, 1887), 171.

29. The body of Wilmer papers has been lost; Holmes, "Wilmer Memoir," 161. For the Board's anxiety to secure Wilmer's services, see John Page to St. George Tucker, Oct. 21, 1826, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.

30. Cf. Meade, *Old Churches*, 1:177.

31. Osborne, "William and Mary," 550–51. Wilmer was also rector of Bruton Parish, of course. Communicants at this time were about thirty. Hawks, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1:203 (Journals pagination).

32. For the quotation, see Hawks, *Ecclesiastical History*, 1:126–27 (Journals pagination). Attempts there to retard the shift toward puritanism are not without interest. For an interesting anecdote about Wilmer and parties, see Clebsch, "Wilmer," 28.

33. John Page to St. George Tucker, July 25, 1827, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.

34. W. B. Rogers to Patrick K. Rogers, Jan. 30, 1827, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 2:39.

35. Wilmer died July 24, 1827, after a two-week illness, at the age of forty-five. John Page to St. George Tucker, Aug. 21, 1827, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; Sprague, Annals, 5:516; Wilmer, Recent Past, 177; Goodwin, Theological Seminary, 1:80, 82. Bilious fever, which was probably a name given to what was usually typhoid fever in some form, was not peculiar to Tidewater, but because other febrile diseases, such as malaria, were often regarded as "bilious," the term seemed to have been associated in the public mind with that part of the state. Cf. Wyndham B. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia in the Nineteenth Century* (Richmond: Garrett & Massie, Inc., 1933) , 250–56.

36. Meade to Hugh Nelson (a Visitor), [1827] , Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.

37. Robert Saunders to Joseph Prentis, [Oct. 30, 1827] , Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF. John Page to St. George Tucker, Oct. 31, 1827, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. The Board elected Empie on Sept. 19, 1827. Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 21, 1827. For Moore's role, see R. C. Moore to Adam Empie, Aug. 26, Sept. 22, 1827, and to William Waller, Sept. 4, 11, 1827, Moore Letterbooks (typescript) , VTS.

38. Biographical sketch, Adam Empie, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA. The quotations are from a photocopy of Rev. Frederick Hatch to Bishop James Kemp (Md.), Oct. 14, 1827, and Benjamin T. Onderdonk to Rev. William E. Wyatt, Feb. 2, 1811, "Backlog," photocopy from Maryland Diocesan Archives, WMA. Empie called himself a High Church evangelical. Johns, *Memoir of Meade*, 171–72. Robert Saunders to Joseph Prentis, [Dec. 27, 1827] , Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF.

39. E.g., letters of "Junius" to Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 26, Oct. 3, 1826.

40. Faculty Minutes, Feb. 5, 12, 26, July 6, 1827. Mr. James was adjudged to have acted with "great impropriety" toward Browne, and no more is heard of him.

41. Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 13, 1827. Robert Saunders to Joseph Prentis, [Dec. 27, 1827] , Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF.

42. T. R. Dew to William B. Giles, Feb. 2, 1830, Dew Papers, WMA. In this letter, a conventional introduction for Pena, Dew alludes to Pena as his friend. Pena seems to have been acquainted, at least, with some prominent Richmonders, among them John Adams, the much-admired mayor of the city, and Benjamin Watkins Leigh. Pena said he had begun the study of French at age seven and had lived for two years in France.

43. I.e., Lord Botetourt.

44. Pena to John Adams Smith, Nov. 3, 1827, *TQ*3 (1921–22): 164.

45. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 18, 1830. Pena had applied for a position at the University of Virginia in July. Pena to J. C. Cabell, July 29, 1830, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.

46. On Aug. 1, at Ellicott's Mills, Maryland. Rogers, *Life and Letters,* 1:54.

47. G. Bell Barker to Laura Parrish, Sept. 24, 1985, Ferdinand Campbell, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; G. Bell Barker, "The Ascog Virginia Connection," Campbell Family Papers (typescript), VHS. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 14, 1828; John Page to St. George Tucker, July 25, Aug. 21, Sept. 5, Oct. 9, 1827, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; Richard Channing Moore Page, *Genealogy of the Page Family in Virginia* (N.Y.: Jenkins and Thomas, 1883), 73; Dumas Malone, *Jefferson and His Time*, 6 vols. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1948–81), 1:58, 302–3.

48. G. Bell Barker to Laura Parrish, Ferdinand Campbell, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA.

49. Actually, Campbell expected Page to succeed him. Ferdinand Campbell to John Campbell, Oct. 30, 1824, Campbell Family Papers, VHS. According to Robert Saunders, Jr. (to Joseph Prentis, Oct. 26, 1830, Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF) , Campbell did give Page a "high testimonial." For Page's desire to occupy the mathematics chair, see John Page to [R. C. Moore], June 16, 1831 (misdated 1821), Moore Letterbooks (typescript) , VTS.

50. Robert Saunders, Jr., to Joseph Prentis, Oct. 26, 1830, Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF. Visitor John B. Seawell was Tyler's brother-in-law. Tyler, *Letters,* 1:194. See footnote 53, below: those who voted for Cabell against Saunders probably comprised the Semple-Tyler faction. Page to Burwell Bassett, Oct. 13, 1830, John Page, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. Bassett, also of Williamsburg, had been a Visitor since 1792. This letter, in which Page frankly admits how much he wanted the professorship, is in stark contrast to one he wrote to St. George Tucker in 1827 (Oct. 9, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM). When the two letters are contrasted, Page appears as a consummate hypocrite. For the abortive Board meeting, see Richmond *Enquirer*, May 20, 1831. In any event, Page could have counted on only about one-third of the Board to vote for him. John Page to R. C. Moore. June 16, 1831 (misdated 1821), Moore Letterbooks (typescript), VTS.

51. Rogers to ——, Oct. 30, 1830, typescript copy of original in the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, in Rogers, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. "Page" appears only as "P." For the Page-Saunders connection, see *WMQ*, 1st ser., 14 (1905–1906): 148. The students evidently preferred Rogers to Page. Cf. Rogers to William Rogers, Nov. 11, 30, 1830, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:88. For the second quotation, see Rogers to "Dear Uncle" [James Rogers], Nov. 28, 1830, W. B. Rogers Papers, MIT.

52. P. K. Rogers to W. B. Rogers, Jan. 16, 1826, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:33; John Page to Burwell Bassett, Oct. 13, [1830], Page, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA; faculty report to Board, July, 1831, Matriculation Book; bursar's reports, e.g., 1824–30, WMA; Robert Saunders, Jr., to Joseph Prentis, Oct. 12, 1830, Webb-Prentis Papers, CWF.
53. Faculty report to Board, July 1831, Matriculation Book, WMA.
54. For the election of Mr. Cushing of Hampden-Sydney, see Richmond *Enquirer*, July 12, 1831, and June 5, 1832. See also Herbert C. Bradshaw, *History of Hampden-Sydney College* (Durham: Fisher Harrison, 1976). For Cabell's campaign, see J. C. Cabell to N. F. Cabell, June 5, 1833, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. For the vote on Saunders and Cabell, see Robert G. Scott to Joseph C. Cabell, July 8, 1833, Cabell Family Papers, UVA. For Saunders: Burwell Bassett, Page, Galt, McCandlish, Peachy, and Robins, the last being from Gloucester. For Cabell were Scott, Bishop Moore, John Tyler, Robert Stanard, and Seawell. See also Bruce, *University of Virginia*, 2:176. A few months later, Joseph Cabell wrote, "I am glad he failed at Williamsburg. There are but 15 students now a[t] Wm & Mary. ... The subject of the contest will die away." J. C. Cabell to N. F. Cabell, Dec. 17, 1833, Cabell Family Papers, UVA.
55. Semple was appointed judge of the General Court and of the Superior Court of Law and Chancery in Sept. 1832. Palmer, ed., *Calendar of State Papers*, 10:577.
56. Meade, *Old Churches*, 1:77.
57. Faculty Minutes, June 27, 1828. Dickie Galt was keeper at the insane asylum. James H. Siske, "A History of the Eastern State Hospital of Virginia under the Galt Family" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1949), 36, 38.
58. Annual report. July 1828, Faculty Minutes. During this session there were fifty-four students and forty-six Grammar School scholars. One of the former was expelled.
59. For these and other incidents, see, e.g., Faculty Minutes, Feb. 25, Mar. 26, 1828, Jan. 6, Feb. 13, Mar. 10, 31, Apr. 1, 6, 7, 15, 1829.
60. Faculty Minutes, Dec. 17, 1829.
61. Brubacher and Rudy, *Higher Education*, 42.
62. R. J. Rorabaugh, *The Alcoholic Republic: An American Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1979), 7–10. The peak was 1830.
63. Faculty report to Board. July 1829, Faculty Minutes.
64. The faculty recommended substituting the periodic public examinations, not to be held more than once a month, for the midyear examinations. They also recommended devising some "means of detecting the transgression in its earlier stages or to adopt such a system of precautions as acting mildly but constantly will tend in a great degree to prevent the overt acts now complained of." No specific proposals were advanced, and it is not known if the Society had any in mind. Ibid.
65. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 9, 1830.
66. "Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary in Virginia" (Richmond: Thomas W. White, Printers, 1830), 3–5.
67. This may have been inspired by the punishment sometimes inflicted of having a faculty member censure a student in the presence of the entire class. Faculty Minutes. Jan. 7, 8, 1829.
68. "Laws and Regulations" (1830), 3–4. This may have been the institutionalization of an existing practice. Faculty Minutes, Apr. 6, 1829.
69. "Laws and Regulations" (1830), 3–4. Related to this was another statute prohibiting the steward to serve any wine or liquor, except beer or cider, allow gambling, or allow outsiders to sit at table. He was also to report instances of great indecorum or misbehavior. Ibid., 6. The Board did not attempt to compile a complete list of punishable offenses, but did single out some old familiar ones often proscribed by Visitors in earlier days: dueling, drunkenness, gambling, idleness, frequenting taverns, carrying arms, shooting and making noises.

70. Ibid., 9. The July 4 ball, which had never been a source of trouble, was also sanctioned.
71. Faculty report to Board, July, 1831–35, Matriculation Book, WMA; Faculty Minutes, 1832–60, passim. Unfortunately, the annual faculty reports to the Board for the years 1836–59 have been lost. The faculty minutes fluctuate in comprehensiveness and detail very considerably over the years, but they are still the best index, so far as the writer knows, of student conduct. Collateral sources tend to confirm the generalization about the decline in misbehavior.
72. E.g., "Laws and Regulations" (1837), 8; "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of William and Mary College, Session of 1838–1839" (Petersburg: Printed by the Farmers' Register, 1839), 18; Faculty Minutes, Dec. 17, 1836; Stephen Scott Mansfield, "Thomas Roderick Dew: Defender of the Southern Faith" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1968), 119.
73. Bruce, *University of Virginia*, 2:258–311.
74. Except for the professorship of humanity.
75. "Laws and Regulations" (1830), 7.
76. Thomas Dew, *Lectures on the Restrictive System* (Richmond: Samuel Shepherd and Co., 1829).
77. Faculty Minutes, July 7, 1827. According to a Visitor, Wilmer had objected from the first to the division of the moral philosophy course. John Page to St. George Tucker, Oct. 21, 1826, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
78. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 26, 1829; T. R. Dew to Board of Visitors, July 3, 1830, Dew Papers, WMA; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3 (1923): 165–68. For example, Dew's fees during the 1836–37 session came to $1,342; his salary, of course, was $1,000. Dew Accounts, Matriculation Book, WMA. The average income of professors at UVA in the early 1840s was around $2,300. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:406.
79. Dew to Visitors, July 3, 1830, Dew Papers, WMA. Dew's colleagues wanted to merge history into one of his other courses. Faculty report to Board, July, 1830, Faculty Minutes. For other details, see Stephen Scott Mansfield, “Thomas Roderick Dew … a Main Prop.,” *VMHB* 75 (1967): 431-32.
80. For the straw men put forward by the Society, see its report to Board, July 1830, Faculty Minutes.
81. "Committee of Schools," 14.
82. Ibid., 18; Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 22, 1826.
83. Bruce, *University of Virginia*, 2:180–84.
84. See below for the management of fees.
85. Semple was prevailed upon to give private law lectures for a time after his resignation in 1832. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 16, 1833.
86. Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 269.
87. Faculty report to Board, July 1833, Matriculation Book, WMA.
88. J. S. Chambers, *The Conquest of Cholera, America’s Greatest Scourge* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1938), 78–79; Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia*, 238–39. Washington, D.C., *United States Telegraph*, Nov. 12, 1832, clipping in W. B. Rogers, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA; also Richmond *Enquirer,* Oct. 23, 26, Nov. 16, 1832. Charles E. Rosenberg, *The Cholera Years: The United States in 1832, 1849, and 1866* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) emphasizes New York City, but is useful here in describing the reaction to the appearance of this fearsome disease. For a graphic, firsthand account of cholera in Washington, D.C., see N. P. Trist to ——, S e pt. 9, 1832, Trist Papers, UNC.
89. Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 16, 1832; William Barton Rogers to "Dear Uncle," Nov. 26, 1832, W. B. Rogers Papers, MIT, said the cholera "has not been here."
90. Faculty report to Board, July 1834, Matriculation Book, WMA. This reports four withdrawals

during the academic year. A visitor to Williamsburg puts the number at the end of the session at nine . "Opechancanough," Richmond *Enquirer*, July 11, 1834. The writer was highly critical of the College, but the main point of the letter was political, i.e., the accusation that the July 4 celebration at Williamsburg was mainly a nullifiers' party. For a reply, see "Matapony," Richmond *Enquirer*, July 18, 1834. One of the speakers was Senator John Tyler, a member of the Board.

91. Richmond *Enquirer*, June 27, 1834. Faculty report to Board, July 1834 and July 1835, Matriculation Book, WMA.
92. *Catalogue of Alumni*, 154. The writer has not found any mention of a regular commencement.
93. Edmund Ruffin, one of the new Visitors, in his *Farmers' Register* 6 (1838): 293. For the members elected in 1833, see "Provisional List," 51, 53, 54.
94. Ruffin in *Farmers' Register* 6 (1838): 295. Ruffin claimed that what amounted to selling diplomas was the practice in "most or all northern colleges." In 1830 Dew estimated that no more than one-third to one-half stayed beyond the first year. Dew to Board of Visitors, July 3, 1830, Dew Papers, WMA.
95. "Laws and Regulations" (1835), 14; (1837), 23. A thesis was still required.
96. *Farmers' Register* 6 (1838): 294; Faculty Minutes, Oct. 12, 1847.
97. See below, p. 287. The Board's intention as to classics is inferred from the listing of a department in the 1835 edition of the laws.
98. In particular, besides the University of Virginia, Randolph-Macon, the Virginia Military Institute, Emory and Henry, and Richmond College, the last three of which did not begin granting degrees until the 1840s. Washington College and Hampden-Sydney were, of course, old rivals.
99. Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 269. Enrollments did not exceed 200 until 1905.
100. Bruce, *University of Virginia*, 2:71–72. In a three- or four-year course, some at least of the College's Grammar School students would have been counted.
101. E.g., Ruffin in *Farmers' Register* 6 (1938): 296.
102. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:41–54, 58–59. Cabell's role is inferred from the fact that as early as 1833 Cabell, whom Rogers described as a “very particular friend” (ibid., 103), had notified him of a possible vacancy in 1834 or 1835.
103. Robert Rogers to Henry Rogers, Dec. 6, 1829, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:77–78. Robert was sixteen. All of Patrick Rogers's sons, incidentally, having had the benefit of their father's attentive tutoring, were themselves model students. For James and William, see a report by Ferdinand Campbell, secretary to the Society, to Patrick Rogers, Feb. 23, 1820, W. B. Rogers Papers, MIT. Sketches of the careers of all the sons can be found in the *DAB*.
104. W. B. Rogers to Henry Rogers, Feb. 26, 1830, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:85. For Rogers's eloquence, see Bruce, *University of Virginia*, 2:166–67.
105. "Laws and Regulations" (1830), 12–13.
106. Benjamin Silliman to "My Dear Sir" [almost certainly to Henry Rogers], Dec. 22, 1827; Edward Turner to "My Dear Sir" [Henry Rogers] , Sept. 28, 1834, W. B. Rogers Papers, MIT; Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:106–14.
107. William B. Rogers to Henry Rogers, Nov. 30, Dec. 22, 1834, Jan. 21, Feb. 11 , 27, 1835, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:112–19; *DAB*, s.v. "Rogers, William Barton"; Joseph K. Robert, "William Barton Rogers and His Contribution to the Geology of Virginia," Virginia Geological Survey, *Bulletin 46-C* (University of Virginia, 1936) , 25–28.
108. William B. Rogers to James Rogers, Aug. 14, 1830, June 21, 1832, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:87, 93; Empie, “Journal,” Mar. 16, 1832, Adam Empie Papers, WMM.
109. Empie, “Journal,” Feb. 14, June 1, June 10, all 1829, and passim, Empie Papers, WMM.
110. Empie, “Journal," n.d., but afterJuly 1830, ibid. The figures (salary plus perquisites) were West

Point, $4,000; St. James in Wilmington, $2,700; William and Mary, $2,350. Empie had six living children. See his will, June 3, 1856, executed in Richmond, Empie Papers, WMM.

111. And another near the Brafferton. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 14, 1831; William B. Rogers to James Rogers, Aug. 14, 1830, June 21, 1832, Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:123; [Elizabeth J. Galt] to Mary Tyler Jones, Apr. 25, 1836, Galt Family Papers, WMM.

112. Empie biographical sketch, Empie, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 1:123. Empie had originally intended to return to North Carolina. R. C. Moore to Adam Empie, Apr. 28, June 7, 1836, Moore Letterbooks (typescript), VTS.

113. Faculty Minutes, Nov. 9, 1835. Only 4,320 acres remained of the more than 20,000 once owned by the College.

4

CITADEL OF SOUTHERNISM
1836–1846

Defender of the Faith: Thomas Roderick Dew

The session of 1836–37 opened on Monday, October 10, with an address by William and Mary's new president.[1] Much of it was conventional, sketching the course of studies in the different "schools," exhorting the students to work hard, go to church, and avoid the evils of gambling, extravagance, and drink.[2] President Dew took great care to proclaim the supreme importance of studying politics and morals.[3] Such training was especially necessary at this juncture in history, he said, when the South and slavery were coming under ever more alarming attacks. A knowledge of these subjects would teach them how to be good masters and to be secure in the conviction that their cause was just should the "demon of fanaticism" at last "array its thousands of deluded victims against us." So prepared, they would "stand firm and resolute as the Spartan band at Thermopylae."[4]

As Dew was aware, the Spartans were wiped out at Thermopylae. His use of this discouraging illustration may have been an unconscious reflection of his apocalyptic vision of the future, for abolition fanaticism was only one symptom of the "fearful changes" that threatened "the destiny of the world. … Monarchists and democrats, conservatives and radicals, whigs and tories, agrarians and aristocrats, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, are all now in the great field of contention. What will be the result of this awful conflict, none can say."[5] Although he did not say so on this occasion, he saw looming on the horizon a vast industrialized, urbanized society that would create a huge propertyless proletariat. Class war and a new Reign of Terror lay at the end of that road.[6]

The president concluded by urging the students to draw inspiration from their surroundings, such as the capitol, where the great men of the Revolution had once gathered (a capitol which, suggestively, had been a blackened ruin for several years), just as Edward Gibbon had been inspired to chronicle the decline and fall of Rome by contemplating the shattered remains of the Forum.[7] Allusions to Thermopylae and the fall of Rome may have been more chilling than invigorating to the young gentlemen, but they were surely prophetic. Not too many years later, it would be possible for those students who had survived to return to Williamsburg and, like Gibbon's learned Poggius on the Capitoline, sit amid the crumbling remains of the College and ponder the fall of the society that Dew had hoped William and Mary would teach them to honor and defend.

Thomas Roderick Dew's ten-year presidency is traditionally regarded as a sort of golden age for William and Mary. The College community was relatively harmonious, matriculations rose to new levels, and finances were at least reasonably stable. Above all, these years are remembered as a time when the fame of the old school was illuminated by the abilities of Dew and Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, who made it an intellectual bastion of the South's world view and way of life. Dew and Tucker manned the battlements and defied the growing menace from the North. Nat Turner's massacre, the Nullification crisis, an accelerating conflict of sectional economic interests, and the emergence of militant evangelical abolitionism made an increasing number of Southerners acutely conscious of their dwindling political influence and the growing power of their adversaries. Mainly through fear of what the future might bring, they chose the fork in the road leading to the affirmation of Southern perfection[8] and an uncompromising defense of a doomed social system. Dew and Tucker were prominent figures in this pilgrimage to oblivion.

Dew had joined the struggle well before his election as president. As mentioned earlier, in 1829 he had published his lectures on free trade. Some of his central ideas coincided with and probably owed much to those of John C. Calhoun's famous Exposition of 1828, a denunciation of the Tariff of Abominations as ultimately fatal to the planting economy as well as an unconstitutional oppression of the Southern minority. Dew cited the Exposition and echoed its advocacy of free trade and minority rights.[9]

Almost simultaneously the youthful scholar was becoming a well-known and energetic proponent of state-financed roads, canals, and railroads: internal improvements as they were then called.[10] In Virginia the subject was deeply divisive, pitting east against west, the former, with its deep tidal rivers, not wishing to be taxed for the benefit of the latter, which strongly favored improving the means of transportation. Tied to the issue was the question of the east's overrepresentation in the legislature, which in turn involved slavery, since slaves were counted in determining representation. Voter qualifications, that is, white manhood suffrage versus a property basis, were still another point of dispute. All of these came up in the constitutional convention of 1829–30, which heard western threats of breaking away and forming a separate state.[11]

Dew came from a Tidewater slave-owning family,[12] and so his championing of internal improvements was idiosyncratic. He had little success in winning over his section to the cause. Nevertheless, he made himself known as a man with formidable intellectual powers, thus guaranteeing a respectful hearing for his views at a critical moment in Virginia's history.

That moment came in the wake of the celebrated debates in the House of Delegates during the 1831–32 session concerning the possible abolition of slavery in Virginia. The precipitating event was the Nat Turner revolt in Southampton County in August 1831, during which a rampaging band of blacks killed scores of whites, mostly women and children.[13] Although quickly repressed, the bloody outbreak provoked a contest that divided the state along much the same geographical lines as had emerged in the recent convention. Many of the same arguments were common to both gatherings, but this time the pivot was slavery. Nothing quite like this had ever occurred before: a full and free debate in the legislature of the largest slaveholding state as to whether or not to adopt a plan of emancipation.[14]

No discussion of the proceedings is possible here, of course. The final outcome was what one historian has called "the triumph of caution" in the form of a resolution conceding "the great evils arising from the condition of the colored population of this commonwealth," but concluding that "further action for the removal of the slaves should await a more definite development of public opinion."[15]

In the meantime Dew had been considering writing about the issues ventilated in the debates. He was encouraged to do so by Governor John Floyd, an ardent proponent of internal improvements who had won the young professor's admiration and gratitude. The governor feared "a sensation" had been produced that would "require great delicacy and caution in touching, and I am sure none can do so with more skill than yourself."[16] At nearly the same time, Joseph C. Cabell, president of the James River Canal Company and a member of the legislature, was urging Dew and William Barton Rogers to use their talents to advance the cause of internal improvements. Dew complained that he did not have the time, but Cabell predicted that he would be "persuaded to overcome" that objection.[17] The result of these various considerations was the *Review of the Debates of the Virginia Legislature of 1831–1832*,[18] a work with a dual purpose.

Over the years many have regarded the criticism of slavery during these debates both as a reflection of the fading afterglow of Revolutionary idealism and, because of the legislature's failure to act, as a symptom of the South's growing commitment to a society in which slavery was a permanent, organic element. Certainly the attacks on slavery the debates contained helped to inspire a systematic justification of slavery, a school of proslavery sociology of which Dew was one of the founders, at least inadvertently.[19]

The route by which he arrived at this point in his career is interesting, if to some degree conjectural. During his tour of Europe in the mid-1820s, Dew had met the lady known as "the black princess," the widow of Christophe, king of Haiti. When slavery came up in their conversations, Dew referred to it as a "great opprobrium of our country." In his diary he said it was "a subject most sore and galling to the Americans," though it was perhaps their duty "to offer … those apologies which his country can certainly lay claim to, for after all she is not without her defense."[20] Even more remarkable was what Dew wrote in one of a series of unsigned articles on internal improvements published early in 1832 at the height of the attacks on slavery in the legislature. Slavery, said he, was "that most dreadful curse of the fairest portion of our most happy land." As for the innate capacity of the black race for civilization, "Judging from primeval ages we should come to the conclusion, that they formed the most intelligent of the different species of man." Egypt, "this boasted land of primeval ages[,] was inhabited by a black race with wooly heads."[21]

Yet only a few months after the ink had dried on these pages, Dew had begun writing the *Review* that would, according to Eugene Genovese, sweep the South and prepare the way "for a broad consensus." More than anyone else, perhaps excepting John C. Calhoun, he "built an intellectual bridge over which southern intellectuals could cross from the world of Thomas Jefferson to that of the proslavery extremists of the 1850s."[22]

The *Review* is clearly written, closely reasoned, occasionally vehement, and sometimes ambivalent. Here no more can be done than to set forth some of its salient features. Its arguments fall roughly into three categories: philosophical, historical, and practical.

In common with much of nineteenth century Western thought, Dew broke from the Enlightenment's assertion that all men were entitled to the same rights, those rights of life, liberty, and property that Locke's right reason deduced God must have given men in a state of nature. On the contrary, Dew, "in erring reason's spite," agreed with Alexander Pope's "whatever is, is right," that all "partial evil" is really "universal good."[23] "All of the laws of matter, every principle, and even passion of man, when rightly understood, demonstrate the general benevolence of the Deity, even in this world." If there is evil, it is incidental to the happiness that is "always the main design." This was true of the great subject of debate, slavery, which had been perhaps the "principal means of impelling forward the civilization of mankind."[24]

The author expounded at length upon the civilizing and ameliorative effects of slavery. Even now there are miserable multitudes legally free, he said, who would happily exchange their lot with that of the Southern slave. He did not, as George Fitzhugh would do thirty years later, hold up domestic slavery as the ideal social system. He seemed to leave ajar, or at least unlocked, the door to eventual emancipation. With respect to the South, the "evil" that was "the growth of *ages*, may require *ages* to remove."[25] Examples of premature emancipation came not only from societies using black slaves, but from eastern Europe. "Liberty has been the heaviest curse to the slave, when given too soon. …"[26]

These hints at eventual emancipation had a ring of abstraction where Virginia slaves were concerned: "The time for emancipation has not yet arrived, and perhaps it never will."[27] Was it because these particular slaves were black? Like Jefferson, Dew does not make a definitive case for innate racial inferiority. Although he believed blacks to be inferior, his statements on this point can be read as blaming the inferiority on a lower degree of civilization. Given his belief, stated only a few months before, about the black, woolly-headed masters of ancient Egypt, one could infer that Dew had not yet decided that racial differences precluded blacks from attaining a high degree of civilization. Even when he said that whites were "acknowledged to be the superior race both by law and custom," he said no more than Abraham Lincoln would say in his debates with Stephen A. Douglas.[28] After attempting conscientiously to synthesize dozens of references to this subject in the *Review*, this writer can only conclude that Dew either had not made up his mind or that he deliberately sidestepped the question.

As for the morality of slavery, Dew repeatedly called it an evil. Britain, not America, had to bear the "original sin" of forcing upon the colonies an "evil" that had become "interwoven with [the South's] social system."[29] "We have to deal with an evil which is the growth of centuries … ; which has existed under different modifications since man was man."[30] While denying that there was anything in either the Old or New Testament "which would go to show that slavery, when once introduced, ought at all events to be abrogated, or that the master commits any offence in holding slaves," he admitted that slavery was "against the spirit of Christianity."[31] He especially condemned the trans-Atlantic slave trade as "a violation of the principles of humanity" and agreed that "slavery in our hemisphere was based upon injustice in the first instance."[32]

There was virtual unanimity among the emancipationists in the legislature that freedom and removal must go hand in hand.[33] From Jefferson and Madison to Clay and Lincoln, colonization of blacks outside the United States was seen as a necessity because of ingrained and ineradicable race prejudice. Therefore, Dew could take that stipulation as axiomatic in Virginia. He needed to do no more than to prove that plans already advanced for compensated emancipation and colonization were utterly impracticable. This he did prove.[34] There were some delegates who suggested that the cost could be held down by not compensating slaveholders, at least in full. Dew became very exercised in his denunciation of this "most dangerous of all the wild doctrines advanced by the abolitionists in the Virginia … , *that property is the creature of civil society, and is subject to action,* even destruction."[35] To the contrary, the "great object of government is the protection of property," for the "strong and unjust man in a state of nature robs the weaker, and you establish government to prevent this oppression."[36] That property rights were anterior and thus superior to government was, of course, an idea with a long pedigree, although Dew did not invoke Locke or John Taylor of Caroline or even his old teacher, John Augustine Smith. And obviously Dew radically departed from Locke when he assumed that the natural right to property included the right to own slaves. He had already identified the institution of private property as "a very fruitful source of slavery," and one might easily conclude that for him slavery was a necessary element in civil society—at least for Virginia and the South.[37]

The syllogism was clear. Everyone conceded that abolition without removal was impossible; uncompensated emancipation was unthinkable; the cost of compensated emancipation and colonization was unbearable. Therefore, emancipation and the reduction of the black population could not be achieved by the visionary schemes presented to the legislature. But there was an answer. Internal improvements were the "great *panacea* by which most of the ills which now weigh down upon the State may be removed."[38] Without the historical or philosophical freight which attracted most of the attention then and since, Dew's essay would have been recognized for what it was, a tract promoting internal improvements.

In what might be called the *Review*'s peroration, Dew tried to use the excitement generated by the slavery debates in conjunction with long-standing state divisions over apportionment, voting qualifications, and expenditures for internal improvements by offering the last as a comprehensive solution. He told the antislavery westerners to give up their costly plans of abolition and instead devote public revenues to building the canals and railroads that would so greatly benefit their part of the state. In turn, Tidewater citizens, so fearful of attacks on slavery, would give up their opposition to internal improvements. Then, as the social and economic configuration of the state changed, white emigration would be succeeded by immigration. At the same time, the black population would decline with the growth of towns, changes in the system of agriculture, and better opportunities for investment than slaveholding offered. Virginia would follow the example of Maryland, which was rapidly becoming a nonslaveholding state.[39] "Time and internal improvement," he assured his fellow Virginians, "will cure all our ills, and speed on the Old Dominion more rapidly in wealth and prosperity."[40]

So the essay that has been regarded as a premier proslavery dissertation was something rather different. It was instead an argument for Virginia to protect the rights of slaveholders and eventually get rid of the blacks by becoming more like the North.[41]

The *Review* attracted the attention of a wide range of readers, among them two former presidents, John Quincy Adams and James Madison. The latter, long a member of the American Colonization Society, told Dew that he had overestimated the damaging effects of the tariff on Virginia's economy and underestimated those of slavery. He appreciated the professor's powerful statement of the difficulties facing colonization and agreed that emancipation must be accompanied by removal, but something might still be accomplished, and even failure would be sanctified by its proof of "laudable intentions." As for Adams, he wrote that the *Review* deserved "grave meditation," and saw in Dew's pages a portent of coming disunion, war, and abolition.[42] Adverse reactions to the *Review* in Virginia came largely from colonizationists.[43] The effects of Dew's case for internal improvements are difficult to estimate. In 1833 the legislature reorganized the James River Canal Company, now the James River and Kanawha Company, into a joint-stock company and surrendered the state's interest in the former to the latter, with the prospect of future public appropriations based on matching private investments.[44] It is not known how much Dew's arguments may have facilitated this or subsequent legislation on internal improvements.

With respect to the *Review*'s long-term significance, the work came to be regarded as "a standard, unquestioned source of pro-slavery arguments" and Dew's chief claim to fame.[45] This was rather ironic, for the author was primarily interested in economics; his later writings dealt mainly with banking, regulation of interest, state debts, price theory, and so forth.[46] True, these topics usually had a constitutional or social significance and often bore on the sanctity of property and fear of consolidated political power, two matters of central importance to him. These concerns in tum sprang from a fundamental desire to protect the Southern minority against the Northern majority, all of which necessarily required the defense of slavery. Had Dew focused on the peculiar institution, and especially if he had lived into the 1850s, he probably would have ended up with both feet in the "positive good" camp. He did, in fact, move from his position on race, which was still uncertain in 1832, to subscribe explicitly to the theory of innate racial differences. Those woolly-headed blacks who he once believed had built ancient Egypt now turned out to be people who were instead "*dark brown* with *curly hair*." In Egypt "negroes were always subjects and slaves." Europeans had come to dominate the world in the nineteenth century because of their intellectual superiority. "The Caucasian or the *white race* … seems to be a superior race. It is proved so by [the] uniform testimony of history, and other races seem intellectual in proportion to [their] likeness to [the] European, e. g., [the] races of Asia and Africa."[47]

Dew's reputation advanced sufficiently in the wake of the *Review* to elicit an invitation from South Carolina College to accept a newly created chair of political economy and history, subjects formerly taught by Thomas Cooper, to whose earlier writings Dew may well have been indebted for many of the ideas found in the *Review*. Dew's nomination was probably the work of his old friend and fellow defender of slavery, William Harper, then a member of the Board of Trustees. Dew declined the offer, however, as he would one from the University of Virginia eleven years later. Although he seems to have been tempted by the latter, the ties of friendship, family, and a genuine affection for William and Mary decided the question for him.[48]

Defender of the Faith: Nathaniel Beverly Tucker

Standing shoulder to shoulder with Dew in his defiance of the Yankee foe was Nathaniel Beverley Tucker. Since 1834 he had held the chair of law, which after the resignation of his father a generation before, had been filled by several lackluster successors. Tucker's own studies of the law under his father's tutelage had produced less than brilliant results. Nor did he find rewarding his years of practice in Charlotte County, where he settled in order to be near his half brother, John Randolph of Roanoke. His relationship with this talented eccentric was close, though sometimes troubled, and helps to explain how he came to abandon the Jeffersonian principles of St. George Tucker for the Burkeianism of Randolph.[49]

Tucker was discouraged by the dim prospects offered by a country law practice. He associated his own lack of success with the steady decline of Virginia's prosperity and the loss of its once preeminent political position in the nation. The glory days of the Revolution were gone, and he was in distinguished company when he yearned for that glittering but fast-fading heroic age. Such were the considerations that led him to emigrate to Missouri. There he not only would try to achieve the personal recognition he believed he deserved, but he would attempt to found a settlement of Virginia planters and re-create a model of Virginia as she had been in her grander days—a city on a hill to preserve in a new Virginia the society he saw so rapidly vanishing in the old.[50]

Missouri did not become Virginia, of course, and Tucker never seemed fully at home on the frontier. The loss of two wives and two children was assuaged by a third marriage, this time to Lucy Smith, twenty-eight years his junior, the daughter of another Virginia expatriate.[51] Even this happy outcome and a modicum of professional success could not cut the ties that, almost in spite of himself, bound him to his home and his country. All the while he watched gloomily the rise of the demagoguery which he attributed to the demise of a property-based franchise and the mounting assault on all things Southern. He brooded on what might be done to stem the tide.

Then in 1832 came the Nullification controversy. To Tucker it seemed to promise a regenerative crisis, perhaps a Southern nation, and when an ill and aging John Randolph wrote "*Come to me*,"[52] Tucker returned to offer his sword, so to speak, in the spirit of those chivalric Cavaliers of yore he so much admired. The outcome was anticlimactic. The crisis passed, then Randolph died. Meanwhile, Tucker had moved his family to Virginia, planning to live once again near Randolph and practice law.[53] Then, while

Tucker was visiting Richmond, Professor Dew arrived and delivered him a notice from the Board of Visitors dated July 7, 1834, notifying him of his election to the chair of law. He received the news with little enthusiasm. Although he promptly accepted, he probably intended to move back to Missouri in a year or two. But he did not. In his father's chair and his father's house he would stay until his death seventeen years later.[54]

Tucker was a complex man, emotionally and intellectually. Fifty years old in 1834, he had been a lawyer, a judge, a dabbler in practical politics, and a planter. He would go on to be a novelist, essayist, and one of the stars in the proslavery firmament, all the while teaching law at the College. Tucker was not a systematic thinker. His political, social, and legal ideas contained inconsistencies that were never fully resolved. He urged South Carolina to secede and wrote a novel, *The Partisan Leader*,[55] prophesying a Southern nation, and yet a few years later spoke of "our cherished union," and in the end he yearned to be remembered as the founder of a "glorious Southern Confederacy." He accepted, at times, the concept of a state of nature and the compact theory of government, and yet maintained that society antedated government.[56]

Slavery, Tucker believed, was the basis for all Southern institutions. It arose from innate racial differences, which were God's will. The differences were complementary and had been of immeasurable benefit to both races. Although he refused to justify the origins of American slavery, he would discuss it *in esse*, as part of something that had always existed everywhere and was rooted in original sin. At the same time he hinted that it was an evil which, if it had not existed, should not have been instituted.[57] "It is not for *us* to do evil that good may come. … But when it is accomplished, shall we reject it? When the price has been paid and cannot be recalled; when God has been pleased to overrule the evil to his own good purposes, shall we cast away the benefit?"[58] So Tucker, like Dew, passed the buck to God.

History taught Tucker that societies that once tasted of liberty moved in cycles. After liberty came leveling democracy, with its demagogues and corruption, followed by anarchy, then military dictatorship. From this some enlightened ruler might create an aristocracy of virtue, but that would only degenerate into a struggle for power and wealth, with the monarch siding with the people to crush the nobility. Then only the monarch would remain, and the abuses intrinsic in despotism would lead to revolution and the completion of the cycle with the rebirth of liberty.[59] But cycles did not fit well with linear progress toward ultimate good. God needed some help.

Our task, wrote Tucker, is to discover what form of government is best for man's happiness and then to "devise some means to counter-act that tendency to change." We must find a way of "checking the car of destiny in its fatal career, and postponing the evil day when the history of liberty and happiness in Virginia shall but furnish school-boy's theories in distant lands."[60] Tucker would put a spoke in the Almighty's wheel, or at least apply the brake, to save what remained of the perfect society that had once blessed the Old Dominion. One must repel attacks from without by those already in the grip of the second phase of history's cycle and put down impulses from within, such as universal manhood suffrage, that were threatening to revolve the wheel of fate in Virginia.

What was to be saved and revivified was a society of communities guided by a gentry of talent and breeding, acting on the principle of noblesse oblige, as their Cavalier forebears had done. The component parts of these communities would be the patriarchal family and household, including masters and slaves bound together by mutual affection, by benevolent care and protection on one side and devoted obedience on the other.[61]

This was how Tucker saw the life he lived, there in his father's house in Williamsburg, this little village in the mellow afternoon of life, where shopkeepers extended slaves credit with trust as the only collateral, where slaves were bound together in holy wedlock by the Episcopal priest in Bruton Parish Church, with their white families and friends in attendance, and parties to follow in an evening of "festive hilarity."[62] David Strother, a young artist from western Virginia, visited Williamsburg in 1849 and left a memorable record of Tucker's world. He and Richard Randolph, a relative and friend of Tucker, resisted the judge's pressing invitation to move from a local tavern and stay in his home, but they did accept his invitation to take tea with him in the evening. There amidst the ancient oaken furniture, with ancestral portraits gazing down upon them, they met Mrs. Tucker and her children, the eldest being the pretty seventeen-year-old Cynthia, "easy and confiding in manners and sweetly accomplished in music … petted and idolized by her father without being spoiled." After supper they adjourned to the "cozy sitting room," which is still cozy, by the way. There several College students joined them, and the evening began:

> The Professor was genial and courtly in his manners to all, and conversed as few men could talk even in Old Virginia. Anon an elegant old negro servant entered with hot whisky punch in silver service. We sipped and talked and talked and sipped and the glow of social sentiment grew warmer as the evening progressed. I observed meanwhile that while our genial host grew more and more eloquent, the supply of punch in our silver goblets never diminished and never cooled off. The grey-headed Ganymede seemed to possess a sleight of filling unseen as our cups were drained.
>
> The antique mantle clock tingled its silver bells unheeded by us. The law students one after another arose and with bows and compliments departed. Cynthia then rose, kissed her father, and gracefully bid goodnight to his guests. We were discussing Virginia—her tradition and great men—a mellow and engaging theme. Tucker had shaken hands with Washington and dined with John Hancock. So we lingered until Randolph nodded and signed drowsily to me it was time to go. We rose with apologies for the late hour. Our knees were weak and shaky—our tongues were thick in murmuring the intended compliments. The Professor gracefully waved his hand to the "Major Domo." This ancient had already taken up two silver candlesticks with lights. We followed dreamily into the hall, where were our coats and hats. The front door was already locked. "Here they are, Gentlemen. This way." We meek and unquestioning followed the lights to the end of the hall and at the foot of the stairway. Still no coats and

> hats. “Up this way, Gentlemen.” We followed him up dreamily. ”Yours are here, Sir,” said the conductor handing me the light as I passed into the door of a richly furnished chamber. “A good night Sir. This way Mr. Randolph.” I stood bewildered and alone. There was my coat and hat hanging near a luxuriously covered bed. There also was my trunk and valise, and there on the hearth and mantle were all my shells and botanical specimens, neatly arranged as in a museum. “Leave your boots at the door, if you please, Sir,” said Ganymede, blandly peeping once more into the door. “A pleasant rest. … ” After a night of dreamless and refreshing sleep we rose and met at breakfast without an allusion on either side to the transfer, and feeling as much at home as if we had been born inmate[s] of the family. … We remained at Tucker’s several days and left steeped in dreamy traditions and lubricated with the most graceful and engaging hospitality the world can afford.[63]

David Strother’ s impressions accord perfectly with the recollections of one of Tucker’s colleagues who came to know him well during the last years of his life and agreed with him on scarcely any subject.[64] Silas Totten, born and educated in upstate New York, believed that slavery originated “in ignorance or disregard of human rights,” was perpetuated by necessity, and that about all one could do after so many years was to make it as beneficial to both races as was possible.[65] In 1862, when a resident of Iowa, he looked back on his Williamsburg years and concluded that even the most radical of abolitionists would have excused Tucker’s defense of slavery if they could have seen the institution as it was in the judge’s household:

> He had some 20 slaves—men, women, and children—about his house and garden who were made as happy as dependents could possibly be. Every want was attended to. He was as courteous and polite to his servants as to his equals and took great care never to wound their feelings, thinking it especially mean to insult or abuse those who could not resent it. It was a beautiful sight to contemplate when he came from his room usually about ten o’clock in the morning and walked around his premises to see his servants at their several occupations. His long flowing gray hair, his handsome and venerable countenance beaming with benevolence, his cordial good morning to all reminded one of the patriarchs of Old. Slavery under such a master seemed no bondage and was not felt to be such. They never spoke of him but with veneration nor seemed for a moment to distrust either his wisdom or his goodness.[66]

However romantically unreal they may sound to the late twentieth century, these few lines by David Strother and Silas Totten vividly reveal the essential meaning of all that Tucker wrote, said, and taught. They depict the old Virginia as Tucker saw it, the way of life he cherished, the society he defended with all his heart. He would have liked the inscription on the gravestone erected after the war in the churchyard of Bruton Parish. It began, "Descended from Virginia's best blood, Judge Tucker was by birth, and training, a gentleman of the old school."[67]

Professors of the Golden Age

While Dew and Tucker were making themselves known as defenders of the faith, they and their colleagues had students to teach and a college to run. Tucker had to revive a law course that had been virtually nonexistent after Judge Semple's departure. William and Mary's priority in this discipline had become a thing of the distant past. Harvard, Columbia, Yale, the University of Virginia, and the University of Maryland, among others, had law schools, often headed by judges and scholars of great repute. The general trend in such programs was to make the study of law more professional. Harvard and Yale, it has been said, "were in the highly competitive business of teaching occupational skills."[68] There were, moreover, tendencies to see the law from a nationalist point of view.

Tucker was not part of this developing mainstream. He did not look for similarities in the laws of the various states; he concentrated on Virginia laws and cases and on the common law, which was unique to each state and thus a bulwark of liberty and states' rights. And he told his students in his introductory lecture that he was not there to train mere practitioners, but to make statesmen.[69] He did not, of course, neglect the practical. Like his predecessors, he held a moot court. It was a serious exercise in research and pleading. The court was not intended as an arena for youthful courtroom histrionics, he warned prospective students. "It presents nothing to vanity or ambition, and is a dry, severe and practical task."[70]

His lectures on the Constitution were the high point of the course.[71] They hinged on such sacred texts as Madison's Report of 1800, that classic defense against the usurpation of undelegated powers by the federal government. "The Virginia School of Political Science and Constitutional Law is the School of William and Mary."[72] Thus spake the judge. Both the course and Tucker himself were popular with students.[73] He might not have been very systematic, said one who had studied with him, but his reasoning was cogent and was "happily illustrated by bold and striking figures, which adorn his conversation as well as his lectures." The secret of his success was his close association with his students and "his conversational mode of lecturing," which inspired "a taste for study and an ambition for distinction." Many successful young men were greatly in their old professor's debt.[74]

When Dew became president, he turned over to Tucker his "Junior Political Class," a study of the law of nations with Vattel as the text. This left Dew with moral philosophy and the senior political course. The former included Dew's history lectures; the latter, despite its title, was mainly concerned with economics and used as readings Dew's essays on free trade, slavery, and so forth.[75] Without being charismatic, he was a popular and able teacher. One former student remembered "how interesting Prof. Dew was in general conversation and in the classroom. A question would be asked pertinent to the day's lesson, and Prof. Dew would unwind his long legs, with his hand plaster down his curly red hair, and rising, exclaim, 'An intelligent question, young gentleman. I am glad you are thinking.' Then the delightful answer was forthcoming. Prof. Dew's chief attraction as teacher and lecturer was his bracing, invigorating manner of thought and speech. The boys would forget to take notes lest they miss his elusive facial expressions or the fascinating flow of words."[76]

In his inaugural address, Dew warmly recommended to the students the "school of engineering, lately established by the visitors."[77] The school existed in the person of John Millington, a worthy successor to William Barton Rogers, who had entered upon his duties in February of 1836. Born in London in 1779, this gentleman was remarkable for his capacity for hard work, versatility, and wide experience. He had attended Oxford, taken a law degree in the Temple, studied medicine under the famous Sir Astley Cooper, lectured at the Royal Institution of Great Britain, Guy's Hospital, and the University of London, and had helped to found the London Mechanics Institute. For twenty-five years he also worked as a civil engineer. In 1829 Millington left England to become chief engineer at a British-owned silver mine in Mexico. This was a mistake, and after about a year and a half he departed for the United States intending to return to England. As it happened, he settled in Philadelphia and tried to make a living as a vendor of scientific equipment and as an engineer for a company attempting to mine gold in northern Virginia. While in Philadelphia he heard of Rogers's departure from William and Mary. Armed with a recommendation from Joseph Henry of the Smithsonian Institution, he was elected professor of chemistry, natural philosophy, and civil engineering.[78] The last subject was one whose time was coming in an undeveloped economy with few trained engineers and an urgent need for better transportation—roads, canals, bridges, railroads—and Millington intended to train his students for such projects. For some reason, the course never caught on, perhaps because the great majority of William and Mary students came from farms in areas where internal improvements were not a pressing necessity, or perhaps because engineering required a certain minimum competency in mathematics. The course at best had few students; after three years it had none and disappeared from the schedule, although it remained in the catalogue for some time afterward.[79]

The energetic Millington also offered a course in medicine that attracted a few students in the mid-1840s.[80] Without access to an urban hospital in which to study diseases and surgery, or a steady supply of cadavers for the study of anatomy, the scope of the course was necessarily limited. The professor did some doctoring himself. The scanty record of his years in Williamsburg shows him concocting sarsaparilla syrup for Mr. Bassett, tending young Mr. Barziza's broken arm, and helping Mr. Beale through a serious respiratory attack.[81] He seems to have had an interest in an apothecary shop that his son Thomas and young Dr. James Griffin opened on Duke of Gloucester Street in 1840. As if that were not enough, the Millingtons also took in boarders at the George Wythe house, which the professor had purchased.

Most of Millington's time, however, was spent in teaching chemistry and natural philosophy. The experimental apparatus was inadequate, so he built and bought much of what was needed, spending thousands of dollars of his own money.[82] His students (who called him “Old Yoss” because of his English pronunciation of “yes”) appreciated his efforts on their behalf. When a Richmond paper reported on the number of lectures, speeches, and experiments by Yale’s Professor Benjamin Silliman over a period of six years, they replied in a published letter showing that Professor Millington had done about ten times as much in three years as Silliman had done in six: ‘”Virginia is not therefore outdone.”[83]

Although sometimes feeling overworked and regretting his isolation from the world of science, Millington settled very comfortably into Williamsburg society.[84] He was simple, honest, and straightforward. His fondness for children was well known, and despite his age he liked to “get down on all fours in his parlor, to play bear for them, or to let them ride on his back.” He was thoroughly loveable and was beloved by all ages.[85]

The decision by the Board in the mid-1830s to emphasize advanced classical studies was accompanied by the phasing out of the Grammar School. Enrollments in the former did not keep pace with the shrinkage of the latter, inducing the professor of humanity, Dabney Browne, to seek greener pastures as headmaster of an academy in Brunswick County.[86] Browne’s departure may have been one of the hoped-for results of the reform. Dew wished to fill the position, as he told William Barton Rogers, “with a much more efficient scholar than our old friend Mr. Browne, who is pretty much like the old steamboat Columbia on the North River, going at the rate of 4 miles an hour. And the best of the joke was, you know, that Browne swore to the last, that all other systems of teaching besides his own, was [*sic*] d——*humbug*.”[87]

The classics chair was vacant during the session of 1841–42. According to one account, the Visitors preferred to fill it with a Southerner, and if one could not be found, a Northerner or an Englishman, but they decidedly did not want an Irishman or a German.[88] A German got the job nonetheless, one whose credentials were so overpowering that he was chosen from thirty or more applicants. Charles Frederick Ernest Minnegerode, son of the president of the Hesse-Darmstadt Superior Court, had found himself caught up in seditious activities while a student at the University of Giessen. After some eighteen months in a cell and more time under close house arrest, young Minnegerode emigrated to the United States. Landing in Philadelphia in 1839, knowing no one, the refugee managed to find employment teaching ancient and modem languages.[89]

This new colleague impressed Dew as the most thorough classical scholar he had ever met. His letters were overwhelming, and he seemed to be “a very amiable little gentleman.”[90] Although bred to the Lutheran church, Minnegerode joined the crowd, became an Episcopalian, and then an ordained priest. He would later be rector of St. Paul’s, the denomination’s premier church in Richmond, where he remained for thirty-three years. The Reverend Minnegerode never shook off his heavy accent, summoning the faithful sonorously, “Let us bray!” His conversion has been attributed to Mary Carter, the pious young lady he married in 1843. It was clearly a love match. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker complained of the infatuated couple shortly before the nuptials, “But really if they cannot break themselves of thinking there is nobody in the world but Mary and Cha-a-a rles (as she calls him) I could not bear to live in the same house with them."[91] The Tuckers had taken Minnegerode under their wing and looked upon him as a member of the family, nicknaming him "Minck." It was for the benefit of the Tucker children that he introduced the Christmas tree into Williamsburg during his first year at the College.[92]

The little Hessian was rather taken aback when he discovered how much time he would have to spend teaching beginning Latin and Greek, courses that had been the business of the Grammar School, but he soon developed a liking for this level of instruction. In addition, during his tenure the study of the higher classics rose to a very respectable standard for the times, fully equal, it was claimed, to that prevailing at the University of Virginia.[93]

The fifth member of the faculty during Dew's presidency, and destined to succeed Dew briefly, was Robert Saunders, professor of mathematics. His appointment in 1833, when with the backing of the Williamsburg members of the Board he beat out young Cabell, has been described. He and his family were very much of the old guard in town and College affairs, and during his career Saunders himself at one time or another was city councilman, state senator, mayor, president of the College, and president of the board of directors of Eastern Lunatic Asylum. In politics he was, to put it mildly, conservative. Some spoke of him as a possible candidate for Congress in 1844, but Dew predicted he would not be picked because he had spoken so indiscreetly of his aversion to democracy and preference for monarchy. Tucker was said to have had great respect for his intelligence, and he seems to have been well-thought-of by students.[94] According to Cynthia Tucker, Saunders was "an accomplished gentleman. Of him it is told that when finger bowls were first introduced that a gentleman at his table seized upon the one at his plate and quaffed off the water. In a moment, before the ghost of a smile could flicker around the table Mr. Saunders was holding his own bowl to his lips and when he replaced it on the table his guests were in their normal condition."

These, then, were the men of the College's golden age. Comparisons can be odious, but surely the faculty's level of intelligence, scholarship, and ability never stood higher, if as high, than during the decade of Dew's presidency. And whatever else these men accomplished, their teaching came first and their students knew it. From the standpoint of the academic world of the late twentieth century, this alone is enough to give these years their golden hue.

The Quest for Public Funding

Unfortunately, scholarly and pedagogical achievements did not translate into money, either private gifts or public funds. In December 1836 the Board of Visitors submitted a petition to the legislature asking for help. It began with a rather pathetic recounting of the College's steady loss of tax revenue since the Revolution, until finally the legislature had taken from it the last pittance of public support, a share of surveyors' fees. The College had done its best, said the Visitors, and had indeed done well in the face of adversity, yet its annual income was regularly exhausted by the barest necessities. Nothing remained for repairs or additions to the buildings or for additional professorships, especially a much-needed one in modem languages. William and Mary's "only aspiration" was to do "the greatest good to the greatest number," and so it now asked for financial help, and for permission to establish a medical school in Richmond, something that the physicians of the city had urged upon the Board.[95] The College also petitioned the legislature to pay a long-overdue debt of £2,013.8.3 that stemmed from a default by the colony's treasurer shortly before the Revolution.[96]

The House of Delegates passed a bill for the medical school, but the Senate returned it with an amendment that would have made such a school independent of William and Mary. Thereupon, Robert McCandlish, member of the Board and a delegate from Williamsburg, James City, and York County, objected to the amendment on constitutional grounds. Mr. Joseph Watkins, who thought the school should be in Norfolk, said there was no time to debate constitutional issues and moved to postpone indefinitely, which was done.[97] There were doubtless those who welcomed the loss of the bill because they believed that a medical school in the capital should be part of the University of Virginia, not the College.[98] In 1838, incidentally, Hampden-Sydney College opened a medical school in Richmond and within a few years, obtained support from both the city and the state. In 1854 the legislature severed the school's connection with Hampden-Sydney, and it was on its way to becoming the Medical College of Virginia.[99]

The proposal to make a "donation" to compensate the College for the pre-Revolutionary debt was likewise indefinitely postponed.[100] McCandlish brought it up again the next year. The petition was sent to the state auditor, who was to report to the House of Delegates in 1839. He did, and the College got nothing. Unhappily, it had been so sure of receiving this money that it had begun spending it prospectively on repairs to the buildings. When the donation was "knocked on the head," as Millington put it, the professors had to pay for the repairs out of their salaries, for the Board prohibited using the endowment.[101] That same year the state's private colleges asked for an annual subsidy from the distribution of the federal surplus to the states. Nothing came of this either, one reason being that the surplus vanished in the wake of the Panic of 1837. In 1840 a personal appeal on behalf of the College by Judge Abel P. Upshur to Governor Thomas Walker Gilmer, soon to be Upshur's colleague in President John Tyler's cabinet, was unavailing.[102] Four years later William and Mary elected delegates to a convention of private colleges that asked for money from the Literary Fund, with the usual lack of results.[103]

Considering the reputation the College had gained in the 1830s and 1840s and the support of such men as Upshur, John Tyler—legislator, governor, United States senator, and then president—and other prominent figures, the failure to secure public funding may seem peculiar. There were reasons, however. Virginia was not helping other private colleges either. There were those who even wished to take the University of Virginia off the public payroll. Furthermore, the myth that the endowment of the College was more than ample died hard, and allegations that it mismanaged its funds did not help matters.[104]

Finally, the public notice that Dew and Tucker brought the College made enemies as well as friends. Virginia politics fell into three divisions. There were Jacksonian Democrats, thoroughgoing Whigs, and those who have been called Whigocrats: Jacksonians in the Jeffersonian tradition who broke with Old Hickory over his Nullification Proclamation and the Force Bill. Tyler, Dew, and Tucker were among these. The loyal Jacksonians denounced them for their abandonment of their hero and his successor, Martin Van Buren, who was the villain of Tucker's novel, *The Partisan Leader*. The College felt the wrath of the real Whigs, who accused it of fostering disunionism and Locofoco free trade policies. Nor did everyone regard Dew as an oracle. In the summer of 1837, Governor David Campbell, then struggling to cope with the financial panic that was sweeping the country, bemoaned the comparative ignorance of commercial affairs displayed by otherwise well-informed gentlemen. "A Kentucky horse or hog drover would in a few minutes conversation show you that he knew more about the matter than professor Dew of Wm. & Mary." The College came into an even sharper political focus when John Tyler succeeded to the presidency upon the death of William Henry Harrison. An alumnus, long a member of the Board, a resident of Williamsburg since 1837, friend of Tucker and Dew, Tyler's political principles appeared to be those of William and Mary. His administration was so troubled that he became a man without a party, disowned by the Whigs and not adopted by the Democrats. Perhaps his predicament in the nation at large helps explain the plight of the College in Virginia. One who did not like Tyler was not apt to like William and Mary.[105]

Whether or not political controversy seriously hurt the College's chances for public support, President Dew believed it could affect enrollments, at least temporarily.[106] In this he was probably mistaken. Matriculations at both the College and the University of Virginia bulged upward during the latter 1830s, then fell off during the early 1840s.[107] During the years 1836–46, the closest correlation to any external influence as yet discovered is to tobacco prices. Rising enrollments, which reached a peak of 140 in 1839, may also have been due in part to rising sectional tensions combined with the presence of such Southern stalwarts as Dew and Tucker. In this connection, the slight but distinct increase in the number of students from other Southern states is suggestive. Yet such tensions certainly did not decline after 1839, and Dew and Tucker were still at the College, and yet enrollments fell to 68 in 184 5.[108] Possibly the image of William and Mary as a stronghold of Southern principles at most helped to mitigate the effects of competition from a growing number of colleges in and out of Virginia. The subject is one that does not lend itself to precise answers.

As the end of the 1845–46 session approached, Thomas Dew had other things than enrollments and funding on his mind. He was getting married—at last. A bachelor at forty-three, Dew had never been wildly popular with the ladies, for all his sterling qualities. He was certainly a homely man, quite as homely as Abraham Lincoln. His health was never robust, probably because of tuberculosis. He did have financial security in his favor,[109] and he seems to have been persistent in his pursuit of romance. Of one such endeavor, Tucker reported facetiously (one hopes) that Mrs. Tucker was "completely horrified to hear that A. E. is to marry Mr. D, and begs to know if such a monstrous profanation is to take place. It ill becomes *her*, you may think[,] to criticize other people's tastes." But if a woman got to know Dew and could find it in her heart to love him, "she should marry him, for there is no better man, & none more amiable."[110]

Nothing came of Dew and "A. E.," and a few years later he was in pursuit of Miss Natilia Hay, a well-connected lady. This affair had its ups and downs. Mrs. Robert Garrett remarked that "Miss Hay left for home today, it is said she had had her own amusement with the President of the College and has finally left him in dreadful spirits. He ought to have sense enough to admire those girls only who think 'an ugly or unhandsome person is no objection if the man is clever & agreeable.'"[111]

Dew did not give up and must have made sufficient use of his amiability to overcome those handicaps that were so obvious to his friends, for he and Miss Hay were married on June 17, 1846. They set sail for Europe, the groom carrying letters of introduction from Daniel Webster and Edward Everett, among others.[112] He was sublimely happy, but after a rough passage his health broke down and he became seriously ill in Paris. A physician saw him on the fifth of August and diagnosed bronchitis. That night he seemed to fall into a deep sleep. The next morning Natilia arose to open a window; she returned to the bed to see if her husband was awake, laid her hand on his brow, and was shocked to find it stone cold. He had died in his sleep, probably from pneumonia. After Dew's burial in Montmartre Cemetery, the young widow returned to America on the same ship that a short time before had carried her to Europe as a bride.[113] Hers was obviously a dreadful personal tragedy, but Dew's premature death would have repercussions well beyond his family, as the College would soon discover.

NOTES

1. Thomas R. Dew, "An Address Delivered before the Students of William and Mary, at the Opening of the College … " (Richmond: n.p., 1836).
2. Ibid., 6–13, 21–27.
3. Ibid., 13–21.
4. Ibid., 21.
5. Ibid., 20.
6. Eugene D. Genovese, "Western Civilization through Slaveholding Eyes: The Social and Historical Thought of Thomas Roderick Dew" (New Orleans: Tulane University, 1986), 14.
7. Dew, "Address," 32–33.
8. This phrase is the apt title of the concluding chapter of Charles S. Sydnor, *The Development of Southern Sectionalism 1819–1848* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1948).
9. Dew, *Restrictive System*, 176–85.
10. Mansfield, "Dew," 28–31, 49–52.
11. Charles H. Ambler, *Sectionalism in Virginia from 1776 to 1861* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1910), 110, 137–74; Alison G. Freehling, *Drift toward Dissolution: The Virginia Slave Debate of 1831–1832* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982), 11–81.

12. Mansfield, "Dew," 2–3.
13. For a brief sketch of the revolt and references to more detailed treatments, see Freehling, *Drift toward Dissolution*, 1–10.
14. William S. Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought in the Old South* (Gloucester, Mass.: Peter Smith, 1960, reprint of the 1935 edition), 83.
15. Joseph C. Robert, *The Road from Monticello: A Study of the Virginia Slavery Debate of 1832* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1941), v, 29, 32–33.
16. Mansfield, "Dew," 48–49. The writer is indebted to Prof. Stephen S. Mansfield for a summary and partial transcription of Floyd's letter.
17. Joseph C. Cabell to John Hartwell Cocke, Apr. 3, 1832, Cabell Family Papers, UVA; Robert F. Hunter and Edwin L. Dooley, Jr., *Claudius Crout: French Engineer in America, 1790–1864* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1989), 66–67.
18. The writer has used the Review as it appears in *The Pro-Slavery Argument ... Chancellor Harper, Governor Hammond, Dr. Simms, and Professor Dew* (New York: Negro Universities Press, 1968, reprint of the 1852 edition). The present writer's discussion of the *Review* is necessarily quite selective. For an excellent summary, see Lowell Harrison, "Thomas Roderick Dew: Philosopher of the Old South," *VMHB* 57 (1949): 392–401.
19. For the historical context, see Jenkins, Pro-Slavery Thought, passim; Drew Gilpin Faust, ed., *The Ideology of Slavery: Proslavery Thought in the Antebellum South, 1830–1860* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981), 1–20; Genovese, "Thought of Dew," passim. For a bibliography of writings on the subject, see Faust, ed., *Ideology*, 301–6.
20. Mansfield, "Dew," 20–21.
21. Ibid., 63–64.
22. Genovese, "Thought of Dew," 1, 5.
23. Alexander Pope, *Essay on Man*, pt. 10.
24. Dew, *Review*, 325.
25. Ibid., 288.
26. Ibid., 437; also 438–43.
27. Ibid., 489.
28. Ibid., 429. For Lincoln, see Roy P. Basler et al., eds., *The Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln*, 8 vols. and Index (New Brunswick, N. J.: Rutgers University Press, 1953), e.g., 3:15, 16, 79, 145–46. On Aug. 14, 1862, Lincoln told a delegation of free blacks that the best thing for both races would be for the blacks to get out of the country. See ibid., 5:371–72.
29. Dew, *Review*, 354.
30. Ibid., 450.
31. Ibid., 451; also 353–54.
32. Ibid., 347–48.
33. Ibid., 435, 444, 447.
34. Ibid., 355–420.
35. Ibid., 384.
36. Ibid., 387, 389.
37. Ibid., 385-90.
38. Ibid., 478.
39. Ibid., 479–80.
40. Ibid., 481.
41. Cf. Freehling, *Drift toward Dissolution*, 207–8.

42. Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison ...* , 9 vols. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1900–1910), 9:498–502, quotation on 500; John Quincy Adams, *The Memoirs of John Quincy Adams ...* , ed. Charles F. Adams, 12 vols. (Philadelphia: J. S. Lippincott, 1874–77), 9:23; Mansfield, "Dew," 84.
43. Mansfield, "Dew," 79.
44. Freehling, *Drift toward Dissolution*, 218; Ambler, *Sectionalism*, 182–83 and n.
45. Mansfield, "Dew," 86; Harrison, "Dew," 402–4, and sources cited by both; Faust, ed., *Ideology*, 22.
46. For a bibliography of Dew's writings, see Mansfield, "Dew," 201–3.
47. Thomas Dew, *A Digest of the Laws, Customs, Manners, and Institutions of the Ancient and Modern Nations* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1870 [1852]), 24; Genovese, "Thought of Dew," 3 and n. 8.
48. Mansfield, "Dew," 96–97, 175–78; Hollis, *S.C. Colleges*, 120, 122; Jenkins, *Pro-Slavery Thought*, 73–74 and n. 68.
49. I have relied on two biographies of Tucker cited in chapter 1, notes 88 and 152. One (Tucker, *Tucker*) is, as the author tells us, based largely on the exhaustive dissertation by the late Percy W. Turrentine, "Life and Works of Nathaniel Beverley Tucker," 3 vols. (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1952), which I have consulted. The other, which appeared almost simultaneously, is Brugger, *Tucker*. Both Brugger and Tucker discuss the relationship with Randolph. For Tucker's opinion of Burke, see, e.g., Tucker's essay, "The Caucasian Master and the African Slave," *SLM* 10 (1844): 477.
50. Brugger, *Tucker*, chaps. 2, 3; Tucker, *Tucker*, 143–239.
51. Brugger, *Tucker*, 47–48, 71–72, 74.
52. Ibid., 82; Tucker, *Tucker*, 240–41 .
53. Brugger, *Tucker*, 83–90; Tucker, *Tucker*, 243–58.
54. Brugger, *Tucker*, 90; Tucker, *Tucker*, 259–60; Mansfield, "Dew," 95–96. N. B. Tucker to Elizabeth T. Bryan, June 6, 1834, Bryan Family Papers, UVA, microfilm copy in CWF.
55. For a history, summary, and criticism of *The Partisan Leader*, see Tucker, *Tucker*, chap. 8. The full citation to the book is Edward William Sidney [pseudonym], *The Partisan Leader: A Tale of the Future*, purportedly published by James Caxton in 1856, actually printed by Duff Green in 1836. Green was a longtime supporter and in-law of John C. Calhoun. A chronological list of Tucker's writings can be found in Tucker, *Tucker*, 485–91. Tucker wrote two other novels, George Bakombe (1836) and Gertrude, both treated at length in Tucker, *Tucker*. See also Brugger, *Tucker*, 119.
56. N. B. Tucker, " A Lecture," *SLM* 5 (1839): 590; Tucker, *Tucker*, 452; N. B. Tucker, "Law Lecture at William and Mary ," *SLM* 1 (1834–35): 146–47; Tucker, "Lecture," 588; N. Beverley Tucker, *A Series of Lectures on the Science of Government ...* (Philadelphia: Cary and Hart, 1845), e.g., 13–14, 32–36, and passim.
57. N. B. Tucker, "Note to Blackstone's Commentaries," *SLM* 1 (1834–35): 228; Tucker, "Caucasian Master," 330, 332–37.
58. Tucker, "Caucasian Master," 334.
59. Tucker, "A Lecture on Government," *SLM* 3 (1837): 213–14; Tucker, *Lectures*, 43–47.
60. Tucker, "Lecture on Government," 215.
61. Tucker, "Caucasian Master," 334–39, 480; Brugger, *Tucker*, 157–61, 198–99, 202.
62. Tucker, "Caucasian Master," 336; Brugger, *Tucker*, 110, 160.
63. Cecil D. Eby, Jr., ed., "'Porte Crayon' in the Tidewater," *VMHB* 67 (1959): 444–46. If Tucker ever dined with John Hancock, it must have been as a small child, for he was nine years of age when Hancock died.

64. Tucker, *Tucker*, 468.
65. Anne West Chapman, ed., "The College of William and Mary, 1849–1859: The Memoirs of Silas Totten" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1978), 44.
66. Ibid., 66–67.
67. Tucker, *Tucker*, 469; Brugger, *Tucker*, 196, believes Tucker "may well have" composed the epitaph himself.
68. Brugger, *Tucker*, 99. Virginia recognized this trend toward professionalism in 1842 by accepting law diplomas from state schools in lieu of examination by three judges as heretofore for admission to the bar. Richmond *Enquirer*, May 4, 1842.
69. Brugger, *Tucker*, 100, 152; Tucker, "Law Lecture," 145–54.
70. "Catalogue of ... William and Mary College: Session of 1836–1837" (Petersburg: The Farmers' Register, 1837), 13. Tucker was not without a sense of humor even when lecturing on pleading. See James H. Rawlings, "Notes of a Course of Lectures," 69–70, [1838–1839], Special Collections, UVA.
71. Brugger, *Tucker*, 103.
72. Ibid., 102–3.
73. Enrollments are given in extant catalogues and in the Matriculation Book, WMA.
74. "The Faculty of William and Mary ," by "A Student of 1837–38," in Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 19, 1845. For other tributes, see ibid., June 16, 1848; by former students, July 13, 1848, folder 54, College Papers, WMA; and Tucker, *Tucker*, 433–34.
75. "Catalogue of ... William and Mary College: Session of 1837–1838" (Petersburg: The Farmers' Register, 1838), 9–10.
76. Mansfield, "Dew," 26 n. 6.
77. Dew, "Address," 11.
78. Lavonne Olson Tarleton, "John Millington, Civil Engineer and Teacher, 1779–1868" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1966), 32–52; Sanford Charles Gladden, "John Millington (1779–1868)," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 13 (1933): 155–62; John Millington to Joseph Henry, June 25, 1847, John Millington Papers, WMA.
79. Tarleton, "Millington," 102, in her very competent thesis, says that although the College catalogue listed no enrollments in civil engineering after 1838–39, there may have been students in the course. However, a reading of the Faculty Minutes seems to settle the matter: there were none after 1838–39, except possibly some whom Millington may have taken as strictly private students. His recorded enrollment over three years came to fifty-five.
80. Tarleton, "Millington," 102.
81. Millington Diaries, entries for Jan. 1, 9, and Mar. 28, 1844, Millington Papers, WMA
82. Richmond *Enquirer*, Sept. 11, 1840; Tarleton, "Millington," 60. Young Millington, who painted in watercolor, was twenty-four years old in 1840 and had evidently come to Williamsburg with his father. His partner in the shop was James Griffin, a William and Mary alumnus, who had earned a degree in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania. For the money spent on the apparatus, see Tarleton, "Millington," 54–55. Millington owned two houses in addition to the Wythe house. Millington to Joseph Henry, May 30, 1848, Millington Papers, WMA. For his problems keeping a boarding house see id. to Mann S. Valentine, Mar. 15, 1847, typescript in Millington Papers from original in Valentine Museum, Richmond, Virginia. For his nickname, see Cynthia B. Tucker, "Williamsburg, Virginia in 1848," n.d., Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
83. Tarleton, "Millington," 58.
84. Millington to Joseph Henry. June 25, 1847, Millington Papers, WMA
85. George Frederick Holmes, "Professor John Millington, M.D. 1779–1868," *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3

(1923): 29, 34; J. H. Strobia wrote to Elizabeth Galt, Jan. 23, 1840, that he had often heard of the goodness of Mr. Millington. Galt Family Papers, WMM.

86. Thomas R. Dew to Benjamin F. Dew, Dec. 3, 1841, Dew Family Papers, WMM.
87. Id. to William Barton Rogers, Mar. 23, 1842, W. B. Rogers Papers, MIT.
88. So says the nameless author of a eulogy entitled "Rev. Charles F. E. Minnegerode, D. D. ... This Tribute to His Memory Issued October 1895" (New York: James Pott, n.d.); Willard B. Wagner III, "Charles Frederick Ernest Minnegerode—1814–1894: A Biographical Sketch ... " (Honors thesis, Washington and Lee University, 1970), 23. The present writer has not encountered any corroboration, although Alexander Galt wrote William R. Galt on June 3, 1842, that "Yankees would not do in Williamsburg." Galt Family Papers, WMM.
89. Wagner, "Minnegerode," 7–22; Marylee G. McGregor, "Sketch of Minnegerode," 1, Minnegerode, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
90. Thomas R. Dew to Benjamin F. Dew, July 12, 1842, Dew Family Papers, WMM.
91. McGregor, "Minnegerode," 5.
92. Wagner, "Minnegerode," 24; Tucker, *Tucker*, 401.
93. "Minnegerode Tribute," 12.
94. Thomas R. Dew to Benjamin F. Dew, Feb. 13, 1844, Dew Family Papers, WMM; Tucker, *Tucker*, 262; Richmond *Enquirer*, July 1, 1843; June 8, July 14, Nov. 23, 1847; Leonard, comp., *General Assembly*, 452, 457, 482; Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, 5 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Company, 1915), 2:217; Norman Dain, *Disordered Minds ...* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1971), 143; Tucker, "Williamsburg," Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
95. *Journal, House of Delegates*, 1836–37, document 8, 1–2; ibid. (Journal pagination) 26–27, 64.
96. Ibid., document 8, 2; Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 10, 1836, Feb. 11, 18, 1837.
97. *Journal, House of Delegates*, 1836–37, 310; Richmond *Enquirer*, Mar. 23, 1837.
98. Cf. Richmond *Enquirer*, May 1, 1837.
99. Blanton, *Medicine in Virginia*, 38–40, 49; Virginius Dabney, *Virginia Commonwealth University: A Sesquicentennial History* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1987), 1–9; [Alexander Stuart McGuire], "A Protest Against the Use of State Funds for Professional Education" (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, [1902]), 3–4; Bradshaw, *History of Hampden-Sydney*.
100. *Journal, House of Delegates*, 1836–37, 211, 301.
101. Ibid., 1838, 51; 1839, 40; Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 8, 1838; John Millington to Fayette Johnston, May 27, 1839, Southall Family Papers, WMM; Goodwin, "Notes," 405–6.
102. *WMQ*, 1st ser., 15 (1906–1907): 229. Upshur was a friend of Tucker and had known Tyler for many years. Tyler had wanted Upshur to take the chair of law after it was vacated by Semple. Both Upshur and Gilmer were killed by the explosion of a naval gun on the U.S.S. Princeton on February 22, 1844. John Tyler to George Southall, n.d., Southall Papers, WMM; Claude H. Hall, *Abel Parker Upshur: Conservative Virginian, 1790–1844* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1963), 14–15, 64; Tyler, *Letters*, 2:388.
103. "Memorial of the Convention of Colleges ... " (Richmond: Shephard and Colin, 1844).
104. Mansfield, "Dew," 137–38. For a reply to such an attack, see Richmond *Enquirer*, June 25, 1839. The attacker was Robert Anderson (Mansfield, "Dew," 137), a prominent Williamsburg merchant and Whig politician whose animus, according to the *Enquirer*'s correspondent, sprang from his application to be College bursar having been refused. For the University of Virginia, see *Journal, House of Delegates*, 1844–45, 43, 105, and documents 15 and 41.
105. Letters too numerous to cite concerning the involvement of Tucker with the Tyler administration can be found in Tyler, *Letters*, and in the Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. He was one of the "Virginia Cabal," which included Gilmer, Upshur, and Francis Mallory, and which "had

easiest access to him [Tyler] and frequently filtered Virginia public opinion, about which he was zealously sensitive." Craig M. Simpson, *A Good Southerner: The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 53–54. As for Dew, Henry A. Wise, member of the House of Representatives, one of Tyler's "Corporal's Guard," and later a member of the Board of Visitors, referred to him as a member of Tyler's "kitchen cabinet," but no corroboration of this has been found. Mansfield, "Dew," 148. For attacks on the College, see, e.g., A. P. Upshur to N. B. Tucker, Feb. 9, 1842, Austin E. Trible to Usphur, Mar. 12, 1842, Waddy Thompson to Tucker, Feb. 13, 1842, Upshur to Tucker, Mar. 13, 1842, all in Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. Also, Thomas R. Dew to Luther Calvin Dew, Nov. 6, 1843, Dew Family Papers, WMM; Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 20, 1842, Mar. 30, 1847; Mansfield, "Dew," 167–71 . For Governor Campbell's remark, see David Campbell to William Cabell Rives, July 17, 1837, Campbell Family Papers, DU. This item was kindly supplied by Mr. Wade Shaffer. Senator Rives did not share Campbell's low opinion of Dew. See Mansfield, "Dew," 133.

106. Thomas R. Dew to Benjamin F. Dew, Nov. 4, 1844, Dew Family Papers, WMM.

107. The enrollments for William and Mary and the University of Virginia are, respectively: 1835–36: 66/111; 1836–37: 114/250; 1837–38: 111/269; 1838–39: 132/230; 1839–40: 140/247; 1840–41: 110/243; 1841–42: 97/179; 1842–43: 80/128; 1843–44: 86/158; 1844–45: 69/194; 1845–46: 68/138. In the 1850s the university's enrollments rose substantially, while the College's averaged in the sixties.

108. Out-of-state students never accounted for more than 20 percent of the total, and Tidewater Virginia continued to provide more students than any other region—from 40 to 60 percent during the last two and a half decades before the war. These data on students come from the Matriculation Book, WMA.

109. Mansfield, "Dew," 134–35.

110. Ibid., 145–46; N. B. Tucker to Elizabeth T. Bryan, Feb. 10, 1840, Bryan Family Papers, UVA, from microfilm in CWF.

111. S. G. Garrett to ——, Apr. 30, 1844, Garrett Family Papers, UVA; used by the kind permission of William G. Hodges. For some of Dew's troubles with Miss Hay, see Thomas R. Dew to Benjamin F. Dew, May 27, 1844, Dew Family Papers, WMM.

112. Daniel Webster to Thomas R. Dew, May 15, 1846, Edward Everett to Dew, May 20, 1846, Dew Family Papers, WMM.

113. Mansfield, "Dew," 181; Marianne [Saunders] to Sally [Galt], Sept. 14, 1846, Galt Family Papers, WMM.

5

From Fiasco to Recovery to Disaster
1846–1862

Archie Peachy: Apple of Discord

Scarcely more than two years after the melancholy death of President Dew, William and Mary had virtually ceased to exist. Only one professor from the Dew era remained, there were no regular classes except for law, and the president was ad interim only. The College had been brought to the brink of dissolution by prolonged internal quarrels of professor against professor, Visitors against Visitors, Visitors against faculty, and townspeople, themselves divided, for or against this or that faction. The reasons for this unfortunate episode are complicated and difficult to untangle completely. Personal antagonisms, points of honor, religion, politics, and family connections appear in kaleidoscopic fashion to bewilder the researcher. Despite some holes in the evidence, however, it is possible to ferret out the kinds of influences that too often governed the fate of what some were now calling "the poor old college."

When Dew left on his honeymoon trip in June 1846, he asked Robert Saunders, professor of mathematics and senior member of the faculty after Dew himself, to act in his place for the brief remainder of the session. In August, when news of the tragedy in Paris reached Williamsburg, the Board asked Saunders to serve as president pro tem. No one considered appointing Millington or Minnegerode, and Tucker had made it plain he was unavailable for the position. The question naturally arises as to why Saunders, that pillar of the community, was not offered a permanent appointment. The answer, according to Tucker, was an "impression" throughout Tidewater Virginia that Saunders "was a man addicted to pleasure, and prone to indulgences of pernicious example to young men," meaning that he sometimes drank to excess. There was reason to believe, the judge continued, that "this example was dreaded by parents," who feared that the toleration of such conduct in a professor would undermine the enforcement of academic discipline. Consequently, the Board decided to advertise two vacancies, Dew's chair and the presidency, thereby creating an additional faculty position. The creation of a sixth chair by the division of Dew's courses was intended to enable the Right Reverend John Johns, assistant bishop of Virginia, to accept the presidency without giving up his churchly responsibilities. The truncated professorship would allow him to pursue his itinerant pastoral duties, teaching only during the winter term when the weather made travel impracticable.[1]

The object of the Board's desire was a native of Delaware and a graduate of Princeton, where he had studied at its theological seminary. A strong evangelical, Johns presided over churches in Maryland until his election by the Virginia Episcopalians in 1842. In October 1846 the Board asked Johns if he would accept the presidency should he be invited.[2] There were those, including a dominant element on the Board, who wished to resume William and Mary's association with the church. Disputes about the wisdom of this policy led to arguments in the press and became entangled with the internal problems of the College. On one side it was contended that the royal charter had established an Anglican seminary, but that the Visitors had cut those ties, flouting the intentions of the founders. Thus duty required a return to the original purposes of the institution. Furthermore, without the patronage of a church much strengthened since the days of Bishop Madison, the College could not hope to flourish. In opposition, there were the antiepiscopate people, who pointed out how the College had prospered under Dew, a layman, and who claimed that it could never do so "in the hands of the priesthood." They warned that non-Episcopalian students would shun William and Mary, and cited the numerous adherents of other denominations in the College's prime recruiting ground, Tidewater Virginia. There were even those who feared that the endowment might be turned over to the church.[3] Of course, those who wanted Saunders to keep the presidency might well have joined the protest against a church connection for that reason.

In spite of objections, the Board elected Johns as president. At the same time, it picked George Frederick Holmes to teach the subjects so closely associated with the lamented Dew: political economy, history, and national law. Then twenty-seven years old and a professor at Richmond College, Holmes was a British citizen who had won considerable reputation among Southern conservatives for his contributions to the *Southern Literary Messenger*. Holmes's wife was the daughter of the late John Floyd, governor of Virginia and good friend of John Tyler, to whom Holmes attributed his success. Indeed, Tyler believed that Holmes's presence would be "almost a guarantee" of the College's "ultimate prosperity."[4] Holmes accepted, but Bishop Johns replied that he would have to ask the advice and consent of the church convention before returning an answer.

The convention met in May. Although a committee reported against acceptance, in the debate that followed most of the delegates, including William Hodges, rector of Bruton Parish, Adam Empie, and Charles Minnegerode, seemed at first to favor the idea. However, the presiding bishop, William Meade, gave a powerful speech in opposition. He feared that such an appointment might be contrary to the best interests of both the College and the church. Moreover, it would "array William and Mary against the University of Virginia," for Johns would in effect be pledging himself and the church's ministry to send students to the former instead of the latter.[5] Of course, as far as the College was concerned this was precisely the point.

When Johns declined, the Board elected Francis L. Hawks, rector of Christ Church, New Orleans, a well-known orator, writer, and theologian.[6] Hawks had written the Reverend Hodges expressing interest. Then he got a better offer from the University of Louisiana and excused himself by saying that he did not consider his letter to Hodges as an actual "offer" to take the presidency. "And so," said a well-informed Williamsburg lady, "he creeps out of the difficulty."[7]

By now it was late August and something had to be done about a president. By what an anti-Saunders Visitor called "a light vote" of four to three, Saunders was elected president without the designation of pro tem. It had not been an easy decision. One Visitor, having heard that Saunders disliked him, abstained from voting; otherwise Saunders would have lacked a majority. According to Visitor Corbin Braxton, his advocates admitted that he was a hard drinker, but "believed he had partially reformed (that is, had not been seen drunk in a tavern of late) and make him President, and it would wholly reform him—a goodly project I trow."[8]

At this same meeting, the Board voted to offer the chair of moral philosophy to Landon C. Garland, the highly respected former president of Randolph-Macon College. Should Garland decline, the next offer was to go to Archibald C. Peachy, of whom more later. Minnegerode set off at once for Garland's Nelson County home with news of the election. Garland responded by saying that there was no place he would rather be than William and Mary; unfortunately, he had a few days before accepted a professorship at the University of Alabama.[9] Now the faculty was supposed to make the next offer to Peachy. This was not done; Peachy learned of Garland's nonacceptance by reading the newspapers. The faculty's reluctance to regard Garland's answer as final and its unwillingness to approach Peachy in accordance with the Board resolution sprang from the fact that four of the five (Tucker being the odd man out) very much wanted Garland and very much did not want Peachy.

By now the session had begun, and the chair of moral philosophy remained empty. Therefore,[10] the Board convened and on November 8 elected Peachy. On November 9 Saunders resigned the presidency and the professorship of mathematics, effective the following July; some believed that Minnegerode and Millington might follow his example.[11] The College had begun its descent into an internecine conflict as bad as anything seen during the regime of John Augustine Smith.

Because the Visitors knew that Peachy and Saunders were "at variance personally," the latter doubtless took their action as a direct slap. Yet until fairly recently, Saunders had been close to the Peachy family, one of Williamsburg's oldest. He had extended friendly assistance to Archibald's financially strapped parents, had remitted tuition fees for him and his brothers, and early in 1846 had written a testimonial for Archibald, who acknowledged it as being only one of many kindnesses he had received at Saunders's hands.[12] And a year later, when the storm was dying away, Saunders, at least when in his cups, professed the utmost love for all things Peachy.[13] According to Tucker, the opposition to Peachy among the faculty began in mid-February 1847. This was about the time Holmes was elected to Dew's chair, for which Peachy was then an applicant.[14] The two were about the same age, but, as mentioned, Holmes had earned a substantial reputation as a staunch upholder of states' rights, whereas Peachy had no public reputation at all. It may be that Saunders had favored Holmes over Peachy, and that the personal "variance" grew out of Peachy's discovery of his abandonment by his erstwhile patron.

Although Peachy did not apply for the chair of moral philosophy, someone clearly applied for him. The College was still suffering from the loss of the renowned Dew; giving the chair to the callow Peachy was to most of the professors unthinkable. According to Millington, they informed the Visitors "that as the College had been decreasing in numbers for several years, & had received a severe shock in the sudden & unexpected death of Mr. Dew, we were desirous that his place should be supplied by some man of acknowledged celebrity and who had obtained a degree of public confidence instead of by any young man who was unknown to the world. And we all wished Profr. L C Garland of Randolph Macon to be the person chosen. … "[15] But instead of finding a candidate of Garland's stature, said Old Yoss, "nepotism prevailed."[16]

The charge of nepotism conveniently introduces the question of why the Board hired Peachy in the first place, knowing the trouble their act might provoke. "Nepotism" probably referred to the fact that Archibald's father, Dr. Thomas G. Peachy, had been a Visitor from 1833 until 1845, serving as rector for two of those years. The family had long been intimately connected with the history of the College and the town, among other things being blood kin to James Blair. Archie, as his friends called him, even more than his father and brother, was an alumnus of alumni, having traversed the curriculum from the Grammar School, through bachelor and master of arts degrees, and a law degree under Tucker. Dew had lived with the Peachys and seems to have thought well of Archie. The family was still having money problems, and Archie was doing no more than eking out a living practicing law in Georgetown.[17] What could be more natural than for friends of the Peachys to give Archie a chance to come back home and apply his salary and fees as professor of moral philosophy to shore up the family's finances?

Giving the Peachys a helping hand was only one consideration. Judging by Corbin Braxton, he and others on the Board were unhappy with the state of the College, and they may well have shoved Peachy down the faculty's throat in hopes of precipitating a crisis that would pave the way for a complete reorganization. Braxton' s letter to Dr. C. C. Cocke is worth quoting at length, for it gives an all-too-rare glimpse of the sort of thing that went on behind the scenes and affected the fate of the College in important ways. Braxton wrote:

> We put old Wmsburg into a ferment by causing Profr Saunders to resign, a great blessing by the way to the institution [.I]f any thing can save it by now appointing new professors and a new Presdt it may possibly be resuscitated, but not I fear unless the lepas influence[18] which overshadows the place can be removed. The cause of the resignation of Mr. Saunders, was the election of Mr Peachy as a professor[;] he said he was not on good terms with him and could not serve with him. … He doubtless thought we would reconsider, undo what we had done and ask him to do the same, but the shackles once being off, we received his resignation … 'tis said two of the other professors will do the same, all the better. Instead I think, if the college could be suspended for one or two years, to have the old place scoured, washed, whitewashed, and ventilated, it wd recommence under new and renovated auspices. [B]y that means there would be no old students to come back to teach the new [matriculants?], the real Wmsburg swagger, and other accomplishments of the place. It is said to be something new under

> the sun for the Visitors, to take upon themselves an independent action. Heretofore the students have governed the Faculty, and the Faculty the board of Visitors.[19]

Braxton's letter portrays a Board divided between (among other things) an old guard faction and shake-'em-up or clean-'em-out reformers. Events to follow would strengthen the hands of the latter, at least temporarily.

Saunders was by no means the only one shocked or angered by Peachy's election. "Some think that A—— P—— will be appointed in [Garland's] place," wrote one well-connected citizen, "and it is said that the *mere report* of such an event, has already prevented many students from coming here."[20] A young lady reported to her uncle that "our town has been a complete whirlpool of indignation for the last fortnight, owing to the election of A. Peachy, which is not to be wondered at, *considering* the *circumstances* under which he was brought in …"[21] The Students draped the statue of Lord Botetourt in black, with an inscription proclaiming that "even the mighty dead mourn the downfall of the college." Some of them greeted Peachy at midnight of the day he arrived in town with a "Callithumpian band of tin pans and horns and all nonmusical instruments, till he must be deaf."[22] Peachy took a gun and went out to confront his harassers. When a dozen or so began to close in around him, his younger brother and another young man, James Christian, also came out with weapons. At this critical juncture, when bloodshed seemed possible, Professor Tucker, as he tells it, was called out of bed "to 'prevent murder'. … I ran out nearly naked. …" The row had attracted a large number of dogs, which turned and rushed upon this strange apparition in flapping dressing gown. Tucker shouted to drive them away, and the students, recognizing his voice and fearful that he would recognize them, dispersed.[23]

Besides callithumping, the students held a meeting and published resolutions declaring that because their "distinguished and esteemed President and Professor" had resigned on account of Peachy's appointment, they deemed that event to be "fraught with the most ruinous and disastrous consequences to the dearest interest of William and Mary." They urged Saunders to withdraw his resignation.[24] Nearly all the students signed an anti-Peachy memorial addressed to the Board. Millington, for one, was puzzled as to the cause of the young gentlemen's antipathy toward Archie.[25]

Matters rapidly became more complicated. Learning that his appointment was the reason for Saunders's resignation, Peachy challenged his former benefactor. The *défi* was carried by James Christian, the student who had helped stand off the callithumpers. He was the son of John B. Christian, judge of the Superior Court, a Visitor since 1844, for many years a member of the House of Delegates, and the brother of John Tyler's first wife. Tyler was, of course, also a Visitor.[26] The students regarded Christian as anti-Saunders, and they had callithumped him along with Peachy. An ensuing correspondence between Peachy and Saunders, which the former published in the press, ended with Saunders saying that he had no personal objection to Peachy's character and knew nothing about him "injuriously affecting the honor of a gentleman."[27] So there was no duel. However, the professors dismissed young Christian from the College for an act of disrespect to the faculty, to wit, bearing a hostile message to the president.[28]

Meanwhile, the faculty which had lived together peacefully under the amiable Dew was rent with ill feeling. Saunders had to persuade Millington not to resign. Tucker's friendship with Minnegerode turned to poisonous hostility. The judge was Peachy's only friend on the faculty, and he blamed Minnegerode for whipping up feeling against Archie. Tucker had declined to take part in young Christian's trial because he could not be impartial, and he believed that Millington and Minnegerode should have recused themselves for the same reason. But, wrote Tucker, Minnegerode "had fastened on his prey; an opportunity offered to injure the Judge and James [that is, the Christians, father and son], & me, all of whom he hates, and to cast an indirect censure upon Archie, under whose contempt he is withering. He was almost black with passion, and the old man [Millington] was spotted as a toad. … The College must decline & my situation will be almost intolerable, as it is now."[29]

Angered by the dismissal of his son, Judge Christian began denouncing "the pernicious influence of these damned foreigners." He meant Minnegerode and Millington, but Professor Holmes expected that "the spirit of nativism" might eventually turn on him as well. [30] The elder Christian probably blamed Minnegerode for charges made to the rector of Bruton Parish reflecting on his "moral and religious character," of which he was found entirely innocent after an investigation.[31]

These feuds, and especially Christian's denunciation of foreigners, induced Holmes to submit his resignation in January, and thus was "confusion worse confounded," as Tucker put it.[32] Holmes told the Board that there was "no possibility of unanimity among the Professors, or of cordiality between the Faculty as a body and the students." William and Mary was fast declining; he could see no hope of recovery in less than five or six years, and he did not want to jeopardize his reputation by being connected with "a failing College." Moreover, his only income was from his profession. He predicted that no more than twenty students would enroll for the next session, and he could not support his family on a salary of $1,000 with few or no fees.[33]

Minnegerode and Millington were both looking for other jobs. The latter, for all his fondness for Williamsburg, had been testing the waters even before the Peachy affair.[34] Millington regretted his sequestration from the wider world of science and felt keenly the absence of Dew's stewardship. Then the prospect of losing his friends Saunders and Minnegerode made the idea of staying on at the College even less attractive. He began to correspond with acquaintances in Richmond about the possibility of founding a college in that city, hoping to persuade his three dissatisfied colleagues to go with him.[35]

To take four of the five professors plus Millington's scientific equipment and his library of four thousand volumes to Richmond would have been tantamount to moving the College. This idea had, in fact, occurred to persons outside the institution, as they watched it tottering on the brink. One of the *Enquirer*'s correspondents had already written that the failure of the Board to deal with the developing crisis came at a time "when the press, the Legislature and the public are speaking and moving in reference to this subject."[36] A close observer of College affairs believed that the legislature had a "strong notion" of using William and Mary's money for other purposes, such as a college in Richmond or—most horrific of all—to swell the resources of the University of Virginia.[37]

The Visitors convened early in March 1848 for the first time since they had precipitated the turmoil by hiring Peachy. The town and the College had become a bear garden of feuds, fights, near duels, and scandalmongering. Now there was talk of moving to Richmond or taking the endowment for the benefit of the university. All this surely steeled the resolve and perhaps added to the numbers of the root-and-branch element on the Board. It appeared that the opportunity predicted by Visitor Braxton had arrived.

On March 3 the Board notified the faculty that it had assembled to investigate the condition of the College and was prepared to receive any communication on that subject the professors saw fit to provide.[38] The latter responded by saying that they had nothing officially to report, except that existing conditions threatened results "absolutely fatal" to the institution. The Board knew as well as the faculty, the professors said, what those conditions were. Should they venture to suggest a remedy, they might "wander beyond their province," a veiled yet unmistakable allusion to the Peachy appointment.[39] In riposte, the Visitors asked the professors to tell them about this condition of things so direful for the future of William and Mary. A meeting was called to answer their interrogatory, but one faculty member was absent. Believing, as they told the Board, that the concurrence of every member was needed to answer a question of such importance, they could not comply with the Board's request "with propriety."[40] The absent professor was Tucker, who had not attended faculty meetings since the dismissal of James Christian almost two months earlier. He had kept away, he told the Board, because of his desire to avoid personal unpleasantness. He would attend if necessary, "however hard it might be to discuss the interests of the Institution with those who, I believe, are seeking to undermine and destroy it." Tucker had in mind Millington and Minnegerode; a Visitor had told him they were trying to set up a college—or perhaps the College—in Richmond.[41]

The Board kept the pot boiling by sending Tucker's accusations to his colleagues for their comment. None would condescend to respond. Having hit this brick wall, the Visitors immediately sent back a recapitulation of these exchanges and expressed the opinion that the best interests of the College would be served by the resignation of the entire faculty as of the end of the session.[42] Saunders and Holmes had already done so, and Peachy had also resigned two days before, on March 1. In a long letter he detailed his sufferings at the hands of his persecutors, including a passage accusing Minnegerode of "treachery, intrigue & falsehood."[43] In any event, one way or another all the professors submitted their resignations effective in July.[44]

Besides putting the skids under the professors, the Board accused them of selling land contrary to a Board statute passed in 1825 and claimed for itself a general superintendence and control of the faculty's management of College funds. The Visitors also charged the faculty with a breach of contract because they had raised the price of board to the students in midsession. They criticized the dismissal of James Christian as "irregular," and asked that he be readmitted. Then they turned their guns on the students and abolished all secret societies, possibly thinking that they fomented disorders and callithumping.[45] The faculty fought back by denying that any statute was broken by the land sale, a sale, they said, made necessary because the College's annual income was insufficient to support six professorships—meaning Peachy, of course—and by refusing to reinstate Christian.[46]

Meanwhile, the Board was investigating alleged efforts to move the College to Richmond. There was a "high noon" showdown between Tucker and Minnegerode, the latter challenging the former at a Board meeting to prove his charge that the reverend professor was undermining the College by promoting such a project. Tucker had to recant, pleading insufficient information received from a Visitor. Millington repelled a similar charge against him made by Peachy. Holmes said that he had considered the possibility of starting a college in Richmond only if William and Mary should collapse, while Saunders denied ever having countenanced the idea.[47]

This carnival of demolition completed, the Visitors blandly informed the public that "the harmony which has been momentarily interrupted" would be fully restored and the vacant chairs filled when the Board met on July 11 "by men, as eminent for their learning and virtue as their predecessors have throughout all time been."[48] It seems to have been the expectation of the Visitors, or some of them, that new men would be brought in.[49] Here was a shock to the professors. Until now their dealings with the Board had been in-house, and their resignations had been at least technically voluntary. Now the public would think that they had been dismissed. With no assurances of being rehired, they might reasonably expect that such publicity would injure their chances for employment elsewhere. All the while, they were supposed to carry on with their duties to the end of the session as if nothing had happened. This seemed unfair. Even Tucker, who was on the side of the angels, so to speak, in *l'ajfaire* Peachy, began to get anxious when letters appeared in the newspapers nominating persons to take his place. He wrote to former students, a fiercely loyal lot, that a little counterpropaganda from them would be appreciated.[50]

At length July 11 rolled around, bringing with it the convocation that would fill the six chairs. The Visitors resolved to exclude the former professors from consideration, with the understanding that the ban could be lifted in individual cases for cause. On the evening of the fateful day, a pathetic little scene took place: some of the ex-professors asked to plead their case before the Board, a request that this provincial Aulic Council graciously granted. It must have been instantly clear to each supplicant that he must pass what can only be called "the Peachy test": could he get along with Archie? When poor Minnegerode, with no other job and no prospects of one, protested that he had made earnest efforts to work with Peachy, that gentleman sank him without a trace by telling the Board that the breach between them was irreconcilable. So the reverend was cast into outer darkness. Saunders had already notified the Board that he would not accept reappointment. Thereupon, the Visitors restored to their chairs Millington, Holmes, and Tucker, all of whom conformed to their curious model of collegiality. And the model himself, Peachy, was of course reappointed.[51]

The dismissal of Minnegerode and the reelection of Peachy brought to the surface divisions within the Board.[52] Three Visitors resigned. John Mercer, the rector, was one of them. He announced disgustedly that "the College, the church, the whole town, & every body & every thing in it has gone to ruin except the Lunatic Asylum, which really does rise & shine amid the chaos of infamy and stupidity."[53] A public meeting of "Many Citizens of Williamsburg" implored the three to reconsider, to make one more effort to save the "prostrate" College, but to no avail.[54] By this time the community was divided between "Saunders-ites & Peachy-ites" with no neutrals allowed.[55]

"Old Buck" Ewell and Bishop Johns to the Rescue

One who had experienced more than his share of academic troubles was watching the situation at William and Mary from afar through the pages of the Richmond *Whig*.[56] This was Benjamin Stoddert Ewell, whose life would be almost indistinguishable from the life of the College for many years to come. He was, as the saying went, of the best blood of Maryland and Virginia, rich in pedigree but poor in purse. Like Robert E. Lee, he was one of the impecunious scions of good family who received their education free at West Point, from which he graduated third in a class of forty-five in 1832. The academy paid him the high compliment of keeping him on for three years as a mathematics instructor. Despite this promising beginning, an army career was not for Ewell, and he resigned from the service in 1836. Then followed a brief stint as a civil engineer for a Pennsylvania railroad. During this period he married eighteen-year-old Julia McIlvaine of York. Eleven years younger than her husband, she was afflicted with a deepening emotional instability that would be one of the heavy crosses Ewell bore in a life that had its full share of difficulties.[57]

The dim prospects of the Baltimore and Susquehanna Railroad persuaded Ewell to seek a career in teaching, for which he had both a talent and a calling. After unsuccessful attempts to find a position in Mississippi and South Carolina, he accepted a professorship at Hampden-Sydney in 1839. That college was then so poor as to make William and Mary seem rich by comparison, and Ewell's seven years at the former were a fitting preparation for his forty years at the latter. He worked hard to raise money and increase enrollments and demonstrated a marked ability to get along with students, trustees, colleagues, and townspeople. Then in 1846 he took advantage of what promised to be a chance to escape from the endless struggle for survival at Hampden-Sydney by accepting a newly established professorship at Washington College in Lexington. His two years there saw the school and the town ripped apart by personal, political, and religious dissension, punctuated by the resignation of the president. By early in 1848, Ewell was ready to move again.[58] He asked friends to recommend him for Saunders's chair at William and Mary, scheduled to be vacant in July.[59]

When the Board convened in July, there were many candidates for the mathematics chair, but only Ewell's name was put in nomination. He was also elected president as someone, perhaps the only one, who could "give peace to the discords which have rent the institution."[60] Ewell promptly accepted the professorship, but told the Visitors that he could not believe they would have elected him president if they had known of his "meager qualification." He declined that office while expressing his willingness to serve until the Board could find someone else.[61]

To take Minnegerode's place, the Board picked New Yorker Morgan L. Smead, an accomplished linguist and a graduate of both Union College and the University of Berlin, where he received a doctor of philosophy degree. His marriage to a daughter of former president Adam Empie probably brought him to the Board's attention.[62] It was not a happy choice. His students, who called him "old Pomp," resented his pedantry and irritability, and harassed him with disorderly conduct and practical jokes throughout his nine years at William and Mary.[63] One lad got into trouble when he bored a hole in the ceiling directly above Smead's lectern and poured water on the professor's bald head.[64] So far, so good. The troublemakers gone, their places filled: it must have seemed to the Visitors (those who remained, at least) that their strong right arm had shown faculty and students who was boss, and that the auguries promised well for 1848–49. But then Holmes and Millington resigned to go to the newly established University of Mississippi, the latter taking with him his scientific apparatus and his large library, making respectable scientific instruction impossible.[65] Next Peachy quit and went to seek his fortune in California. In this he was successful beyond the dreams of avarice, for he was soon said to be clearing the gigantic sum of $10,000 a month in the booming California land title business.[66] With Peachy, Holmes, and Millington gone, and Ewell not yet sworn in, there remained of the Society only Tucker, and there was some doubt as to his status. He had resigned in March but had never actually been reappointed, on the obscure theory that somehow he had not resigned. There was thus a period of several weeks when the corporation established by the royal charter ceased to exist. The corporation was indistinguishable from the College, and so from a strictly legal point of view, William and Mary was dead and its assets were at the disposal of the sovereign power that had succeeded the British crown: the Commonwealth of Virginia.[67] Luckily for the College, state authorities were as inattentive as the Visitors were inept, and they did not proceed against the charter; one can easily believe that had Jefferson been alive, the College would have faced a writ of quo warranto in short order. If the charter had been forfeited, it would have been a fitting conclusion to an episode replete with mismanagement, vindictiveness, and neglect of duty—not the first or the last in the history of the Board, but one of the worst.[68] Strangely enough, the Visitors professed to be taken unawares by what they called the "sudden and unexpected" departure of Millington and Holmes. When the former resigned, they believed they could replace him before the session opened, but when Holmes departed soon afterward, the matter became more complicated.[69] President-elect Ewell warned against replacing them hastily.[70] The upshot was that the Board announced to the public that because there was not sufficient time to allow new appointments to be made or to acquire new scientific equipment, the College would suspend lectures for a year, although private instruction, for fees, would be offered by Ewell, Smead, and Tucker.[71] Given his experience at Hampden-Sydney and Washington College, Ewell might have wondered if he had chosen the right career.

One could, of course, see the situation as offering the kind of opportunity that Visitor

Braxton had longed for the year previous—the old professors gone and the place shut down for a year to provide time for "reform" and "reorganization." These words had been bandied about for some time by various Visitors, but without anyone specifying just what they meant. One citizen who deplored the "melancholy" state of the school believed that if it was to revive, it must be affiliated with the Episcopal church. He believed that this was the intent of the recently appointed Visitors, and in fact he was correct.[72] A symptom of this was the presence of William Meade, bishop of Virginia, as a regular member of the Board.

At the October 5 Board meeting, Ewell tendered his resignation as president, to take effect July 1, 1849. The Board accepted it and simultaneously elected (again) Bishop John Johns to take office on the same date. This time the diocesan convention approved, though not without substantial opposition. Subsequent negotiations hammered out the terms of the arrangement. Johns would accept no salary from the College and would continue to discharge his duties as assistant bishop. It was understood that his incumbency as president would last only as long as necessary to get the College back on its feet. His teaching duties would embrace only part of the subjects normally falling under the heading of moral philosophy, plus lectures on the "evidences of Christianity."[73] Thus a clergyman would once more lead William and Mary, one part of a plan to move it closer to its traditional allegiance as well as to the national norm of clergymen-presidents. Lending emphasis to the renewed entente with religion was the revival of the rule requiring students to attend daily prayers and church on Sundays. The Visitors were careful to inform the public that they did not intend to make William and Mary a sectarian institution proselytizing for a particular denomination, but merely to follow the example of so many colleges which were linked to a church.[74]

Academic changes made at the April meeting of the Board moved the College still closer to its sister institutions. The faculty, at the instance of the Board, had already substituted a three-class for the traditional two-class system. Now this was extended to four classes: freshman, sophomore, junior, and senior. A bachelor of philosophy degree created about a year later allowed those who did not choose the more stringent bachelor of arts program to come away with a sheepskin. The issuance of proficiency certificates in specific subjects for nondegree students continued, supplemented by a new certificate awarded for completion of a two-year "English or *Scientific Course*." To buttress academic standards as well as to maintain discipline, the Visitors decreed that the professors must assign grades at each recitation and demerits for infractions of College rules according to a schedule drawn up by the Board.

These, combined with examination grades, would determine a student's class standing. Quarterly reports were sent to parents or guardians. Here was begun at William and Mary the policy of numerical grades that would last until letters were substituted for numbers in the 1930s.[75] The Board made a bow to the practical by stipulating that "agricultural chemistry"—the analysis of soils and manures—was now part of the curriculum.[76]

To curb what Corbin Braxton had called "the Williamsburg swagger," the Visitors announced new regulations that would "secure a system of rigid but parental discipline.

… A Professor is ordained to reside within the walls of the College to aid in superintending the morals and manners of the students." This meant that one professor would remain in the Main Building until bedtime, the duty being rotated. The shade of St. George Tucker could be heard muttering imprecations at this return to the "beadle" system that had helped drive him from the College many years before.[77] To beef up enrollments and give an appearance of institutional vigor, financial assistance was extended to "at least twelve youths of the state, whose circumstances will not afford the entire expenses of their education; and any number of indigent youths of good moral character and promise, who come well recommended, will be instructed without charge of professors' fees."[78] Each professor could admit two students free of charge, and fees continued to be remitted for ministerial students. Perhaps a total of twenty or more students fell into one of these categories in a given year.[79]

The revision of the laws that began in 1849 included an assertion of the Board's plenary power to elect professors and to remove them for "neglect, incapacity or misconduct."[80] There were to be weekly faculty meetings at which records of the proceedings were to be kept and in the absence of which no actions taken could be considered valid. The teaching schedule and the selection of textbooks were to be determined by the faculty "subject to the control of the Visitors."[81] Requiring a faculty monitor to stay in the Main Building clearly showed that the Board intended to hold the professors accountable for the students' behavior. An innovation of potentially large importance to the faculty was a decision mandating the pooling and equal division of all undergraduate student fees.[82] This enlightened policy was soon abandoned for the old method of allowing each professor to retain the fees from his own students, although in 1858 or 1859 pooling was reinstituted.[83] The Board also quickly receded from the rigid four-class system and substituted a more flexible set of degree requirements in keeping with the practice that had prevailed, with fluctuations, since the reforms of 1779.[84]

All this backing and forthing began with the debacle of 1848 and the determination of the Board, with dissident members gone and new members added, to discipline and modernize the College. Trial-and-error reforms dictated by those largely ignorant of what went on in the day-to-day process of teaching usually meant an unsettling and wasteful reinvention of the wheel.

Besides changes in the laws and academic program, the intermission of 1848–49 saw repairs to the buildings and the appointment of new professors. The former task fell to President Ewell. This was nothing new. The faculty had always been responsible for such matters, from the buying of shingles to the erection of fences. The work was endless; repairs never seemed to catch up with decay. A promotional article of the kind regularly inserted in the newspapers as if written by someone outside the College claimed that all the buildings had been "thoroughly repaired, the grounds laid out and improved, and [a] new and handsome enclosure put up."[85] Such was not the impression of a newly arrived professor. The town was bad enough—"a miserable, rotten place at best," and the College was if anything worse. It was "a miserable unsightly pile of bricks, such dirty passages and strange inconvenient rooms and broken walls within I had never seen before. It did not seem possible that such a college could prosper or that respectable young men would be content to live in such a building."[86] So wrote Silas Totten, who assumed the chair of moral philosophy in 1849.

Totten' s gloomy initial impression was almost immediately assuaged by the warm welcome extended to him by Judge Tucker and others, and he would remain at the College for a decade. An Episcopal priest and for eleven years president of Trinity College, Totten accepted the William and Mary post largely to escape disagreeable divisions at Trinity caused by the Oxford movement within the Anglican communion.[87] As for the College authorities, there was among them serious concern about hiring a Yankee fresh from the presidency of a New England school. Was he "sound on the goose"? Might he be tainted with abolitionism and other foreign heresies? Bishop Johns investigated Totten's views carefully and gave him passing marks.[88] Totten came to be looked upon by some, including himself, as Johns's right-hand man and almost certain successor, sharing with him the duties of the chair of moral philosophy as befitted a fellow clergyman. Although Totten was an interesting lecturer and was highly regarded as a minister, his rather extensive memoirs of his William and Mary years reveal "an arrogant and proud man, with an irascible and caustic personality, who was often dissatisfied with existing circumstances and unable to come to terms with his lot in life."[89] Almost alone among those whose opinions have survived, he disliked and distrusted Benjamin Ewell, possibly because Ewell and not himself succeeded Johns as president.[90]

Henry A. Washington and William F. Hopkins filled the remaining vacancies left by the debacle of 1848. Hopkins had known Ewell since West Point, where Ewell had been one of his students. He had taught at several institutions since resigning from the academy, and was at the Masonic University of Tennessee when elected to the chair of natural philosophy and chemistry at William and Mary. Not especially anxious to come to the College in the first place, he left after a year to accept a better-paying appointment at the United States Naval Academy in Annapolis.[91]

Henry Augustine Washington was of the Westmoreland County Washingtons, his mother being a great-niece of the president.[92] His educational experience included Georgetown and then Princeton, from which he received his bachelor of arts in 1839. After studying in the private law school of John Tayloe Lomax, he practiced law for a time in Richmond. His political principles made him an eminently suitable person to teach the subjects so closely associated with Dew, especially political economy and history. Poor health dogged Washington throughout most of his adult life, although the nature of his disease is not clear. During its acute phases, according to Totten, he "suffered horribly from nervous excitement," suffering that was at times "unutterable."[93] During an interval of recovery he married Cynthia Beverley Tucker, the judge's idolized daughter, and he somehow found the energy to keep up his teaching for some years and to prepare for publication the writings of Thomas Jefferson. Everyone seems to have admired Washington's fine qualities, and when ill health at last forced him to resign in 1857, the College retained his name in its catalogue so as not to lose the advantage of such an association. The next year while convalescing in Washington, D.C., he died from a self-inflicted and presumably accidental gunshot wound to the head.[94]

So the roster of faculty was full: Johns, Tucker, Ewell, Smead, Totten, Hopkins, Washington. Only one, Tucker, was either an alumnus or a representative of an old Williamsburg family. The purge and reform Corbin Braxton had hoped for was complete. The College was ready for a new departure, free from the domination of an entrenched faculty and student practitioners of "the Williamsburg swagger." And so it threw open its doors in October 1849 to welcome the throngs of young gentlemen who would patronize this purified mecca of higher learning.[95] Instead, a grand total of twenty-one trickled in, many of them law students. Ewell, for one, was depressed, even though he probably was not surprised.[96] The closure of the College for a year must have had an adverse effect on enrollments; how could one know when it might close again? Another reason might have been the appearance of cholera, which had driven the legislature from Richmond to Fauquier Springs and which was also present in Norfolk. As in the 1830s, cholera did not visit Williamsburg, but the reputed unhealthiness of the town may have led prospective students to believe that it would.[97]

Whatever the reasons, the beginning of the session was, as Bishop Johns said, "a gloomy day to the new faculty. … In truth the college was worse than prostrate," weighed down by a long-accumulating burden of religious and political controversy, internal dissension, falterings and closings, and the ever more formidable competition from the University of Virginia.[98] And yet somehow it struggled on. Enrollments grew from twenty-one in 1849 to thirty-five a year later, and by 1854 had reached eighty-two, the most since 1843.[99]

Ewell Takes the Helm

In 1854 Bishop Johns tendered his resignation, reminding the Board of the original understanding that his connection with the College had been for a special purpose and was never intended to last indefinitely. The experiment, he said, had "succeeded beyond our expectations."[100] His mantle descended on Ewell, who had never wanted it and who believed that the presidency should continue to be held by some prominent Episcopal clergyman. There was, indeed, one such on the ground who fully expected to be chosen, Silas Totten. He attributed Ewell's election to "Old Buck's" alleged flattery of Johns and to his own Northern birth. The latter was doubtless the decisive if not the only reason. The national controversy over Kansas and the repeal of the Missouri Compromise in 1854 had so inflamed sectional feelings that the election of a New Yorker would surely have hurt the College. So Ewell accepted, setting his foot to the path that would lead to many years of unremitting toil and much discouragement.[101]

A change in presidents was only one of the familiar vicissitudes with which the old school had to contend during the 1850s. When Hopkins resigned after only a year, Ewell assumed most of his courses, with some assistance from Totten. He kept higher mathematics, while simple mathematics fell to an adjunct professor, "a young man who is to live in the College to preserve order among the students."[102] Then little less than a year later, death ended Beverley Tucker's long reign over the law school.[103] The Board promptly appointed George P. Scarburgh, lately of the old General Court. Able, if no orator, well liked by his students, Scarburgh did not take his seat until the beginning of the 1852–53 session, and he left three years later to accept a judgeship on the newly created United States Court of Claims.[104]

Then came Lucian Minor, in many respects sui generis among William and Mary professors. A Virginian who had studied under James Semple in the 1820s, Minor led a wandering life during his early years, practicing law in Alabama and then traveling extensively, especially in New England, whose economic and social progress he greatly admired. His numerous contributions to the *Southern Literary Messenger* after his return to Virginia were of a quality to win the praise of so adamantine a Yankee as James Russell Lowell. At the time of his appointment to William and Mary, he was practicing law in Charlottesville in partnership with his well-known brother, John B. Minor, professor of law at the university. His talents did not extend to teaching. "What a perfect nonentity as a professor was old Mr. Minor," recalled a former student. "I nick-named him, from his meek, hoary aspect, 'the venerable Cherub'. … We all liked & respected him, however; he was a kind, good man."[105] The cherub's stay was not long; he died of consumption in 1858.[106] After a two-year hiatus, the chair of law was again occupied, this time by an alumnus of the University of Virginia, Charles Morris. He had served but a single session before war came to Virginia, a sad end to a chapter in legal education so brilliantly illustrated by George Wythe and the two Tuckers.[107]

Besides deaths and resignations, there were the continuing aggravations of repairs and finances. Fund-raising, whether from the state, the federal government, or private persons, for the most part met the usual fate, although some members of the Board gave money to repair and improve the Main Building.[108] The endowment at least held its own and was able to meet indispensable needs. The Board had initiated a policy of shifting funds from private loans secured by real estate to municipal, state, and corporate bonds, a wise decision given the history of bad debts which had eaten up a significant fraction of the endowment over the years.[109]

Life in the town and College in the fifties went on much as it had done for decades past. Old men would look back with nostalgia even as their fathers and grandfathers had done before them. "My Williamsburg days were my happiest ones. There was a sort of semipoetic halo around the place for me. The moonlight shone more softly on those greens than it has ever done anywhere else—the girls were very sweet. …" Another alumnus admitted to "very tender recollections of my years spent in the Old Burg, then the home of the most charming social life I have ever known."[110] The young gentlemen seem to have been better behaved, perhaps because the temperance movement had brought to the community "cold water dinners"; nor did Williamsburg escape entirely the resurgent revivalism that swept much of the country and that might have reduced the incidence of misbehavior. But the old town never went to extremes, and even those who touted temperance were known to go on a bender.

There were several social and literary clubs on campus: Tau Chi, Theta Delta Chi, and the Phoenix, Philomathean, and Licivyronian societies. They accumulated their libraries, had their meeting rooms, held dinners, sometimes with bands, gave speeches, debated, and occasionally feuded with one another with adolescent hubris. The eldest society of all, Phi Beta Kappa, was resurrected from its long death by Totten and Smead, both members of Union College's Alpha of New York, after they had first secured the blessing of William Short, the only remaining "founder" of the 1770s. Students came to regard election to Phi Beta Kappa as eclipsing in honor a degree from the College. And after graduation they could attend meetings of the Society of the Alumni, founded in 1842. No fewer than two hundred members were present at such a celebration early in 1859 in the Raleigh Tavern's "hall of Apollo."[111]

Faculty and students, by and large, got along well, "Old Pomp" Smead being an exception. Most important of all, the young gentlemen loved Ewell. "Old Buck is a glorious fellow," said one.[112] As always, the character and personality of the president were of enormous importance to the harmonious functioning of the College. Ewell deserves the more credit because he was handicapped by his painful marital predicament. When he came to Williamsburg, he was at first separated from both his wife, Julia, and his only child, his daughter Elizabeth, who lived with her paternal grandmother in Prince William County. The absence of the former was a blessing. However, Julia eventually wore out her welcome at her parents' home in Pennsylvania. Ewell's mother refused to take her in for fear that she would become overfamiliar with the boys at a nearby school operated by Ewell's younger brother. Finally, in September 1850 she joined her husband.

Soon the couple's "battles and brawls" became a nuisance to the neighbors and a scandal in the town.[113] Ewell began to decline social invitations, pleading his inability to reciprocate in the same style and manner which he had so often enjoyed in the homes of others.[114] The real problem was surely Julia's bizarre behavior. Her desperate husband confessed that she had become "so very violent, & goes to such lengths, I do not know how to keep her indiscretions of speech, & temper secret any longer. Indeed she grows more violent as she grows older."[115] This affliction was removed when Julia returned to her parents' home late in 1851.[116]

With Julia gone and his mother and daughter coming to live with him, Ewell could allow himself to breathe a little of Williamsburg's seductive lotus-laden atmosphere that few ever seemed to escape. But there was such a thing as being too comfortable, and Ewell began to think that it was "absolutely necessary to infuse in the Faculty more energy & more of a spirit of enterprise."[117] He had reason to be concerned. After Johns resigned, enrollments fell from eighty-two in 1854 to fifty-eight in 1857, a development Ewell saw as cause and effect.[118] The law course was particularly anemic under Minor, with only eight students in 1856—scarcely more than half the number of two years before.

A prominent member of the Board was likewise concerned, though perhaps not for the same reasons. This was Governor Henry A Wise, a Visitor since 1848 and a states' rights Democrat who had won a heated gubernatorial election in 1855. He took the lead at an excited meeting of the Board held in 1858, on July 7 and 8. Reports came out that, among other things, Wise wanted to move the College to his native Eastern Shore of Virginia so the students could enjoy sea bathing. In fact, the governor's educational ideas resembled in many respects those put forward by Jefferson in 1779 and later: a system of free public schools and intermediate colleges and academies, the latter serving as feeders for the University of Virginia. He failed to sell his plan to the legislature, and so, as Jefferson had done before him, Wise decided to reform William and Mary.

Ewell believed that the governor's plan for the state was outdated and for the College, ill advised. He especially objected to Wise's proposal to revive the Grammar School. Jefferson had found the presence of young boys to be disruptive and objectionable, and the president agreed. "A preparatory school is very well, if it is not kept within a half a mile of a College." He saw nothing intrinsically wrong with the existing organization of "independent departments, with a limited liberty of choice to the student. This is the direction most colleges are taking. The old tread mill plan of 4 classes stretching or compressing the intellect to fit a certain standard, a sort of bed of Procrustes, has not the favor it had formerly."[119] Just as other institutions were adopting the elective system, some of the Visitors wanted to move to what was being abandoned elsewhere. The phenomenon of trendy obsolescence would reappear in the late twentieth century and would come to be known in some quarters as "the William and Mary lag."

The Visitors and Ewell had a stormy session. "The Board made Ben mad 3 times," his mother reported; "he threw up his Professorship, as well as the Presidency, they refused even to consider it, ***would*** not receive it[.] He told them some home truths."[120] They were willing, however, to accept his resignation as president in order to obtain the services of a distinguished Episcopalian divine, something Ewell himself had long favored. Another object was to get rid of Smead altogether. When he refused to take a hint and resign, the Board fired him, much to his dismay. Lucian Minor had died some weeks earlier, and Wise persuaded his colleagues to leave the chair empty, a decision that angered the local people.[121] The Board elected to the presidency the Reverend Robert W. Barnwell, a respected scholar then at South Carolina College. When he declined, the Board asked Ewell to stay on, so "Old Buck" agreed to keep the job he had never really wanted.[122]

When the dust settled, the College emerged without a law school and also without a grammar school; Wise had lost that part of the argument. There was a three-year course of study, which was nothing new, and students could attend any classes they wished as long as they included three departments. Even this requirement could be waived, so after all there was to be no Procrustean bed of rigidly prescribed courses. The Board did break new ground in creating a second language department. Comparatively young men headed both. Edwin Taliaferro would teach Latin and the Romance languages, again reviving Jefferson's innovation, and Edward S. Joynes, Greek and German. The former came from a prominent Tidewater family, and the latter, according to an *Enquirer* editorial, commanded "an extended and influential family connection, second to none in the state, counting even among his immediate fraternity now living, no less than six men of high standing and influence." Such men were expected to draw students to William and Mary from among their friends and relatives. After what was probably a vigorous contest, Robert J. Morrison won out over the well-known historian Charles Campbell as Henry Washington's successor. Thomas T. L. Snead, who had replaced the popular Robert ("Old Boosy") Gatewood as adjunct professor of mathematics, continued in that position.[123]

After all of Wise's huffing and puffing and spread-eagle eloquence, nothing much had changed. Smead was gone and modern languages were back, this time including German, and there were two language teachers instead of one. Some believed the law school was gone for good, but thanks to the efforts of Ewell, John Tyler, and especially Visitor Hugh Blair Grigsby, it reappeared in 1860 in the person, as mentioned, of Charles Morris.[124]

Disaster

The session of 1858–59 opened with only forty-seven students as compared to sixty the year before; the absence of a law professor may have caused most of the decline. On the other hand, the buildings had been extensively repaired at a cost of $6,500, a great sum in those days, and the future seemed reasonably secure. The alumni society made preparations to celebrate the 166th anniversary of the issuance of the royal charter, a date that fell on February 19 (February 8, O.S.), 1859. It was to be a great event, adorned by an address by ex-President John Tyler. But then in the early hours of February 8, the Main Building went up in flames. Ewell was one of the first on the scene and went to the second floor to rout out several students living there. The fire began in the north wing and rapidly spread to other parts of the structure. The interior burned with a great roar, and the glare of the fire could be seen for miles around. The crowd that gathered looked on in stunned silence. Nothing could be done: within four hours the building was gutted.[125]

Virtually the entire library of eight thousand volumes was lost, including Louis XVI's gift, as were the scientific equipment, the original copy of the Transfer, and George Washington's letter accepting the chancellorship. The chapel's mural tablets honoring Sir John Randolph and Bishop Madison were calcined rubble. The contents of the Blue Room, consisting mainly of six portraits, the College seal, and some of the records, were saved.[126] Perhaps worst of all, so much history and so many memories went up in smoke.

It might be said of the College and its well-wishers that this was their finest hour. Faculty, Visitors, students, townspeople, and friends everywhere rallied to rebuild and to keep the College in session. The anniversary celebration went forward, and suggestions that the College abandon Williamsburg received short shrift. A difference of opinion arose about whether to make use of the old walls, most of which were still standing, or to construct an entirely new edifice. The former course prevailed. It was quicker, cheaper, and saved at least part of the original structure as a symbol of continuity.[127] Insurance money and private donations proved to be more than sufficient to rebuild and refurnish.[128] William Barton Rogers, who was visiting Virginia at the time of the fire, returned to the scenes of his youth, viewed the blackened walls, and drove down Main Street (the present Duke of Gloucester Street), "recognizing familiar objects, and dwelling in dreamy sweet sadness on the past." The Visitors asked for his advice on rebuilding, and later he would help in replacing the scientific apparatus.[129] Some four thousand volumes acquired by gift and purchase quickly provided the nucleus of a new library.

Not all was sweet concord, however. At the Board's February meeting, Henry A. Wise, possibly still smarting from his rebuff of the previous summer, sought to curb the faculty's fiscal authority. Soon after the fire, the Society had paid $4,600 for a building behind the Brafferton to serve as a College hotel. This irked Wise. He proposed a resolution "declaring the absolute right of control in the Visitors over the Faculty, and preventing them from buying or selling any property for any purpose whatever without the previous assent of the Board." Wise pushed his motion with his customary warmth, and was as warmly opposed by fellow Visitors Johns, Hugh Grigsby, and Bursar Tazewell Taylor. The resolution was subsequently amended so as merely to assert a general legislative control over the faculty.[130] At its July meeting the Board adopted a resolution diminishing the scale of fees, which recently had been increased by one-fourth. The faculty seems to have objected, but to no avail. Totten resigned in September, and there seems to have been some discussion of filling his chair with a new president, but this did not come to pass. It may be that so vehement a Democrat as Governor Wise did not like having so staunch a Whig as Ewell at the head of the College.[131]

Work on the Main Building proceeded rapidly, and on October 11, 1859, with much ado the Grand Masonic Lodge of Virginia put the capstone in place. The new building was a far cry from the old in appearance, with two square Italianate towers flanking the front entrance. Jefferson probably would have compared it to a brick kiln with shot towers.[132] The dedication ceremonies also saw John Tyler installed as chancellor, the first to hold that office since Washington.

William and Mary had once more risen phoenixlike from its ashes. Students and townspeople were ready to resume their accustomed round of classes and balls, courting and commencements, visiting and gossiping. But the world beyond was about to break in upon them all as it had done eighty years before. Five days after the 1859–60 session opened, the fanatic abolitionist John Brown descended on Harper's Ferry to begin the violent revolutionizing of the South. Northern sympathy and support for this bloody-handed horse thief shocked Southerners as nothing else had ever done, and they began to look to the defense of their homes against the armed invasion many feared was coming. The next year saw the breakup of the Democratic party and the election of a president by a wholly sectional party for the first time in the nation's history. Then followed the secession of South Carolina and the failure of all attempts by Congress to reach a compromise. A last-ditch effort to save the Union and avert war, the Washington Peace Convention in February 1861, was the work of Chancellor John Tyler, but it came too late to stop the rush to Armageddon. Then came the outbreak of hostilities at Fort Sumter.

Benjamin Ewell bitterly opposed secession and hoped to the end that disunion might be prevented. Yet he and the faculty could do no other than agree to the students' petition, presented in January, to permit them to organize a military company, and they asked the governor to equip it with two brass cannon.[133] Ewell accepted the captaincy, though still hoping for peace. Then, on April 17, the Virginia convention reacted to Lincoln's call for militia to invade the Deep South states by taking the Old Dominion out of the Union. The moment of decision had arrived; Ewell offered his services to the commonwealth.[134]

At a called meeting on May 10, the faculty resolved that with war imminent, most of the students already gone from the College and the rest preparing to follow, "the exercises of the College be that day suspended."[135] They prepared a circular announcing to the public that the College would reopen in October "if the state of the country shall permit."[136] It did not. Soon afterward Confederate military authorities took possession of the campus and used it as a barracks and a hospital.[137] There were a few faculty meetings in the ensuing months of 1861, and there was some hope that William and Mary might reopen early the next year. This turned out to be impossible, and the faculty braced for the worst. In February the bursar was directed to turn over all bonds and other papers of value to Hugh Grigsby to be kept at his home in Charlotte County.[138]

By March a great Northern army under Major General George B. McClellan was landing at Fort Monroe; more than 100,000 men, it would be. During these months Ewell's main duty as a Confederate officer was to draw up a line of defensive works east of Williamsburg. Meantime, the town filled up with refugees from those parts of the Peninsula occupied by Union forces.[139] Early in May the Yankee juggernaut began to move. The Confederates fought a bloody rearguard action east of Williamsburg along the lines laid out by Ewell.[140] Then they continued to retreat toward Richmond, leaving the town to the invaders. During June and July, a series of attacks near Richmond by General Robert E. Lee drove the enemy away from the Southern capital. By midsummer most of the Union army had moved back to northern Virginia, but the Federals maintained an outpost in Williamsburg for the rest of the war.

The town's painful experience under Union rule cannot be recounted here, but painful it was.[141] The people enjoyed a brief, deliriously happy deliverance on September 9, 1862, when a small force of Confederates drove the Fifth Pennsylvania Cavalry from the town in headlong flight, some troopers not stopping until they had reached Yorktown. The Southern soldiers then withdrew. The humiliated Pennsylvanians returned, got drunk, and fired the Main Building. Townspeople, mainly women and children, rushed with buckets of water to save the College, only to be driven off by the drawn sabers of the Union warriors. The fire roared on and eventually died away, leaving a smoking shell. When the rubble cooled, the soldiers broke into the vault and stole the silver fittings from the coffins of the honored dead.[142]

The walls of the Main Building still stood, as they had after the fires of 1705 and 1859, and eventually they would again enclose an academic building. But the College that would fill them would be very different from what it had been before. Like the Old South, the old William and Mary was gone forever.

NOTES

1. Nathaniel Beverley Tucker, draft statement for Board of Visitors, N. B. Tucker College Writings, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
2. John Sumner Wood, *The Virginia Bishop: A Yankee Hero of the Confederacy* (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1961), 1–26, 93.
3. Richmond *Enquirer*, May 7, 28, June 6, 18, 1847, Feb. 24, Dec. 12, 1848; "William and Mary College" (an exchange of letters in the Richmond *Whig* published in pamphlet form, WMA); [Rev. William B. Hodges], "To the Visitors of William and Mary College" (pamphlet, n.p., n.d.), photostat in Chronology File, WMA, from original in Maryland Diocesan Archives.
4. Richmond *Enquirer*, Mar. 2, 7, 1847; Tyler, *Letters*, 1:386; Neal C. Gillespie, *The Collapse of Orthodoxy: The Intellectual Ordeal of George Frederick Holmes* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1972), 28; *DAB*, s.v. "Holmes, George Frederick"; R. M. T. Hunter to Robert McCandlish, Jan. 20, 1847, folder 80, College Papers, WMA; G. F. Holmes to Lavalette Holmes, Feb. 24, 1847, Holmes Papers, DU. This and other items from Duke were kindly supplied by Mr. Wade Shaffer. For Tyler's opinion, see Tyler to G. F. Holmes, Jan. 31, 1848, John Tyler, Presidential Papers, DLC, microfilm.
5. Richmond *Enquirer*, May 28, 1847, the quotation being the paraphrase of Meade's remarks. The *Enquirer* was incorrect in saying that the committee had recommended acceptance; cf. Wood, Bishop, 93–98.
6. *DAB*, s.v. "Hawks, Francis L."; Richmond *Enquirer*, July 17, 1847; Chronology File, 1825–49, WMA. For Johns's declination, see John Johns and William Meade to Robert McCandlish, May 27, 1847, folder 16, College Papers, WMA; also William Meade to [John Johns], Johns, Faculty/Alumni, WMA.
7. [Elizabeth J. Galt] to Sally Marie Galt, Aug. 20, 1847, Galt Family Papers, WMM. Hawks said he had accepted at Louisiana before he knew of his election at William and Mary.
8. Corbin Braxton to C. C. Cocke, Nov. 12, 1847, Oliver Family Papers, UVA. Braxton, who opposed Saunders, listed the pro-Saunders men as John Tyler, John B. Christian, Robert McCandlish (rector), and Robert G. Scott. For the Board resolution containing the election of Saunders, see Faculty Minutes, Oct. 12, 1847, listing present at "an informal meeting" five members who had qualified according to the charter (Scott, Christian, McCandlish, John Mercer, and James Lyons) plus Bishop Meade, who had been elected but had not yet qualified and could not vote. Possibly Braxton and Tyler came in later, making the seven votes mentioned by Braxton, the two votes perhaps being entered ex post facto.
9. Landon C. Garland to James Lyons, Oct. 11, 1847, folder 80, College Papers, WMA.
10. An inference.
11. Robert Saunders to Robert McCandlish, Nov. 9, 1847 (two letters), folder 53, College Papers, WMA. In the second letter, Saunders asked that his references in his first letter to opposition to Peachy by other faculty members be deleted. Cf. Archibald C. Peachy to Board of Visitors, Mar. 1, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA; Elizabeth Galt to J. H. Strobia, n.d., but Nov. 1848, Galt Family Papers, WMM; N. B. Tucker to Cynthia B. Tucker, Nov. 15, 1847, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
12. Turrentine, "Tucker," 3:1384 n. 88; "William and Mary College," 14. For the elder Peachy's problems, see T. R. Dew to B. F. Dew, Feb. 13, 1844, Dew Family Papers, WMM. As late as July, 1847, William Peachy, Archibald's brother, was secretary of the alumni society while Saunders was president, suggesting that the breach had not yet occurred, or at least was not yet irreparable. Saunders could afford to be generous to the Peachys. He maintained a large Williamsburg establishment, and owned many slaves and a York County plantation. (Interview of Elizabeth Baker, 1933, "single transcripts," CWF; John S. Charles, "Recollections …,"

[1933], Special Collections, CWF; Personal Property Tax Records, Williamsburg, 1783–1861, CWF, microfilm of records in VSL under heading Robert Saunders, 1845, 1850; Seventh Census, 1850, York County, Va., slave schedules, microfilm, CWF.) It seems not unlikely that Saunders may have turned against Peachy when Tucker, Peachy's champion, opposed Saunders's appointment as permanent president because of his allegedly excessive drinking.

13. Turrentine, "Tucker," 3: 1409. This was according to Tucker, whose violent partisanship makes him a somewhat suspect witness.
14. Archibald Peachy to B. F. Dew, Jan. 15, 1847, Dew Family Papers, WMM; N. B. Tucker to Board of Visitors, Mar. 1, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA.
15. John Millington to Mann Valentine 11, Jan. 18, 1848, Millington Papers, WMA (typescript of original in Valentine Museum). The last sentence quoted concluded, "and he expressed his willingness to come." It may be that Garland had heard of the divisions for and against Peachy in Williamsburg and decided that Alabama would be more pleasant.
16. John Millington to Joseph Henry, Mar. 10, 1848, folder 16, College Papers, WMA. For a Board member who believed that Dew's place should be filled by someone "of commanding influence," see Thomas S. Gholson to John B. Christian, Sept. 30, 1846, folder 80, College Papers, WMA.
17. Archibald C. Peachy to B. F. Dew, Jan. 15, 1847; T. R. Dew to B. F. Dew, Feb. 13, 1844, Dew Family Papers, WMM; A. C. Peachy to Board of Visitors, Mar. 1, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA; Mansfield, "Dew," 123; Turrentine, 'Tucker," 3: 1409; "Provisional List," 32, 54; *Catalogue of Alumni*, 154–55.
18. The lepas is a limpet known for clinging tenaciously to whatever it is attached.
19. Corbin Braxton to C. C. Cocke, Nov. 12, 1847, Oliver Family Papers, UVA Braxton, a recently elected Visitor, was from King William County.
20. John G. Williamson to William R Galt, Oct. 15, 1847, Galt Family Papers, WMM.
21. Elizabeth J. Galt to J. H. Strobia, fall 1847, misdated 1848, ibid.
22. Ibid.
23. N. B. Tucker to Board of Visitors, folder 53, College Papers, WMA; Tucker, *Tucker*, 430–31; N. B. Tucker to Cynthia B. Tucker, Nov. 28, 1847, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.
24. Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 23, 1847. This meeting was held on Nov. 10, the day after Saunders's resignation but before the callithumps, which occurred on Nov. 22.
25. John Millington to Mann Valentine II, Jan. 18, 1848, Millington Papers, WMA (typescript of original in Valentine Museum). In the preamble to one set of resolutions, students referred to "the appointment of Mr. Archibald Peachy a gentleman of whom we know nothing," the point no doubt being that he had no reputation as a scholar or teacher. If anyone on the faculty was stirring up the students against Peachy's appointment, a process of elimination points to Minnegerode. The resolutions referred to, a typescript copy, can be found under date [ca. 1848] in the Battaile Muse Papers, DU.
26. Tyler, *Letters*, 3:60; Tyler, *Encyclopedia*, 2:269; Leonard, comp., *General Assembly*, 304, 310, 315, 320, 325, 328, 333, 338, 343.
27. A. C. Peachy to Board of Visitors, Mar. 1, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA; Richmond *Enquirer*, Dec. 10, 1847.
28. Petition of James Christian to the Board of Visitors, Mar. 2, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA.
29. N. B. Tucker to Cynthia B. Tucker, Dec. 7, 1847, Jan. 12, 1848, the latter containing the quotation. For a possible reason why Tucker was in the anti-Saunders camp, see a blistering attack on Tucker's ideas said to have been written by Saunders soon after Tucker joined the faculty: Robert J. Allison, "'From the Covenant of Peace, a Simile of Sorrow': James Madison's American Allegory," *VMHB* 99 (1991): 328; *SLM* 1 (1835): 266–71, 388.

30. G. F. Holmes to George [Floyd?], Jan. 25, 1848, John Warfield Johnston Papers, DU.

31. Rev. William Hodges to [John B. Christian], Apr. 28, 1848, Southall Papers, WMM. This is a copy of Hodges's original statement sent to Southall, presumably by Christian.

32. N. B. Tucker to Cynthia B. Tucker, Jan. 22, 1848, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.

33. G. F. Holmes to Board of Visitors, Jan. 22, 1848, copied in Faculty Minutes, Apr. 3, 1848. Holmes asked that his resignation take effect at the end of the session or earlier if the Board so desired. He said his resignation had nothing to do with the Peachy affair.

34. John Millington to Joseph Henry, June 25, 1847, Millington Papers, WMA

35. John Millington to Mann Valentine 11, Jan. 15, 1848 (typescript from original in Valentine Museum); id. to Bernard Peyton, Jan. 4, 16, 1848, both in ibid. Mann Valentine II to John Millington, Jan. 25, 1848, Mann Valentine II, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA (typescript of original in Valentine Museum).

36. Jan. 11, 1848.

37. John G. Williamson to William R. Galt, Jan. 31, 1848, Galt Family Papers, WMM.

38. It also asked for the faculty records for the session thus far. Visitor John Tyler compared the situation with the crisis of the mid-1820s and was prepared to take "strong and decisive measures." John Tyler to G. F. Holmes, Jan. 31, 1848, Tyler, Presidential Papers, DLC, microfilm.

39. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 3, 1848.

40. Ibid.; the Board's interrogatories and resolutions can also be found in folder 50, College Papers, WMA.

41. N. B. Tucker to Board of Visitors, Mar. 3, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA.

42. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 3, 1848.

43. A. C. Peachy to Board of Visitors, Mar. 1, 1848, folder 53, College Papers, WMA. Peachy crossed through the three quoted words, but so lightly that they can easily be read. Cf. "Camillus" in "William and Mary College," 16. Whoever he was, this correspondent of the Richmond Whig had access to the letter, which survives and shows the sketchy cross-throughs that "Camillus" mentions as an example of Peachy's duplicity. Other than the fact that Minnegerode was a strong partisan of Garland and an equally strong opponent of Peachy's appointment, no cause for the feud between the two has been uncovered.

44. The resignations can be found in folder 53, College Papers, WMA. Tucker simultaneously applied for reappointment, an event of which he then probably had little doubt.

45. Board Resolutions, Mar. 4, 1848, folder 50, College Papers, WMA; Faculty Minutes, Mar. 3, 1848. The abolition of such societies had been contemplated at least since the previous year. Tau Xi to B. F. Dew, Mar. 8, 1847, Dew Family Papers, WMM. The Faculty Minutes for June 1847 show that there had been apparently serious problems with students during that session, but particulars are lacking.

46. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 3, 28, 1848.

47. Minnegerode to Board of Visitors, Mar. 4, 1848, Millington to Board of Visitors, Mar. 4, 1848, Holmes to McCandlish, Mar. 4, 1848, all in folder 53, College Papers, WMA; Robert Saunders to Board of Visitors, Mar. 4, 1848, William and Mary Papers, DLC, microfilm.

48. Richmond *Enquirer*, Mar. 19, 1848. The quotations are from separate notices in the same issue.

49. "The Visitors came to the conclusion that nothing short of vacating all the chairs at the end of the course could save the institution. This has been done, and we shall have no difficulty in filling up properly and taking a new departure." Tyler, *Letters*, 2:107.

50. G. F. Holmes to Robert McCandlish, Aug. 18, 1848, Holmes, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; Turrentine, "Tucker," 3:1395; Richmond *Enquirer*, June 6, 9, 16, July 7, 1848; "William and Mary College," 9; signed statement by Robert McCandlish and John C. Mercer, Apr. 25, 1848, Holmes

Papers, DU. Just who on the Board wanted to keep which professors has not been discovered. Probably most wanted Holmes and Millington, but especially Holmes, to stay, as well as Peachy, but there may have been divisions on all of these. Presumably they knew Saunders would not accept reappointment. The pro-Peachy members were doubtless determined to get rid of Minnegerode. The whole situation is confusing, as it probably was to the participants at the time.

51. C. Minnegerode to [L. C. Garland] , Aug. 31, 1848, folder 16, College Papers, WMA; John Brockenbrough to James Lyons. June 22, 1848, Ewell Papers, WMA. Minnegerode had evidently been looking for another job as early as December 1847; C. E. Smith to Cynthia B. Tucker, Dec. 16, 1848, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM. Minnegerode left owing the College $1,400, Faculty Minutes, Jan. 17, 1849. See also "Camillus" in "William and Mary College," 16; G. F. Holmes to Robert McCandlish, Holmes, Faculty/Alumni, WMA; Corbin Braxton to B. S. Ewell, July 24, 1848, Ewell Papers, WMA; Turrentine, "Tucker," 3:1396; Anne West Chapman, "Benjamin Stoddert Ewell: A Biography" (Ph.D. diss., William and Mary, 1984), 86. Saunders's estrangement from the College—or at least those who controlled it—apparently lasted for many years. See Robert Saunders to the Rector and Visitors of William and Mary. July 3, 1867, folder 54, College Papers, WMA. The College awarded Minnegerode an honorary doctor of divinity degree in 1854.
52. Peachy got only five votes of the ten or eleven Visitors present and so actually was not reelected, according to "Camillus," "William and Mary College," 17. Something quite similar appears to have happened with respect to the election of a president in the late twentieth century.
53. Draft of letter, probably from Elizabeth J. Galt, Galt Family to J. H. Strobia, c. July 1848, written on the reverse of J. H. Strobia to Elizabeth J. Galt, Jan. 18, 1845, Papers, WMM. The reference to the church doubtless refers to the departure of the Rev. Hodges from Bruton Parish. See Henry M. Denison to John M. Galt et al., Aug. 4, 1848, Galt Family Papers, WMM; Bruton Parish Vestry Books, 1827–89, Aug. 24, 1848, microfilm copy in CWF. There was an overlapping membership between the vestry on one hand and the faculty and Visitors on the other. The minutes of vestry meetings are few, far between, and sketchy. For George Blow, one of the resigning Visitors, and his parting shot, see his letter to George Blow. Jr., Sept. 26, 1848, Chronology File, 1825–49, WMA (typescript of original belonging to Mrs. Arthur Scrivener). The third resignation was that of the respected Richmond attorney, James Lyons. For continuing difficulties at Bruton Parish, see Chapman, ed., "Totten," 95–99; they resemble the troubles in the College. Blow believed that the controlling faction intended to turn the College over to the Episcopal church.
54. Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 13, 1848.
55. W. F. Hopkins to B. S. Ewell, May 31 , 1849, Ewell Papers, WMA.
56. Chapman, "Ewell," 86.
57. Chapman, "Ewell," chap. 1.
58. Chapman, "Ewell," 44–47, 52–68.
59. For recommendations, see among others, Moses D. Hoge to James E. Heath, Apr. 14, 1848; Joseph R. Anderson to id., Apr. 18, 1848; Francis H. Smith to Robert McCandlish, May 18, 1848, William and Mary Papers, DLC, microfilm. Smith was superintendent of the Virginia Military Institute, Anderson of the Tredegar Iron Works in Richmond, and Hoge was a prominent Richmond minister who had known Ewell during his Hampden-Sydney days. See also Ewell to C. P. Dorman, Feb. 5, 1848, folder 16, College Papers, WMA.
60. J. E. Heath to B. S. Ewell, July 14, 1848; Robert McCandlish to id., July 15, 1848; Corbin Braxton to B. S. Ewell, July 24, 1848, Ewell Papers, WMA.
61. B. S. Ewell to Robert McCandlish, Aug. 3, 1848, William and Mary Papers, DLC, microfilm.
62. *TQ* 4 (1922): 134–35; Hubert P. Lefebvre to Robert McCandlish, July 8, 1848, folder 81, College Papers, WMA.

63. Chapman, ed., “Totten,” 78.
64. R. M. Smith to B. S. Ewell, Oct. 3, 1892, William Lamb Papers (typescript), WMM.
65. Cf. Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 17, 1848.
66. Millington was reluctant to leave and probably hesitated some days before making up his mind. Certainly his wife was upset at the prospect of moving to Mississippi. [Elizabeth J. Galt] to Sally M. Galt, Aug. 2, 1848, Galt Family Papers, WMM. For Peachy's income, see H. A. Washington to [Lawrence Washington], Jan. 11, 1849, H. A. Washington, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. That these reports were not wildly exaggerated is suggested by the fact that one of Peachy's partners and the future general-in-chief of the Union army, Henry W. Halleck, accumulated a large fortune. See Stephen E. Ambrose, *Halleck: Lincoln’s Chief of Staff* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962), 8. Peachy was still in California at least as late as 1856: Elizabeth Ewell to Rebecca Ewell, Feb. 4, 1856, Ewell Family Papers, WMM.
67. G. F. Holmes to Robert McCandlish, Aug. 8, 1848, William and Mary Papers, DLC, microfilm. This opinion was evidently shared by McCandlish, Minnegerode and doubtless others. Charles Minnegerode to L. C. Garland, folder 16, College Papers, WMA. The terms of the royal charter and the transfer seem to bear them out. These documents can be found, inter alia, in *History of William and Mary*. See pp. 6–7 and 19 for pertinent passages. See also Robert McCandlish to G. F. Holmes. July 25, 1848, and Holmes to McCandlish, Aug. 7, 1848, Holmes Papers, DU.
68. For a blistering attack on the Board, see G. F. Holmes to McCandlish, Aug. 14, 1848, William and Mary Papers, DLC, microfilm. Holmes's vehemence should be seen in the light of his tendency to "take sides, and that warmly." D. F. Jamieson to Holmes, Apr. 8, 1848, Holmes Papers, DU.
69. Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 8, Oct. 17, 1848
70. Ewell to Robert McCandlish, Sept. 2, 1848, Ewell Papers, WMA. This letter is, however, a little confusing. On the one hand, he said that it would be better to close the College for a year or even two rather than rush to fill the vacancies. But later on, after discussing two possible candidates, Ewell urged McCandlish not to let either professorship (moral philosophy and natural philosophy) "go begging."
71. Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 17, 1848. The announcement was signed by the new rector, John Tyler. Only a few law students attended that session.
72. John S. Williamson to William R. Galt, Nov. 17, 1848, Galt Family Papers, WMM. Williamson believed that otherwise there was "nothing to hope for."
73. The other part would be taught by Silas Totten.
74. Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 10, 1848, May 22, 29, June 29, July 3, 1849; John Tyler to John Johns, May 29, 1849 (copy of original in Princeton University), folder 16, College Papers, WMA; John Johns to Mrs. Johns, June 12, 1849, Subject File, WMA. Years later, Ewell would credit Bishop Meade for having made it possible for Johns to be president in order to save the College. Ewell, "Autobiography" (c. 1883), Ewell Papers, WMA. It is often said that Johns did not teach, but this is incorrect. See, e.g., Faculty Minutes, July 23, 1851; Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 11, 1853. He attended faculty meetings with great regularity.
75. Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 7, 1849. The minimum age for starting the four-year course was fourteen, for the two-year course, fifteen. See also "Laws and Regulations of William and Mary College …" (Richmond: P. D. Bernard, 1851), 13. The other earned degrees were bachelor of law and master of arts, as heretofore. For numerical grades, etc., and quarterly reports, see "Laws and Regulations of the College of William and Mary in Virginia" (Richmond: Shepherd and Colin, 1849), 11–12; Henry Hunton to C. H. Hunton, Jan. 5, 1858, C. H. Hunton to Henry Hunton, May 23, 1858, Charles Hunton Papers, DU.
76. Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 15, 1851. For an interesting discussion of the curriculum in the mid-1840s, see Millington's address as printed in Richmond *Enquirer*, July 8, 1845. For a denial that the faculty resisted moving from a two- to a three-year program, see Minnegerode

to Robert McCandlish, Feb. 23, 1847, Minnegerode, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA. For the inauguration of the three-year program, see Faculty Minutes, Oct. 2, 1847, and also John B. Christian to Henry Washington, May 31, 1849, Washington Papers, WMM.

77. "Laws and Regulations" (1849), 12.
78. Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 15, 1851. This policy may predate 1851; as is so often the case, records are missing.
79. Chapman, ed., "Totten," 127–28.
80. "Laws and Regulations" (1849), 5.
81. Ibid., 6.
82. For faculty regulations, see ibid., 5–8; for student regulations, ibid., 15–18. For an adverse reaction to part of the new laws, see William F. Hopkins to B. S. Ewell, May 31, 1849, Ewell Papers, WMA. Hopkins (as noted below) joined the faculty in October 1849, but stayed only one year. He was skeptical about a clergyman as president. "There may be a clergyman who is a man of business & a disciplinarian, but I never saw one."
83. Chapman, ed., "Totten," 113–14, 128, 190.
84. "Laws and Regulations" (1849), 9–10, 20; "Laws and Regulations" (1851), 13; "Laws and Regulations of William and Mary ... " (n. p., n. d., but 1853 or 1854) , 30; "The Officers, Statutes and Charter of the College of William and Mary," (Richmond: Thomas Bailie, 1855), 46; "Catalogue of the Course of Studies of William and Mary College ... for the Sessions 1855–56 and 1856–57" (Williamsburg: J. Hervey Ewing, 1857), 26; "Catalogue of the Officers and Students of the College of William and Mary in Virginia, Session 1859–60," (Baltimore: John Murphy and Co., 1860), 43. By the end of the decade, a course of study was specified consisting of three classes (junior, middle, and senior) each with its list of courses. For details, see "Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1859–60," 43.
85. Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 28, 1849.
86. Chapman, ed., "Totten," 51.
87. Ibid., 10.
88. John Johns to N. B. Tucker, July 23, 1849, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM; id. to Mrs. Johns, June 12, 1849, Subject File, WMA.
89. Chapman, ed., "Totten," 14. This is Dr. Chapman's assessment. As for Totten's views on slavery, about which Johns quizzed him, they were not inconsistent with those held by many Virginians: slavery was wrong, but virtually impossible to get rid of, and as long as it persisted the relationship between the races was probably the best possible under the circumstances. Ibid., 43–44. For his ministerial activities, see ibid., 97–98, 130–31, 144–45, 153–54. Long after he left William and Mary, a former student wrote to Ewell that neither Totten nor Smead "seemed to do any student any good whatever." R. M. Smith to B. S. Ewell, Oct. 3, 1892, William Lamb Papers (typescript), WMM. However, Henry Hunton described Totten as "highly interesting and agreeable, in his manner of lecturing." Henry Hunton to C. H. Hunton, Nov. 13, 1857, Hunton Papers, DU. He also seemed to like Smead and the other professors.
90. Chapman, ed., "Totten," 79–80. For what the writer considers to be a typical and very favorable estimate of Ewell, see George E. Dabney to William J. Robertson, June 16, 1854, Ewell Papers, WMA.
91. William F. Hopkins to [Robert McCandlish?], Aug. 14, 1848; id. to B. S. Ewell, May 31, 1849, Ewell Papers, WMA; id. to John Tyler, Aug. 21, 1850, and biographical chronology, Hopkins, Faculty/Alumni. WMA.
92. *TQ* 4 (1922): 135. For Lomax and the "Fredericksburg Law School," see Bryson, Legal Education, 359–66.
93. Chapman, ed., "Totten," 76.
94. Ibid., 75–77; John Johns, *Memoirs of Henry Augustine Washington ...* (Baltimore: James Young,

Printer, 1859), 3–32; interview with Mrs. Martha Vandegrift (1932), "Single Transcripts," CWF; Henry A Washington, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson ...,* 9 vols. (New York: Riker, Thome and Co.; Washington: Taylor and Maury, 1854). Some rather touching letters to Washington from his parents concerning his health may be found in the Tucker-Coleman-Washington Papers, WMM. They believed that their son's illness was incurable, but could be alleviated only if he returned to Westmoreland County and lived the healthy life of a country lawyer. Dr. Chapman ("Totten," 90 n. 16) identifies Washington's illness as chronic diarrhea, but does not give a source for her statement. Given the circumstances of his death, suicide must be considered a possibility.

95. E.g., the euphoric notice in the Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 28, 1849.
96. Francis H. Smith to B. S. Ewell, Dec. 13, 1849; William Meade to B. S. Ewell, July 13, 1849, Ewell Papers, WMA. The second letter shows that Ewell was considering resigning.
97. John Williamson to William R. Galt, May 22, 1849; J. H. Strobia to Elizabeth J. Galt, June 1, 1849, Galt Family Papers, WMM; Charles Campbell to Susan Braxton, June 5, 1849, Charles Campbell Papers, WMM.
98. Johns, *Washington*, 10; Ewell, "Autobiography," Ewell Papers (typescript copy), WMA. This is a brief and incomplete document.
99. Of course, an unknown number of these paid partially or not at all. Figures are from Tyler, *Williamsburg*, 269. According to the *Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 13, 1853, the Board raised the standard of graduation so that the College would not seem like a mere preparatory school for the University of Virginia, but it is not known what specific action was taken.
100. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 3, 1854; Richmond *Enquirer*, Apr. 11, 1854. Johns was elected to the Board that same year. "Provisional List," 53.
101. Years later Ewell recalled that Johns did not agree with him about the necessity of having an Episcopal priest as president, but did put out one feeler, to a Mr. Dabney of Campbell County, which was declined. Ewell, "Autobiography," Ewell Papers, WMA See also Chapman, ed., "Totten," 141–42; Chapman, "Ewell," 99–100. In 1854 Ewell was being strongly recommended for a professorship at the University of Virginia, for which he seems not to have wished to be a candidate. See George E. Dabney to Joseph C. Cabell, May 24, 1854, and Philip St. George Cocke to George E. Dabney, May 26, 1854, Ewell Family Papers, WMM. On the other hand, the number of letters written on Ewell's behalf suggests at least an awareness on his part of what was going on. Cf. Chapman, "Ewell," 100.
102. It is not clear just what Totten picked up from Hopkins's courses. See Chapman, ed., "Totten," 104; John Tyler to Robert Tyler, Feb. 1, 1851, Tyler, Faculty/ Alumni, WMA (typescript copy from original in DLC); Faculty Minutes, Feb. 3, 1851, Apr. 15, 1851.
103. He died Aug. 26, 1851. For the faculty's memorial resolution, see Faculty Minutes, Oct. 8, 1851.
104. Bryson, *Legal Education*, 557-58; Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 28, 1851, Mar. 19, 1852, Oct. 26, 1852; "Judge James P. Scarburgh," in "Notes and Queries," *VMHB* 60 (1952): 175–77; William Lamb, "Diary," May 27,June 19, 1855, William Lamb Papers (typescript copy), WMM.
105. R. M. Smith to B. S. Ewell, Oct. 3, 1892, William Lamb Papers (typescript copy), WMM. Minor's appointment was well received by Virginia newspapers. See *Virginia Gazette,* Oct. 25, 1855, for various comments.
106. Bryson, *Legal Education*, 435–44. For Minor's early life, during which he became an advocate of penal and educational reform as well as temperance, see James Norman McKean, "Lucian Minor: Cosmopolitan Virginia Gentleman of the Old School" (MA. thesis, William and Mary, 1948). Minor was the Board's second choice. The first choice was William Green, who declined and then, in effect, recruited Minor. Lucian Minor to John Tyler, Aug. 30, 1855, Tyler, Presidential Papers, DLC, microfilm. Richmond *Enquirer*, July 10, 1855; James P. Holcombe to ——, Sept. 29, 1855, William and Mary Papers, DLC, microfilm.
107. For Morris, see Bryson, *Legal Education*, 472–72; *Viginia Gazette*, July 11, 1860; *TQ* 4 (1922):

130–33.

108. Chapman, "Ewell," 102–5.

109. Bursar's Book, 1857, summary of investments; bursar's report, Aug. 12, 1863; BOV Minutes, July 1, 4, 1860; all in folder 258, College Papers, WMA; Chapman, "Ewell," 167.

110. R. M. Smith to Ewell, Oct. 3, 1892, William Lamb Papers (typescript), WMM (first quotation); *TQ* 6 1924–25): 72.

111. Richmond *Enquirer*, Mar. 16, July 13, 1852, July 27, 1 855, June 24, 1856; *Virginia Gazette*, Apr. 13, 1854, Feb. 22, June 7, 1855, Feb. 2, June 12, 26, 1856, Feb. 26, 1857; Diary of William Lamb, entries for Apr. 22, 24, May 5, 14, 15, 16, 1855, William Lamb Papers (typescript), WMM; *TQ* 6 (1924–25): 68–72; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 10 (1901–1902) : 256; Morgan J. L. Smead to A. H. H. Stuart, July 5, Sept. 9, 1855, Smead Papers, VHS; Fivehouse, "History of Alpha Chapter," 16–18; Diary of Hugh Blair Grigsby, Jan. 19, 1859, Grigsby Papers, VHS; Mansfield, "Dew," 155; Licivyronian Society records, Subject File, WMA.

112. Diary of Lamb, Apr. 16, 1855, William Lamb Papers (typescript), WMM.

113. Chapman, "Ewell," 96–98.

114. B. S. Ewell to N. B. Tucker, Dec. 9, 1850, Tucker-Coleman Papers, WMM.

115. B. S. Ewell to Rebecca Ewell, Ewell Family Papers, WMM.

116. Chapman, "Ewell," 98. She did not return to Williamsburg until after her husband was dead. She died there in 1905, aged eighty-four. Ibid., 121 n. 35.

117. B. S. Ewell to Hugh Blair Grigsby, June 16, 1858, Ewell Papers (typescript copy), WMA, original in Grigsby Papers, VHS.

118. Chapman, "Ewell," 102.

119. B. S. Ewell to ——, June 16, 1858, Ewell Papers (typescript), WMA; see also Elizabeth Ewell to Benjamin Stoddert, June 19, 1858, Ewell Family Papers, WMM. Incidentally, Wise has been accused, though on little evidence, of using his position on the Board "to influence Tidewater politics by manipulating the board's composition." Simpson, *A Good Southerner*, 74.

120. Elizabeth Ewell to William Ewell, July 11, 1858, Ewell Family Papers, WMM.

121. Ibid.

122. Richmond *Enquirer*, Aug. 6, 1858; *Virginia Gazette*, July 28, 1858; Chapman, "Ewell," 109.

123. "Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1859–60," 30–31, 34–43 (the 1858 catalogue has been lost); Richmond *Enquirer*, Apr. 16, 30, May 11, 1858. Joynes had a bachelor of arts and master of arts from the University of Virginia and had studied at the University of Berlin; Joynes, Faculty/Alumni, WMA. When Totten left for Iowa in the fall of 1859, Morrison assumed responsibility for moral philosophy. Thomas P. McCandlish was appointed assistant professor of mathematics and ancient languages. "Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1859–60," 22; *Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 3, 1860. For the quotation, see Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 26, 1858.

124. John Tyler to B. S. Ewell, Oct. 3, 1859, Ewell Papers, WMA; id. to id., Oct. 31, 1859, Taylor Family Papers, WMM; H. B. Grigsby to Louisa Carrington, June 16, 1861, Cabell-Carrington Papers, UVA; Diary of Grigsby, Feb. 5, 1859, VHS; Faculty Minutes, Feb. 18, 1859.

125. For a convenient collection of documents, including excerpts from the faculty's minutes, see *WMQ*. 2d ser., 8 (1928) : 266–73. See also Chapman, "Ewell," 111.

126. *WMQ*, 2d ser., 8 (1928): 268–69, 283; Faculty Minutes, Apr. 9, 1861; Chapman, "Ewell," 111.

127. Richmond *Enquirer*, Feb. 8, 15, 25, Mar. 4, 1859; *Virginia Gazette*, Mar. 9, 16, 21, Sept. 21, Nov. 30, 1859; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 8 (1928): 270–74, 284–86; Chapman, "Ewell," 112. Morrison and Ewell were convinced that the walls had survived the fire of 1705.

128. For a list of contributors, see "Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1859–60," 18–20. Much support came from New York. Cf. Richmond *Enquirer*, Nov. 25, 1859.

129. Rogers, *Life and Letters*, 2:6–8; *Virginia Gazette*, Oct. 12, 1859; "Catalogue of Officers and Stu-

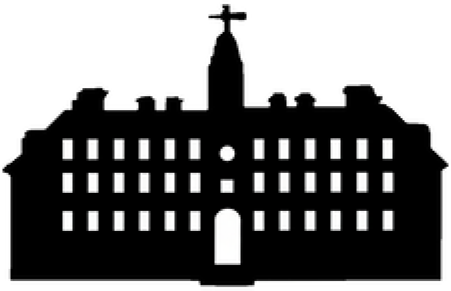
dents, 1859–60," 15–16; Richmond *Enquirer*, Oct. 4, 1859. Rogers also gave a benefit lecture at the Mechanics Institute in Richmond. Richmond *Enquirer*, Mar. 3, 1859.

130. Diary of Grigsby, Feb. 18, 1859, VHS. For the purchase of the hotel, see Faculty Minutes, Mar. 11. 1859. Wise's resolution ran counter to the charter, transfer, and traditional practice. Hitherto the Board had controlled money matters only to the extent of setting fees, salaries, and prohibiting the spending of capital.
131. For Totten's departure, the possibility of a new president, concerns about the preparation of students, the quality of instruction in classical languages, the religious orientation of the College, etc., see Edward S. Joynes to H. B. Grigsby, May 18, 28, Sept. 29, 1859, May 8, 1860, Diary of Grigsby, July 4, 7, 1859, VHS. Fees for three courses had been raised from sixty to seventy-five dollars.
132. *WMQ*, 2d ser., 8 (1928): 278-82, 287–88; "Catalogue of Officers and Students, 1859–60," 15; Tyler, Letters, 2:547–49.
133. Faculty Minutes. Jan. 8, Feb. 26, 1861.
134. Chapman, "Ewell," 125–26.
135. Faculty Minutes, May 10, 1861.
136. Ibid.
137. Diary of John M. Galt II, Mar. 3, 1862, Galt Family Papers, WMM, excerpts kindly supplied by Carol Kettenburg Dubbs; *WMQ*, 2d ser., 8 (1928): 291–92.
138. Faculty Minutes, Sept. 30, 1861, Feb. 20, 28, 1862.
139. Chapman, "Ewell," 130–31; Goodwin, "Notes," 583.
140. The best account of the battle of Williamsburg is Carol Kettenburg, “The Battle of Williamsburg” (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1980).
141. See, e.g., Cynthia Beverley Tucker Washington, "Williamsburg during the Occupancy of the Federal Troops," Tucker-Coleman-Washington Papers, WMM.
142. *History of William and Mary*, 62–63; Robert N. Scott, comp., *The War of the Rebellion: A Compiiation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, 70 vols. of 128 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1880–1901), series 1, 18:11–13; Kettenburg, "Battle of Williamsburg," 105–6; Washington, “Williamsburg during the Occupancy,” Tucker-Coleman-Washington Papers; *WMQ*, 1st ser., 11 (1902–1903): 170; Goodwin, "Notes," 583–84.

PART III

"SO DECAYED AN INSTITUTION" COLONEL EWELL'S COLLEGE

1862–1888



BY

HELEN C. WALKER

The quotation in the title for Part III comes from the following:

"I am sure that an A[.]M[.]who has had the success as I have had in becoming professor even tho' at so decayed an institution—will be sufficiently in demand to get a place paying even better than this."

Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], May 17, 1878, folder May 1878, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers, WMM.

1

AFTER THE WAR: THE FIRST ATTEMPT TO REBUILD

1862–1869

Williamsburg in the spring of 1865 was a far cry from the "lovely sweet College town of charming villas & old mansions" that Union General Philip Kearney had described from his headquarters at "Wm. & Mary's College" a few days after the battle of Williamsburg.[1] The College lay in ruins, and the town, while looking better than at least one returning resident expected, carried the unmistakable marks of war and occupation. The main street presented "rather a more dilapidated appearance than usual," she reported, "owing to the hotel having been pulled down" and several of the public buildings, including the courthouse, "being minus doors & windows."[2] The occupying forces had made some effort to repair Bruton Parish Church, but at the College the burnt-out shell of the Main Building, the missing fences and outbuildings, and the badly damaged Brafferton testified to the destructiveness of the just-concluded struggle. The President's House still served as headquarters for a Union regiment.[3] Both gown and town faced a formidable rebuilding task. Indeed, the difficulties of reviving William and Mary appeared so daunting that it seemed a legitimate question whether Williamsburg would ever again be a college town.

The Decision to Reopen

The men who would answer that question—the president, professors, and Visitors of the College—were yet scattered about the state. Most had survived the war, and most knew of the burning of the Main Building on September 9, 1862, but no one had an accurate accounting of the College's losses and assets in the spring of 1865. President Benjamin S. Ewell had attempted to visit Williamsburg under a flag of truce in early October 1862 to inspect both the College and the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, but Union commander General John A. Dix refused to grant the necessary permission. A month later federal authorities allowed Ewell to visit his farm on the outskirts of town but barred him from the College.[4] Word eventually filtered out that some of the ladies of Williamsburg had rescued "a considerable portion of the College Library" from the flames, and Bursar Tazewell Taylor had earlier deposited the school's bonds and vouchers with Visitor Hugh Blair Grigsby in Charlotte County. In addition, Lewis E. Harvie, president of the Richmond and Danville Railroad, had protected the business records during the war. But both Grigsby and professor of Greek and German Edward S. Joynes feared for the survival of the College portraits.[5]

Despite his uncertainty about conditions in Williamsburg and the increasingly gloomy outlook for the Confederacy, Ewell committed himself in the fall of 1864 to rebuilding the College. In a long letter to Grigsby, whose support he considered crucial to any such effort, Ewell declared he would think he "had lived to some purpose" if he could revive the College. "To aid in this I would be willing to teach a primary school for a mere support for years," he added, little realizing that he would come uncomfortably close to doing just that.[6] Flattered, perhaps, by Ewell's confidence in him and recalling his own earlier labors as chairman of the Building Committee after the 1859 fire, Grigsby assured the president of his support.[7] Although at this point both men overestimated the postwar resources of the College and Grigsby later had twinges of doubt about his role, the two remained remarkably steadfast in their commitment to "old William and Mary."[8]

When Ewell was finally able to survey the campus in June of 1865, he discovered that the portraits had indeed been preserved, along with much of the philosophical and scientific apparatus, some of the records, and parts of the library. Edwin Taliaferro, professor of Latin and Romance languages, assured him that many of the missing books were "Light Literature" and enough of the collection remained to support collegiate instruction.[9] The College seal and charter and the securities Ewell had had in his possession for some months. Although the damage to the buildings was extensive and the portion of the endowment invested in Confederate bonds utterly worthless, Ewell insisted to Grigsby that "so far as the College is concerned there is no occasion for despondency." He believed that the surviving buildings could accommodate all who might want to study at William and Mary for the next few years.[10]

Ewell's optimistic assessment was no doubt intended to influence Grigsby and other Visitors who would soon meet to consider the College's future. In an autobiographical fragment written several years later, Ewell painted a much gloomier and more accurate picture: "The material condition was as bad as it well could be: the Main Building a ruin, the Brafferton gutted, the Steward's Hall destroyed, The President's House much pulled to pieces & all outhouses destroyed or carried off. …"[11]

Yet Ewell was determined to do all in his power to persuade the Board of Visitors to rebuild the College in Williamsburg. To this end he prepared a detailed report for the first postwar Board meeting on July 5 and 6 in Richmond, and he strongly urged Grigsby to attend. Although Grigsby realized that Ewell regarded him "as the main column of support" for the College, he fretted that the president failed to appreciate his current difficulties—"delicate health," "diminished means," and the deafness that made it difficult for him to participate fully in the Board's deliberations. Still, Grigsby again resolved to back Ewell. "I think I can keep alive the spirit of Virginia more intensely within the walls of that College than anywhere else," he confided to his diary.[12] Unfortunately, illness prevented him from journeying to Richmond on July 5.[13] He was missed. As Ewell wrote him later, his presence "was much needed."[14]

The Board members who gathered to hear Ewell's report and decide the fate of the

College—ten men on July 5 and eleven on July 6, out of a total membership of fifteen—had contributed years of service to William and Mary. Several had been Visitors since the late 1840s and had seen the College through difficult times. But now they were divided between those who wanted to move the faculty into rented quarters in Richmond or some other urban area, at least temporarily, and those who favored rebuilding in Williamsburg. As proposals to relocate the College had long been a standard response to the school's troubles, Ewell was prepared. After recounting the wartime history of the College and his actions as bursar pro tem, he estimated the damage to property at $70,000 (a figure he later decided was too low by $30,000) and endowment losses at about $31,000. He then declared that the walls of the Main Building "are apparently in as good condition as they were after the fire of 1859; indeed are less warped and cracked" and added that both the College Hotel and the President's House, though damaged, were habitable. He also assured the Visitors that some of the College's bonds and securities had held their value.[15]

To Ewell the arguments for reopening the College in Williamsburg in October were clear, even if he and other faculty members would be operating little more than a grammar school for several years. In the first place, the College's identity was inextricably linked to Tidewater Virginia; Ewell thought it would be difficult to raise money, especially in the North, if the Visitors severed William and Mary's historic roots. Moreover, he expected the Tidewater area to recover economically within a few years. Second, Ewell noted that the College's claim to the Mattey Fund, an eighteenth century legacy for the education of needy children of Bruton Parish, depended upon the school's Williamsburg location. In addition, Ewell knew that he had the support of at least one other faculty member, for Edwin Taliaferro had written to him in mid-June to urge the opening of a primary department as a stopgap measure while the College was being restored.[16] Ewell proposed that the Board employ two or three faculty members for the fall and allow the others to continue on leave without pay as they had during the war. Such action would at least preserve the corporate identity of the College.[17]

The impact of Ewell's report is difficult to judge. On July 6 the assembled Visitors elected the Right Reverend John Johns, Episcopal bishop of Virginia and a former president of the College, rector for the coming year. Then James Lyons of Richmond offered a resolution, with a preamble by the College bursar, Tazewell Taylor, requesting the president and the faculty to rent a building or buildings for not more than $1,000 a year "in or near the city of Richmond 'or elsewhere in the State as convenience and economy may dictate'" for fall classes. The former governor, Henry A. Wise, promptly countered with a motion that classes be resumed in repaired or rented buildings in Williamsburg. Unfortunately, there is no record of the debate on these motions, but ultimately the Visitors postponed their decision by adopting a resolution proposed by William Boulware of King and Queen County that the rector appoint a special committee of five to consider both previous motions and report back to an adjourned meeting of the Visitors on August 2. The committee consisted of Boulware and four men from Richmond—Lyons, Judge William W. Crump, William H. Macfarland, and the Reverend George Woodbridge.[18] Apparently, the group was more balanced than it appeared, for Ewell later recorded that Macfarland and Crump strongly supported rebuilding in Williamsburg.[19] In any event, Ewell now had another month to strengthen his case and lobby for his point of view. Boulware's motion directed the president to safeguard the College property and report to the August meeting "what he may deem pertinent to the interest of the College."[20]

Although federal troops still occupied the campus, Ewell returned to Williamsburg to confirm his assessment of the College's condition and remaining assets. He also attempted to answer the chronic complaints about the school's location. He frankly admitted that if the question were the opening of a new college, Williamsburg would scarcely be considered. Even if its miasmic atmosphere had been exaggerated, there was no denying that the town was small, poor, and remote. But as William and Mary had long been established there, he reiterated the financial, political, and emotional reasons for staying. He repeated his contention that the Peninsula would eventually become the garden spot of Virginia, and he added an argument that he would use time and again over the next two decades. Liberal arts colleges belong in rural areas. "Institutions of Leaming of a high grade" do not flourish in cities; even urban parents want to send their children to school in the country. Ewell noted, too, that the College had survived many crises since its founding, and he believed it could do so again "without resorting to the extreme measure of removal."[21]

When the Board gathered at Richmond's Ballard House in August, Lyons was absent because of sickness, and the other committee members offered no report. Thus, even though Ewell admitted that the attempt to restore the College would be a long and difficult "experiment," he persuaded the nine Visitors to let him make a start. Wise and Macfarland offered the necessary resolutions to appropriate $1,000 for repairs and $600 for Ewell's services in protecting College property during the war and to authorize salaries at prewar levels for those professors to be employed during the coming session.[22] Whether the College actually had enough money to pay those salaries was not clear. But Ewell was eager to reopen, even on a limited and tenuous basis, and for the time being, he carried the day.

Faculty and Students in the Immediate Postwar Years

Four of the six surviving members of the 1860–61 faculty—Robert J. Morrison, professor of moral philosophy, had died in 1861—also met in Richmond on August 2 at the same time as the Board of Visitors. Professors Charles Morris (law) and Edward S. Joynes (Greek and German) extended their leaves of absence. The adjunct professor of mathematics, Thomas T. L. Snead, cast his lot with Ewell.[23] As for the others, Professor Edwin Taliaferro (Latin and Romance languages) had already announced his commitment to reviving the College, but Assistant Professor Thomas P. McCandlish (languages and mathematics) did not return to teaching until the fall of 1866.[24] The catalog for 1865–66 listed all six men as members of the faculty, along with William R. Garrett of Williamsburg as master of the Grammar School. It also claimed for the College departments of Latin, Greek, modern languages, belles lettres, mathematics, and chemistry and natural philosophy.[25] The faculty minutes spoke more realistically of "Faculty in Attendance": Ewell, president and professor of physical science; Taliaferro, professor of languages; Snead, adjunct professor of mathematics; and Garrett. Taliaferro also served as librarian, though he had few enough books to preside over.[26]

Ewell had told the Board that he was certain thirty young men could be attracted to William and Mary in the fall of 1865. He had written Grigsby that College policy ought to be "to reduce Fees & Board to the minimum," for despite his public optimism, he knew well the depressed state of postwar finances in the South.[27] It is not surprising that the flyer Ewell distributed announcing the 1865–66 session stressed economy. The terms for college students were:

Fees	$66.00
Each modern language	$15.00
Board at College Hotel	$160.00
Fuel, lights, & washing	$25.00-$50.00

Grammar School pupils would pay $33 in fees and $10 for each ancient and modem language; other charges would be the same as for the older students. If the College Hotel seemed too costly, students could board with private families, and the most impoverished could bring their own furniture and provisions from home and "mess" in their rooms. That strategy would reduce their expenses by about two-thirds, according to the flyer.[28] What the flyer did not say, but what occurred with some regularity in the immediate postwar years, was that Ewell waived the fees for hard-pressed students. "We have more pupils than we had counted on," Edwin Taliaferro told his brother in early 1866, "but many are gratuitously received into our classes so that in many cases we have to be satisfied with the consciousness of usefulness—rather than the receipt of fees." Ewell later reported that more than half the students who attended the College between 1865 and 1868 were "received without charge."[29]

As Taliaferro' s letter attests, Ewell actually underestimated the demand for places at William and Mary. News of the College's reopening, which occurred a week later than planned because of delays in the departure of the federal troops, attracted registrants throughout the fall and into the new year. All but a few were from Williamsburg and the adjacent counties.[30] By the end of the 1865–66 session, the matriculation book recorded sixty-two students—twenty-three collegiate and thirty-nine preparatory—who ranged in age from eleven to twenty-two.[31] Although the catalog prescribed minimum ages of twelve for the Grammar School and fifteen for the collegiate course, the College ignored its own rules for many years. There were ten-year-old students in the Grammar School in 1866–67, 1870–71, and 1871–72 and fourteen-year-old collegians as late as 1875–76.[32] At the same time, some of the boys in the Grammar School were "full grown."[33]

Except for their ages, the students were a homogeneous lot. Not only were their origins intensely local, but they often came from families with some prior connection to the College. And virtually all were Episcopalians, Baptists, or Methodists. The one Catholic and two Disciples of Christ who enrolled in the 1865–66 session were the only exceptions before 1869.[34]

They did differ in their academic preparation, though all had undoubtedly suffered some disruption between 1861 and 1865. None of the twenty-three college students in the first postwar group placed above the junior (or first year) level. For this reason there were no recipients of either of the College's three-year undergraduate degrees, the bachelor of philosophy or the bachelor of arts, in the spring of 1866 and no occasion for commencement exercises.[35] A few students, including veterans whose work had been interrupted by the war, earned degrees in 1867 and 1868, but their small numbers, the dilapidated state of the campus, and a chronic shortage of funds precluded any graduation ceremonies. Then the faculty suspended collegiate classes for the 1868–69 session so that Ewell could concentrate on completing the repairs to the Main Building. The first commencement since the Civil War finally occurred in July 1870, but ironically, because of the previous year's hiatus, there were no undergraduate degrees bestowed.[36]

The faculty did award numerous honorary degrees during this period, however-to a mixed group of graduates, friends, and potential supporters of the College. The results were hardly spectacular. Gracious thank-you notes and a few volumes for the library were the most common responses. The many doctor of divinity degrees conferred upon Episcopalian clergymen may have created a link between the College and the church in the minds of some, but if so, that impression later proved a doubtful blessing.[37]

The educational accomplishments of the first three postwar sessions at the College are difficult to ascertain with any precision. Obviously, much of the instruction occurred at the primary and preparatory levels. Grammar School students continued to outnumber the collegians as they had in 1865–66: thirty-nine to twenty-two in 1866–67 and thirty-three to twenty in 1867–68.[38] Still, Ewell reported collegiate classes in virtually all subjects the College offered, from Greek and Latin to rhetoric.[39] These classes were very small, but that, Ewell argued, was a strength rather than a weakness.

> Fred is doing far better, & learning more, than if we had more students [Ewell assured Fred's father, Bursar Tazewell Taylor, in October 1866]. Of this I have no doubt, … He has four times the instruction in a class of six he could have in one of 30—This is plain.[40]

The faculty members who attempted to educate the young men and boys of William and Mary in the immediate postwar period are not so well known as their successors in the late nineteenth century, the Seven Wise Men of the Tyler era, but they made some impression on their students and their colleagues. William Robertson Garrett, who had studied law at the University of Virginia after earning a master's degree from William and Mary, served only one year as master of the Grammar School; he was followed by a series of acting and temporary appointees.[41]

Among the College faculty there was greater stability, though Edwin Taliaferro succumbed to tuberculosis in September 1867 when he was only thirty-two. Taliaferro, whose family was intimately involved with the College during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, had earned a master's degree at the University of Virginia and studied at Bonn, Berlin, Rome, and the Sorbonne before taking up the chair of Latin and Romance languages at William and Mary in 1858. Like Garrett, Snead, McCandlish, and Ewell, he fought for the Confederacy during the war.[42] If his former colleague Edward Joynes is to be believed, Taliaferro was gentle, refined, and cultured, yet cut a dashing figure on "his famous blooded horse, Comet."[43] Because Joynes did not return to the College after the war, Taliaferro was the sole language teacher when Ewell reopened the school.[44]

Although he hoped to see the College prosper and journeyed to Richmond to help lobby for funds, Taliaferro described himself as "employed in a dull quiet & monotonous round of teaching" and remarked wistfully that making money from brain power would be a slow process in the devastated South.[45] Eager for greater financial and professional rewards, he applied for the professorship of Latin at the University of Virginia in the summer of 1866, but he failed to win appointment and returned to William and Mary in the fall.[46] By early 1867 his health was so poor that he had to retreat to Richmond. "I cannot stand the climate of Williamsburg or the duties of my office there," he told Tazewell Taylor. "However well I may feel[,] a month there breaks me down, and my extra-work of last year fairly undermined my constitution."[47] Apparently, the College continued to pay his salary, such as it was, but he in turn paid his substitute, Thomas P. McCandlish.[48]

Taliaferro's near contemporary, Thomas T. L. Snead, also died prematurely, but he instructed William and Mary students until the early 1870s. A native of Accomac, Snead became adjunct professor of mathematics in 1856, soon after he earned his master's degree from the College. During the war he was a captain in the Confederate Engineer Department, and when he returned to Williamsburg, he became a director of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum at the same time he resumed his professorship.[49] Edward Joynes remembered Snead as a kind of rough diamond who was physically and mentally strong. To one former student he was "a mathematical genius who was no teacher for the non-mathematically inclined"; another agreed that he was impatient with the elementary classes and the slackers but thought he tried to help the hard workers.[50]

Snead literally helped restore the College by planting trees on the campus in 1867, and he took over Ewell's classes in natural philosophy and chemistry that spring when the president's attempts at fund-raising kept him away from campus for long periods.[51] Yet in June 1872, when the entire faculty resigned to allow the Board of Visitors to reorganize the institution, Snead's was the only resignation the Visitors accepted. They expressed regret but pointed to "the embarrassed state" of College finances. Because Ewell also taught mathematics, the Visitors undoubtedly saw Snead as expendable. They did promise to pay his salary until October 1, 1872.[52] Snead promptly reminded them that he had taught Ewell's classes as well as his own for nearly one-third of the 1871–72 session. He asked for proper compensation.[53] Whether through ingratitude or poverty, the Board granted him only the remaining $400 of his salary. Sadly, he never saw even that small sum because he died of a severe attack of diarrhea on July 3, 1872, a few days before Ewell received the salary checks from Bursar Taylor. "While the course of the Board was right & necessary," Ewell observed to Taylor, "the circumstances have made it more to be regretted."[54] As perhaps some final acknowledgment of Snead's contributions to his alma mater, he was buried in the College cemetery.[55]

Thomas McCandlish was another alumnus whose teaching career at the College ended unhappily, though not tragically. After having served as a quartermaster in the Confederate army, he returned to William and Mary in the fall of 1866 as acting master of the Grammar School and assistant professor of ancient languages and mathematics. When Taliaferro's health failed at midyear, McCandlish relinquished the Grammar School to the Reverend S. W. Blair and devoted full time to language instruction. Ewell recommended that he be kept on in that capacity, and so he served for several years as professor of Latin, Greek, and French.[56] The seriousness with which he approached his task is evident in a long letter he addressed to Hugh Blair Grigsby in early 1868 upon learning from Ewell that Grigsby had expressed interest in his department. The letter offers a rare glimpse of a faculty member's intellectual and pedagogical concerns during the immediate postwar era.

McCandlish explained that he spent four and a half hours a day teaching three classes of Latin and three of Greek, from the preparatory to the junior level. In the advanced Latin classes the students read Horace and Virgil, in upper-level Greek, Sophocles, Homer, and Xenophon's *Anabasis;* they also wrote compositions and reviewed grammar, forms, and syntax. His pedagogy, he added, was frankly conservative:

> After some experience in teaching the languages, I have arrived at the conclusion that the old English method is the best. At our American colleges, professors and teachers, imbued with what has been falsely termed the "spirit of progress"—have tried to dispense with drudgery and drilling in the forms and syntax, that their pupils may enjoy the beauties of the classical literature, which of course they cannot comprehend or appreciate without understanding the language in which it is written—and the result is, our American scholars are generally not thorough—or at least, they do not compare favorably with English and German scholars.[57]

Ironically, one of McCandlish's former students remembered him as "a poor drillmaster, but an interesting teacher," one who taught more about literature than about syntax.[58]

At the end of the 1867–68 session, Ewell noted that both Professors McCandlish and Snead had donated about 10 percent of their salaries to the College's building fund and that McCandlish had given "more than the stipulated time to his classes."[59] As the College's enrollment and resources shrank in the late 1860s and early 1870s, however, the hardworking McCandlish became discouraged. A requirement that the faculty offer more preparatory classes coupled with the increasingly erratic salary checks and his own uncertain health pushed him toward resignation. He left the College at the end of the 1871–72 session but continued to argue, unsuccessfully, with the Board for back pay until the summer of 1874.[60]

The dominant figure for the students was undoubtedly Ewell himself. Even the Grammar School boys had some contact with him, for it was his custom to observe their recitations on alternate Fridays, his "fierce bull-terrier named John Brown" in tow. Many of the youngsters were dumbstruck in his presence—to the obvious detriment of their lessons—but the college students had great affection for the man they called "Old Buck." They knew him as an excellent teacher and lenient disciplinarian who was deeply concerned for their well-being.[61] Most of the postwar student recollections of Ewell date from the 1870s and 1880s, however. Between 1865 and 1869, the struggle to rebuild the College absorbed nearly all his time and energy.

The Frustrating Search for Funds

When Ewell pledged in 1864 to rebuild William and Mary, he could scarcely have foreseen that he was making a lifelong commitment Yet if he was dismayed by the extent of the damage to the College, the poverty and demoralization of southeastern Virginia, and his own lack of resources ("I am in the condition somewhat as to means of living that a plucked chicken is as to feathers," he wrote in the summer of 1865), Ewell was not deterred.[62] True, he twice offered to resign the presidency in favor of his wartime commander, General Joseph E. Johnston, but his primary motive was greater visibility for the College rather than relief from the burden of leadership.[63] He was acutely aware of the public attention that focused on Washington College after Robert E. Lee accepted its presidency in August 1865. By 1868, when William and Mary temporarily suspended college classes, Washington College boasted an enrollment of 411.[64]

Even after Ewell began to understand the magnitude of the task he had taken on, he rarely wavered. In the spring of 1866, he declined the chair of mathematics at Hampden-Sydney College which the trustees offered him at an initial salary of $1,000 (soon to rise, they hoped, to $1,500) and $500 in moving expenses.[65] He was already caught up in the campaign to revitalize William and Mary. In fact, he had begun his search for funds and support before the first student matriculated in the fall of 1865.[66] Although he hoped for some income from the College's bonds and loans, other sources such as the state legislature, the federal government, philanthropic foundations, and wealthy individuals in England and in the North seemed more immediately promising. In retrospect, his attempts to raise large sums from both friends and recent foes amidst the political and economic uncertainties of Reconstruction seem naive, yet his fellow faculty members and at least some Visitors shared his faith in the symbolic power of William and Mary's past "A College is not a commercial scheme, but rests its strength on the wealth of associations, that age, time, and place, and circumstances, can alone give," Hugh Blair Grigsby declared.[67]

Early in the 1865–66 session, the faculty authorized alumnus Robert Lamb of Norfolk to approach English gentlemen on behalf of the College and requested Mrs. Angelica Wilson Earley [Emlen?] of Philadelphia, “so well known as the Florence Nightingale of suffering Confederate prisoners,” to solicit funds from Pennsylvanians.[68] There is no record of the accomplishments, if any, of these first two appointees, but a later agent, John R. Thompson, made a vigorous though ultimately disappointing canvass in Great Britain.[69] Grigsby, who warmly supported Ewell’s efforts to tell the William and Mary story, had high hopes for aid from the North, especially New York City; he also knew of men in Boston, Philadelphia, and England who might be sympathetic.[70] To sway potential donors, Ewell quickly prepared and distributed a brief *Historical Sketch* of the College that sounded a theme to which he would return again and again: the College was almost the only remaining link between “what Virginia was, is, and is to be.” Surely, he implied, the $80,000 he now estimated as the cost of rebuilding was a small price to pay for the restoration of the vital connection between Virginia’s past, present, and future.[71]

At the same time Ewell was pleading the College’s case in letters to old friends and colleagues in the North, as well as to such prominent individuals as Henry Ward Beecher and Senator Charles Sumner, he pursued every possibility for income closer to home.[72] He made several trips to Richmond to urge the General Assembly to resume interest payments on the state stock the College held and to argue that William and Mary deserved a share of the income from the Morrill Land Grant Act that Congress had just extended to the former Confederate states. Though he had dreams of nearly $6,000 in back interest and much more in Morrill money, Ewell gained nothing from the legislators, who were as yet little concerned with education.[73] A petition from the faculty in early 1867 restating the College’s willingness to offer instruction in “agriculture and other practical sciences” in return for a portion of the Morrill money also fell on deaf ears.[74] On one of his visits to the capital, however, Ewell set in motion a more profitable endeavor when he arranged with Board member William H. Macfarland to press the College’s claim to the Mattey Fund through an English lawyer in London.[75] In addition, both Ewell and Tazewell Taylor corresponded with some of those who owed money to the College, as well as with lawyers who offered to pursue old claims for the school. Hampered by a June 1865 stay law that gave Virginia debtors up to four years to settle their obligations, most of these efforts produced little more than the familiar tale of poverty and loss.[76] Although Thomas J. Randolph did pay $1,000 on the Shadwell debt in the spring of 1867, and lawyer Thomas Giles recovered some $1,500 from a suit against two estates in Amelia County, in the short run, only the Mattey Fund proved really lucrative.[77]

“We must not be discouraged with small beginnings,” Grigsby instructed Ewell. “The poverty of the people is great. Even wealthy persons have no money, and hardly know when and where they will be able to get any.”[78] In public Ewell agreed, but privately he expressed frustration at area residents’ lack of initiative. To his mind, the economic recovery of the South required the adoption of the Yankee values of industry and enterprise.[79] Perhaps because he had opposed secession up until Virginia left the Union and refused to romanticize the war, Ewell saw no reason to prolong the hostilities between North and South. “I believe the whole difficulties [*sic*] might have been settled 3 months after the close of the war, had a greater spirit of moderation prevailed,” he wrote wistfully in early 1867.[80] He also believed that the former slaves would play an important role in the postwar South and favored both education and suffrage for them. Unlike most white residents of Williamsburg, he supported the efforts of the two Quaker teachers sent by the Friends Association of Philadelphia and urged them to continue their work with the local freedmen. In addition, he advocated ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment as a way of moving toward "harmony & real peace."[81]

Ewell's counsels of moderation had little impact "beyond that of making people call me ugly names such as Abolitionist," he told his brother.[82] The legislature of Governor Francis Pierpont's "Restored" Unionist government overwhelmingly rejected the federal amendment, confident that a majority of white Virginians opposed even limited enfranchisement for the freedmen. That intransigence brought both military reconstruction and black male suffrage to the state in early 1867 and guaranteed a continuation of the political and economic turmoil that so dismayed Ewell.[83] He daily confronted men like local resident, alumnus, and future Board of Visitors member P. Montagu Thompson, who blamed the freedmen for the sorry state of agriculture on the Peninsula. Thompson admitted that many whites seemed to have lost all initiative, energy, and hope and that a significant portion had become "whiskey drinking loafers," but "the great obstacle in our way is the large number of thievish idle negroes," he declared. When unusually wet weather ruined the wheat crop in the summer of 1867, Thompson described conditions as "deplorable in the extreme in every aspect"; the whites were bankrupt while the blacks were "daily growing more worthless and depraved." The fact that these African-Americans were now voters drove Thompson nearly to distraction.[84]

What Thompson failed to acknowledge, of course, was the important role of black workers at the College. Both students and faculty depended on the servants, cooks, and washerwomen who daily performed their mundane yet essential tasks. And what Thompson could not anticipate was that an African-American state legislator would play a crucial role in the General Assembly's decision to aid the College in 1888.[85]

Ewell agreed with Thompson as to the desperate state of the local economy—"The people here are on the verge of utter destitution … ," he told his sister Elizabeth in March 1868—but he refused to blame the blacks or to give in to despair.[86] The solution, he believed, lay in vigorous action and political moderation. "If we stop and fold our hands we are gone," he warned Tazewell Taylor. "We must make exertions to subsist, & to keep up the country." As for politics, "if there was moderation on both sides—There is on neither—it would be well," he told another correspondent.[87]

For Ewell the path to peace and prosperity led to support for Ulysses S. Grant in the presidential campaigns of 1868 and 1872. After his election, "all will be well," Ewell enthusiastically assured Colonel Albert Ordway in early 1868.[88] Ewell's political and personal admiration for Grant was neither sudden nor inexplicable. He admired the general's conduct at Appomattox, and he was deeply grateful for Grant's efforts in June 1865 to free his brother, General Richard S. Ewell, from the military prison at Fort Warren, Rhode Island, where he had been confined since April.[89] In early 1866 Ewell had elicited the general's support for the rebuilding of William and Mary, and he used

Grant's favorable response along with the endorsements of several other prominent Union generals to buttress the College's claims for indemnification.[90]

Ewell's reliance on his old friends from West Point, coupled with his public opposition to sectionalism, aroused some hostility from fellow Southerners, but he could see no other way to repair the damage from the war and move forward.[91] Fortunately, amidst the poverty and apathy that he found so frustrating, Ewell did have some energetic allies. His sister Rebecca Ewell managed to obtain a donation of $1,000 for William and Mary from wealthy Washington banker W. W. Corcoran in early 1867, and she solicited funds abroad as well.[92] One of the most prominent women in Williamsburg, Cynthia Beverley Tucker Washington Coleman, also issued an appeal on behalf of the College. Both because her family had long-standing ties to the College and because she hoped to see her sons educated there, she was anxious that the school be revived.[93] Hugh Blair Grigsby helped, too, by approaching such philanthropists as Robert C. Winthrop of Boston and by joining Ewell in the defense of the College's historic location.[94]

Scarcely had Ewell dampened one faction's enthusiasm for Richmond when a group of citizens in Norfolk began to agitate for removal there. In January 1866 a city official wrote to Rector Johns that the trustees of the Norfolk Academy would give the College their building and hinted that the city might offer additional inducements.[95] When only seventeen collegiate students enrolled at the College at the beginning of the 1866–67 session, the campaign was renewed.[96] This time Governor Pierpont added to the pressure by suggesting to the General Assembly that William and Mary be removed to a more populous area.

Ewell moved quickly to counter the governor's proposal. In an article for the Norfolk *Journal* and in an open letter to Williamsburg's delegate, Sydney Smith, published in one of the Richmond papers, he repeated the familiar arguments for remaining in Williamsburg; to Smith he also asserted that the legislature had no right to move the College. According to the charter, he declared, only the Visitors and the faculty could do that, and he estimated that the College would lose as much as $40,000 of its endowment, as well as the about-to-be-realized Mattey Fund, if it left Williamsburg. He hoped that this statement of the difficulties of moving William and Mary would settle the question once and for all.[97] But until the school showed signs of recovery, that was a vain hope, as he doubtless knew. Ewell redoubled his efforts to raise funds to rebuild the College where it stood.

Unfortunately, the elaborate campaign of John R. Thompson to raise donations of money and books in Great Britain collapsed at about this same time. Thompson, a Richmond-born writer and former editor of the *Southern Literary Messenger* who had lived in London since 1863, agreed to serve as an agent for the College in early 1866.[98] Although his British friends persuaded him that the lecture tour he originally contemplated was not feasible, he diligently pursued other approaches, contacting the archbishop of Canterbury and writing leading newspapers, publishers, and the presses at Oxford and Cambridge. But by June 1866, he had collected only about seventy-five volumes and £21.10, barely enough to pay the printing and shipping bills. In explaining this meager response to Ewell, Thompson stressed the waning of English interest in the former Confederate states and a recent stock market crash in London that ruined thousands of investors. He also noted that the university presses could not donate books outside the United Kingdom.[99] If Ewell thought that Thompson had encountered difficulties unique to Britain in 1866, he would soon discover similar problems in the United States.

Armed with letters of introduction and endorsements from such luminaries as Henry Ward Beecher and U. S. Grant, Ewell went north in the spring of 1867. He bombarded the *New York Times* with letters preaching sectional reconciliation and pleading the College's case. He also published a wildly optimistic piece urging the paper's readers to purchase land in Tidewater Virginia. "In ten years these lands will be sought and purchased at five times their present price," he predicted.[100] The editors were sympathetic enough to Ewell's mission to give the College and its president a brief editorial notice on April 3. But despite this valuable publicity, Ewell admitted to his brother that he only made "a small beginning" on this first trip.[101] The results were no better when he returned to the city in May. Henry Ward Beecher tried to assuage Ewell's disappointment by pointing to the unsettled political climate. Although he had hoped that Ewell could "fish in such troubled waters," he was not really surprised that the Virginian had caught "few fish & no money." Beecher believed that the North would eventually agree to help Southern institutions, but "I do not think you can do much till after the election of the next President," he advised.[102]

Philadelphia and other cities proved equally unreceptive to Ewell's message. Even more disappointing was his failure with the Peabody Fund. Established in 1866 by philanthropist George Foster Peabody, this foundation directed the income from its two-million-dollar endowment to the improvement of education in the South. Unfortunately for William and Mary, the Peabody trustees decided to concentrate their efforts on public education and state normal schools.[103]

While Ewell was working to arouse interest among private donors, the College filed its first of many damage claims with the Congress. The faculty prepared a memorial outlining the history of William and Mary and describing the destruction in 1862 by federal troops. Estimating the losses at $80,000, the memorial asked for a donation of money or land in reimbursement. Appended to the memorial were affidavits from several white townspeople and at least one freedman attesting to its accuracy. Ewell filed these documents with the House Committee on Southern Claims in March 1867, but as the College had clearly not been a loyal institution (Ewell's personal views notwithstanding), the committee rejected the request out of hand.[104] Friends of William and Mary were convinced that it had a good case, but future petitions would obviously have to reshape the College's argument and focus on the Congress as a whole.

The Mattey Fund and the Struggle to Rebuild

Amidst the disappointments of early 1867, the College enjoyed one unqualified triumph. Thanks to the efforts of English lawyer C. M. Fisher, Colonel R. Milton Carey, John R. Thompson, and Board of Visitors member William Macfarland, the income from Mary Whaley's eighteenth century bequest, the so-called Mattey Fund, finally reached Williamsburg. Ewell reported to the faculty on April 27 that he had received $8,749.38 from Visitor Macfarland; after the deduction of some incidental expenses, about $8,100 remained.[105]

This money had a tangled history. Former colonist Mary Whaley, who had returned to England some years after the death of her young son Matthew (Mattey) in Williamsburg, intended to memorialize him in her 1741 will by leaving to the minister and church wardens of Bruton Parish a parcel of land in York County and a small endowment to support a school to teach "reading, writing, and arithmetick" to the neediest children of the parish.[106] But the executor failed to carry out the terms of the will; after two suits, an English court managed to extract £500 from the estate. It invested the money in English securities and then apparently forgot about it for more than a century. The English attorney Fisher discovered the bequest in 1859 and wrote to the rector of Bruton Parish Church. Because the church was not in a position to conduct a school, the rector passed Fisher's letter along to the College faculty. The faculty replied to Fisher, but they heard nothing from him until May 1865, when he informed them that he believed the College might claim the Whaley legacy if it were prepared to comply with the terms of the will. Fisher offered to undertake the necessary legal work for one-third of the recovered amount. After Visitor Macfarland met with Fisher several times in London in the fall of 1865, the Board of Visitors accepted his terms. Fisher seems to have earned his commission, for the destruction of College records over the years and the absence of any institution called the Mattey or the Whaley School complicated William and Mary's claim. The fact that the College was already operating the Grammar School, coupled with its promise to accept fifteen of the poorest boys in Bruton Parish tuition-free and to incorporate Matthew Whaley's name into the name of its school eventually won over the British court.[107]

The Mattey Fund could scarcely have come at a better time, for Ewell had concluded by the end of the 1866–67 session that he would have to push the Board to begin rebuilding as soon as possible. Although the enrollment for the second postwar session had eventually risen to sixty-one, Ewell realized that the College could not hope to attract many students when all recitations, grammar and collegiate, took place in the patched-up Brafferton. As he noted in his 1867 report to the Board of Visitors, despite an extensive advertising campaign, "an impression prevails to a great extent that the College is closed. This will continue to be the case so long as the Main Building is in ruins." Knowing the Board's reluctance to endanger the endowment by selling any of the school's bonds prematurely, Ewell suggested that the money for rebuilding might come from the Mattey Fund. "What better or safer investment … ? " he asked.[108]

To persuade the Board to endorse his proposal, Ewell outlined an economical plan for the restoration. Rather than hiring a general contractor, the College should avail itself of free architectural advice, then buy the necessary materials and hire day laborers and contract workers to make the repairs. Ewell himself would supervise the work. In this manner, he told the Visitors, the Main Building could be completely restored for less than $20,000. The Mattey Fund would supply a part of that sum; Ewell recommended borrowing the rest.[109]

Even before Ewell offered this very low estimate, he used another tactic to put pressure on the Board. On June 10 a meeting of Williamsburg and James City County citizens, chaired by the city's mayor, passed a series of resolutions urging the Board of Visitors at its forthcoming meeting to vote to begin rebuilding the College at once. The group sent copies of the resolutions to both the Norfolk *Day Book* and the Richmond *Whig* and urged all other newspapers concerned about the fate of the College to print them as well.[110]

With the help of Hugh Grigsby, Ewell got much of what he wanted when the Visitors met at the President's House on July 3. The Board appropriated $10,000 for the rebuilding project and named a committee of three—Hugh Grigsby, new Visitor and Williamsburg resident William S. Peachy, and local alumnus P. Montagu Thompson—to work with the faculty. In hopes of raising additional funds, the Board ordered the bursar to try to collect all private debts due the College and reaffirmed Ewell's authority "to travel wherever and whenever he may deem best in this country and in England to solicit and collect funds for the College" and to appoint agents to assist him, so long as their expenses were paid out of the money they raised.[111]

In one other action that would have positive long-range consequences for the College, the Board unanimously endorsed Grigsby's nomination of Colonel William Lamb of Norfolk to fill a vacancy in their ranks.[112] Lamb, thirty-two years old, a Phi Beta Kappa graduate of the College, and the Confederate "hero of Fort Fisher," proved a devoted Visitor for nearly forty years.[113]

Influenced perhaps by Ewell's confident presentation, the Board concluded its meeting with the hope that the College would be rebuilt and a full complement of professors employed by the end of the next academic year. Certainly the Building Committee wasted no time. On July 4 Ewell, Grigsby, Peachy, and Thompson, along with Henry A Wise and Professor Snead, inspected the remains of the College building and began to formulate plans for its restoration.[114] The committee promptly engaged Alfred L. Rives, son of William Cabell Rives and former acting chief of the Engineering Bureau of the Confederacy, as architect.[115] Ewell urged him to work as quickly as possible and with an eye on the budget. Rives visited Williamsburg in mid July, and Ewell began looking for suppliers of slate and other material.[116] At the same time, Ewell continued his efforts to keep the College's name before the public.[117]

Despite this energetic beginning, the restoration project soon bogged down; it proved much more complex and costly than Ewell had anticipated. Both natural and human elements seemed to conspire against it. An unusually rainy summer and fall slowed the preliminary work of demolishing unsound walls and cleaning the salvaged bricks for reuse; a late spring in 1868 delayed the new construction. Suppliers and workmen were often either unavailable or unreliable Ewell learned, as he struggled with his role as general contractor.[118] For example, he spent months trying to arrange for the shipment of roofing slate from Richmond to the College. He quickly discovered that most of the James River steamboat captains were unwilling to stop at one of the landings near Williamsburg to unload such a cargo. “I have been waiting for these slate since I saw you in Sept. last,” Ewell complained to Colonel Albert Ordway of the slate company in late December 1867. He finally found a cooperative vessel in January 1868—only to have College Creek freeze over. Ewell eventually got the slate to campus in the summer of 1868, but other delays, the difficulties of coordinating bricklayers and slaters, and shoddy workmanship produced a roof that leaked for years to come.[119]

Paying for the reconstruction was no easier than superintending it, for Ewell had constantly to prod a reluctant Tazewell Taylor for the necessary funds. Ewell knew that the bursar doubted the wisdom of his course, so he peppered his letters to Taylor with reminders of the importance of acting vigorously and expeditiously. “It would have shocked public sentiment greatly to have moved the College—or to have attempted it & would have endangered its existence anywhere,” Ewell noted in January 1868. The only hope, he reiterated, was to rebuild as rapidly as possible.[120] Hugh Grigsby, as always, tried to help. After spending an evening with Taylor in Norfolk, he wrote to assure Ewell that the bursar appreciated Ewell’s heroic efforts on behalf of the College.[121]

As cost mounted, Ewell also counted on Grigsby to persuade his fellow Visitors that the College should indeed borrow money, if necessary, to complete the restoration.[122] By the summer of 1868, Ewell had to report to the Board that although he had spent the entire $10,000 appropriation, the Main Building—which according to Rives’s plan was to contain eight lecture rooms, a chemical laboratory, rooms for the two literary societies, a library room, an office, and a chapel—was only half finished. Ewell estimated that another $5,000 would be required to complete and furnish it. To repair the Brafferton and its outhouses and to rebuild the fences would take “$6,000 perhaps additional.” The total cost would therefore be more than his original estimate, but he urged the Board to push ahead. Specifically, he recommended that the Building Committee be continued, the Board appropriate at least $2,500, and the committee be authorized to borrow the rest.[123] Whether the faculty should continue to offer collegiate instruction in makeshift quarters as they had done since 1865, Ewell left up to the Visitors to decide, but he reminded them that the Grammar School had to be kept open to meet the terms of the Mattey Fund. Personally, he seems to have hoped that William and Mary could maintain some semblance of collegiate education in 1868–69, for he assured the Visitors in his July 3 report that “competent men of character can be found willing to try the experiment of restoring the College, for $666 salary & such fees as they might make.”[124] But when the Board accepted Ewell’s recommendations and turned the question of collegiate classes back to the faculty, he discovered that neither McCandlish nor Snead would agree to work for the small sum he suggested.[125]

On July 10 the faculty voted “to suspend the exercises of the Collegiate Department for the present session” and to continue the Grammar and Mattey School under a new master, Thomas Jefferson Stubbs of Gloucester, who was to receive a salary of $300 plus fees.[126] The twenty-seven-year-old Stubbs, to whom the faculty had just awarded an honorary master of arts degree, had attended the College from 1858 to 1861, when he joined first the Gloucester Artillery and then Company A of the Thirty-fourth Virginia Regiment (Wise’s Brigade). Captured at Petersburg, he was not released until after the surrender at Appomattox. Between the end of the war and his return to Williamsburg, he studied for one or two years at the University of Virginia. Although Stubbs's tenure as Grammar School master was brief—he served for only one session before striking out for Arkansas—he later returned to the College's faculty as one of the most colorful of the fabled Seven Wise Men.[127] In addition, both his brother, James N. Stubbs, and his son, T. J. Stubbs, Jr., contributed significantly to William and Mary. Not as numerous as the Taliaferro clan, the Stubbses must nevertheless be counted among the prominent Gloucester County families that stood by the College during the difficult years between the Civil War and World War I.[128]

Suspension and Renewal

Although Ewell regretted the suspension of collegiate classes, Snead and McCandlish's refusal to work for a pittance freed the president to devote all of his time and energy to the rebuilding project. Given the continuing construction problems and the amount of money Ewell had to raise, it is difficult to see how he could have also taught in 1868–69. Still, he worried that even one session without students would strengthen the impression that William and Mary was in its death throes. To counter any such damaging thoughts and to rally friends and supporters, he sent a long letter to the Richmond *Whig* in mid-September 1868 in which he stressed both the severity of the wartime damage and the progress the College had made toward recovery. Indeed, he exaggerated that progress, claiming the Main Building was three-quarters finished and the library had received so many donations it was now "larger than that of any College in the State." He also attempted to make a virtue of the Board of Visitors' cautious, piecemeal approach by noting that none of the school's endowment had been spent on the restoration. He ended the letter, as was his wont, on an upbeat note. The prospects for the College were brighter than they had been at any time since 1862, he declared.[129]

In reality, the prospects of the College depended on Ewell's success in completing the reconstruction as expeditiously and economically as possible. The true scope of his task is evident in his correspondence with Tazewell Taylor and Colonel Albert Ordway in the fall of 1868 and in his renewed attempt to raise funds in the North in early 1869. The work in Williamsburg progressed slowly and unevenly, yet rapidly enough to strain both the College's and Ewell's limited resources. In letter after letter, Ewell pleaded with Taylor for money to pay overdue bills and his own and Stubbs's salaries. "There has been no extravagance I assure you though the outlay may appear large," he wrote on December 2. "It is not as great by 25 percent as that in 1859 & the work is three times better. Then it was contract shoddy. Now it is properly done in the main."[130] Unfortunately, in his attempts to reassure Taylor, Ewell exaggerated the quality of the new construction. On November 12 he had told Ordway that there was a leak between the north wing and the central section of the Main Building; months later he was still complaining about the defective roof, which was never satisfactorily repaired.[131]

No matter how persuasive Ewell's letters, Taylor could supply only a portion of the necessary funds. Ewell's life thus remained an endless round of begging and borrowing. The obvious impossibility of raising the required amount in impoverished Tidewater persuaded him to make another foray into the North, even though he knew that three and a half years of Southern intransigence had alienated many erstwhile moderates.

Again, he prepared well by collecting warm letters of introduction and recommendation from President-elect Grant; General J. M. Schofield, the former commanding general of Virginia's military reconstruction and current secretary of war; General O. O. Howard, head of the Freedmen's Bureau; a Radical judge, Hugh L. Bond of Maryland; and General Ambrose Burnside, the sitting governor of Rhode Island.[132]

Ewell quickly collected more goodwill as he traveled to New York, but as always, the difficulty lay in converting sentiment into cash. "My conviction that it is hard to blarney [?] people out of their money is gaining strength," he wrote his daughter from New York. In addition, he discovered that people often had short memories. Henry Ward Beecher "who made so many promises seems to have lost sight of them all; indeed he was almost oblivious of having seen me before," Ewell complained.[133] While he continued to call on individuals who might help, Ewell turned to the press, as he had in 1867, but neither approach opened any wallets.[134] By January 16 Ewell's frustration was palpable. "People are fast to say they feel great interest in the College's restoration but slow to say they can[']t help. Yet I must wait & get answers whatever they may be," he noted ruefully.[135] Having already decided to postpone his trip to Boston until later in the spring, Ewell soon retreated from New York. Except for donations of books from several publishers and individuals and a $500 scholarship from James T. Soutter, he had little to show for his weeks in the cold, wet, dauntingly indifferent city. "There as here money is scarce," he told Colonel Ordway.[136]

A month or so after Ewell's return, the faculty authorized Thomas McCandlish and Colonel Ed gar B. Montague to collect funds for the College while they attended the Theta Delta Chi fraternity convention in New York, but there is no evidence that they were any more successful than the president. Ewell's journey to Boston was equally unproductive.[137]

Despite these disappointments, work on the Main Building went forward. The College obtained thousands of dollars worth of supplies on credit from Williamsburg merchant W. W. Vest, and Ewell eventually loaned nearly $2,000 of his own money to help meet pressing obligations. (These funds seem to have come from his share of his sister Rebecca's estate; that good friend of the College had died in August 1867.) [138] By June 1869 Ewell was confident that the College could reopen in the fall. The report of the Building Committee, dated June 28, declared the Main Building "essentially finished" and estimated that it would be ready to receive students in another month. The rebuilding had been accomplished at a cost of $20,000, according to the committee. However, the library needed additional work, as did the President's House, the College Hotel, and the Brafferton. Moreover, the report said nothing about the problems with the roof.[139] At that point, Ewell may still have been confident that the slaters and carpenters could make the necessary repairs.

In preparation for the reopening of the College, Ewell submitted his resignation to the Board of Visitors in order to give them the opportunity to restructure the institution. Whether he really hoped to retire is difficult to know. On the one hand, in early June he told his brother that he thought a new president would be appointed, "& if so I expect to retain a Professorship and live at the farm." And indeed, there was talk around Williamsburg that the Reverend George T. Wilmer, rector of Bruton Parish Church and son of the Reverend William H. Wilmer, eleventh president of William and Mary, would be elected as Ewell's successor.[140] On the other hand, by the middle of the month, Ewell was discussing the candidates for faculty positions and advising Dr. Richard Wise's father and brother on that young man's chances for a place at the College. By the third week in June, he was clearly operating on the assumption that he would be retained as president, though he went through the motions of submitting his resignation to the Board and seeing it promptly refused.[141] Whatever his personal desires, Ewell was so closely identified with the effort to revive the College that it is difficult to imagine many Visitors wanting to replace him at this juncture.

Ewell and the Board did differ, however, on the rehiring of collegiate faculty. Although Ewell estimated that the College's depleted assets would produce, at most, $4,500 annually for the salaries of the president, the professors, and the Grammar School master, he hoped to hire at least four professors in addition to himself.[142] The Board, opting for fewer appointments at higher pay, authorized him to advertise only three positions: intellectual and moral science, languages, and mathematics. He was to retain the chair of chemistry and natural philosophy as well as the presidency. He followed the Board's instructions, but he also told Henry Wise that he thought his son, Dr. Richard A. Wise, should come to the College to assist in the natural science department. "Natural science has not been taught here for a long time as it should have been. I'd willingly give up 200 Dolls of my own salary that Richard might be appointed to the chair of Chemistry, geology, mineralogy, etc."[143] Ewell urged Henry Wise and Richard's brother, John, to lobby James Lyons and the other Richmond Visitors—surely superfluous advice to the supremely political Wises![144] Ewell was also impressed with the recommendations and testimonials that were coming in in support of Frank Preston, an assistant professor of Greek at Washington College. Son of a longtime faculty member at Virginia Military Institute, Preston was a war hero who had lost an arm at Winchester.[145]

When the Visitors met at the Ballard House on July 2, they reelected Ewell, McCandlish, and Snead and chose the Reverend Mr. Wilmer to complete the faculty. But the decision was not unanimous. Both Hugh Grigsby and Colonel William Lamb, who was attending his first Board meeting, argued for more professors at smaller salaries. Lamb "advocated a Faculty of 6," and Grigsby hoped to elect young Preston as well as McCandlish.[146] This division doubtless encouraged Ewell to urge the Board to reconsider its action the next day.

Since they had refused his resignation, he wanted to offer his own plan for the reorganization of the College, Ewell told the Visitors. In a letter to the new rector, William H. Macfarland (Bishop Johns had resigned at the end of the previous evening's meeting), Ewell outlined his proposal: both he and Wilmer would receive $1,000 annually;

his chair would encompass natural philosophy and mixed mathematics, and Wilmer's would include belles lettres, political economy, rhetoric, and biblical writing, as well as intellectual and moral science. The salaries for Snead (mathematics), McCandlish (Latin, French, and Roman and French history), and Preston (Greek, German, and Grecian and German history) would be $700, and Dr. Wise would earn $500 as professor of chemistry, mineralogy, and geology. Stubbs's replacement as master of the Grammar School, yet to be hired, would be offered between $100 and $300. If the Visitors thought these salaries too low, Ewell replied that the faculty had to make sacrifices to restore the College. "The experiment can do no harm if it does no good & I think that under the circumstances it ought to be made."[147] As Ewell frankly acknowledged, "A Professorship here will be no bed of roses for some time to come."[148] Whether or not the Visitors accepted Ewell's vision of a self-sacrificing faculty, they obviously saw the importance of supporting the president they had just reappointed. They reconsidered their earlier decision and adopted Ewell's plan instead.[149]

In addition to the crucial personnel decisions, the Visitors took two other important steps during their July meeting. They appropriated $5,000 to complete the restoration, and they added P. Montagu Thompson to their number. The Board adjourned about noon on July 3 "in fine temper," feeling it had done all that it could for the College, according to Grigsby. All of those offered teaching appointments accepted, so the College would reopen in October with as large a faculty as its resources would permit.[150]

Ewell had little time to savor his success, for he knew that classrooms and faculty were useless without students. He had been distributing circulars announcing the reopening of the College since early June, and he had even enlisted the young ladies of Williamsburg in his recruitment effort. Anyone who wanted a beau from among the students, he told them, would have to help spread the word that William and Mary was offering collegiate classes again.[151]

Ewell also pressed to put the final touches on the Main Building and to hire a Grammar School master. Neither task was as easy as he might have hoped. His numerous letters to Colonel Ordway about the leaking roof brought no response, and classes began with the problem unresolved.[152] As for the Grammar School appointment, the job eventually went to a Washington College alumnus, J. Wilmer Turner of Goochland County, who earned a master's degree from William and Mary in 1872.[153]

Ewell wavered between realism and optimism as he contemplated the approaching session. In early August he admitted to Tazewell Taylor that "the prospects are misty." Yet he was enthusiastic about the faculty, especially Frank Preston, who "is a man of great energy, zeal, & capacity."[154] The president also hoped for a substantial enrollment—perhaps forty collegiate students and enough younger boys to justify an assistant for Turner.[155] Despite the leaky roof, the minimal furnishings, and the ongoing repairs at the College Hotel, William and Mary was in better shape than it had been since the war.

NOTES

1. Philip Kearny to his wife, May 7, 1862, folder 3, Williamsburg Papers, WMM.
2. Sallie Munford to Lizzi [Ewell], May 16, 1865, ibid.
3. Benjamin S. Ewell, report to BOV, July 5, 1865,. Faculty Minutes, WMA. Ewell's report has also been published in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 3 (Oct. 1923): 221–30.
4. Maj. J. P. Wilson to Lt. Col. C. C. Suydam [?], Oct. 8, 1862, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Benjamin S. Ewell Papers, WMA; Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth Ewell, Oct. 16, 1862, folder 3, box 1; Sally Munford to Elizabeth Ewell, Oct. 22, 1862, folder 14, box 5, Benjamin S. Ewell Papers, WMM; Anne W. Chapman, "Benjamin Stodden Ewell: A Biography" (Ph.D. diss., William and Mary, 1984), 140. In his July 5, 1865, report, Ewell says that he tried to visit Williamsburg three times in the fall of 1862.
5. Hugh Blair Grigsby to Cynthia B. T. Coleman, Apr. 14, 1863, folder Jan–July, 1863, box 56, Tucker Coleman Papers, WMM; Edward S. Joynes to Grigsby, Nov. 21, Dec. 10, 1863, and Diary of Hugh Blair Grigsby, May 13, June 14, 1864, Hugh Blair Grigsby Papers, VHS; Benjamin S. Ewell to Grigsby, Oct. 24, 1864, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA. Ewell reclaimed the securities from Grigsby in June 1864 when he feared federal troops might seize them; he then sent them to Macon, Georgia, where Professor Edwin Taliaferro was stationed, but he eventually decided they were safest in his possession. Ewell, report to BOV, July 5, 1865, Faculty Minutes.
6. Ewell to Grigsby, Oct. 24, 1864, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
7. Diary of Grigsby, Nov. 18, 1864, Grigsby Papers.
8. This became the standard appellation among the College's supporters during its long struggle for survival.
9. Edwin Taliaferro to Ewell, Jun 13, 1865, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
10. Ewell to Grigsby, June 21, 1865, Grigsby Papers.
11. Ewell, "Fragments of an Autobiography," biographical folder, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
12. Diary of Grigsby, June 27, 1865, Grigsby Papers.
13. July 2, 5, 1865, ibid.
14. Ewell to Grigsby, July 12, 1865, Grigsby Papers.
15. BOV Minutes. July 5, 6, 1865, WMA; Ewell, report to BOV, July 5, 186 5, Faculty Minutes. The College Hotel, which could accommodate about twenty-five students, was located directly across Jamestown Road from the Brafferton. The faculty had purchased it in March 1859 from Sherod T. Bowman, brickmaker, for $4,600–$250 of which Mr. Bowman agreed to subscribe to the College Building Fund. Buildings folder, WMA.
16. Taliaferro to Ewell. June 13, 1865, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
17. Ewell, report to BOV, July 5, 1865, Faculty Minutes.
18. BOV Minutes, July 5, 6, 1865.
19. Ewell, "Autobiography."
20. BOV Minutes, July 6, 1865.
21. In a sentence omitted from the Board copy of his report, Ewell said that if the College moved anywhere, it should go to Alexandria, near the Episcopal Theological Seminary where it might receive support from the church. The bulk of his report focused on reopening and rebuilding in Williamsburg. Ewell, report to BOV, Aug. 1, 1865, Faculty Minutes.
22. Ewell, report to BOV, Aug. 1, 1865, Faculty Minutes; BOV Minutes, Aug. 2, 1865.

23. Faculty Minutes (loose pages), Aug. 2, 1865, folder 3, box 1, Thomas Jefferson Stubbs Papers, WMM.
24. Thomas P. McCandlish, Faculty/Alumni File, WMA.
25. *Catalogue of the College of William and Mary in Virginia* (Richmond: Gary and Clemmitt, Printers, 1866), 7.
26. Faculty Minutes, 1865–66 session; *Catalogue, 1865–66*, 7.
27. Ewell, "Autobiography"; Ewell to Grigsby, July 24, 1865, Grigsby Papers. "Everything here is as gloomy as possible—so it is indeed in the whole South," Ewell wrote to his sister in late 1865. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, Nov. 21, 1865, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
28. Flyer on the back of Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, Aug. 29, 1866, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. The *Catalogue* for 1865–66 lists slightly higher fees for the Grammar School. During this period students at Randolph-Macon College had to provide their own furniture, even their own beds. James Edward Scanlon, *Randolph-Macon College: A Southern History, 1825–1967* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1983), 160.
29. Edwin Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Jan. 14, 1866, in Edwin Taliaferro, Faculty/Alumni. The College laws extracted in the catalogue provided that ministerial candidates and "indigent young men of good moral character and respectable abilities" could be admitted without payment of fees. *Catalogue, 1865–66*, 10. Undated clipping of Ewell's Sept. 16, 1868, letter to Richmond *Whig*, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
30. *The History of the College of William and Mary from Its Foundation ... to 1874* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph and English, 1874), 155–56.
31. Matriculation Book, 1827–81, WMA.
32. Ibid.
33. Edwin Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Jan. 14, 1866, in Taliaferro, Faculty/Alumni.
34. Matriculation Book, 1827–81.
35. Faculty Minutes, June 19, 1866. The levels of instruction at the College were junior, intermediate, and senior.
36. Report of faculty to BOV, July 4, 1870, Faculty Minutes.
37. See *History of W&M to 1874*, 167, for a list of honorary degrees awarded from 1866 to 1870.
38. The various sources for enrollment figures—the president's annual report to the Board, faculty correspondence, later historical catalogs, and the Matriculation Book—often disagree on the numbers for the 1865–81 period; record keeping was complicated by the fact that many students enrolled several weeks into a session, and others left before the end of a term. I have relied primarily on the Matriculation Book, 1827–81, with some additions from Ewell's reports.
39. Ewell, report to BOV, July 3, 1866, recorded out of chronological order in Faculty Minutes; Ewell, report to BOV, July 1, 1867, BOV Minutes; report of faculty, July 4, 1868, Faculty Minutes.
40. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Oct. 29, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
41. Garrett, older brother of Van F. Garrett, one of the most beloved of the Seven Wise Men, moved to Tennessee in 1868 where he became a prominent educational leader. He served as state superintendent of education, dean of Peabody Teachers' College in Nashville, and president of the National Education Association. William Robertson Garrett, Faculty/Alumni; Carra Garrett Dillard, "The Grammar School of the College of William and Mary, 1693–1888" (MA thesis, William and Mary, 1951), 110.
42. Taliaferro, Faculty/Alumni.
43. Edward S. Joynes, *Address before the Phi Beta Kappa Society (Alpha) of William and Mary College, Feb. 19, 1903*, in folder 2, box 1, T.J. Stubbs Papers.

44. Joynes told Taliaferro in the spring of 1866 that Greek and German "really had, at this time, no practical existence in William & Mary," and he suspected that would remain the case "for many years to come." Joynes to Taliaferro, Apr. 9, 1866, folder 2, box 9, Tucker-Coleman-Washington Papers, WMM. The Board accepted Joynes's resignation in the fall of 1866, but he retained a lively interest in the welfare of the College for many years. BOV Minutes, Sept. 18, 1866.
45. Edwin Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Jan. 14, 1866, in Taliaferro, Faculty/Alumni.
46. Edwin Taliaferro to Hon. Peter D. Vroom, July 14, 1866, ibid.
47. Taliaferro to Tazewell Taylor (private), Mar. 19, 1867, Tazewell Taylor Papers, WMM.
48. Taliaferro was mostly bedridden by early 1867; P. Montagu Thompson to Billy [William Berkeley], Apr. 3, 1867, Berkeley Papers, UVA, photocopy in P. Montagu Thompson, Faculty/Alumni; Taliaferro to Tazewell Taylor (private), Mar. 19, 1867, Taylor Papers. Board Minutes for July 3, 1867, indicate that Taliaferro was granted a leave of absence for poor health.
49. Typed notes from Richmond Southern opinion, Aug. 23, 1867, in McCandlish, Faculty/Alumni.
50. Joynes, Address. Joynes's memory of Snead as physically strong may have referred to the prewar years. In a November 4, 1868, letter to Tazewell Taylor (Taylor Papers), Ewell noted that Snead's health was "very bad." "Reminiscences of the Rev. C. B. Wilmer, '76," *Alumni Gazette* 1 (Dec. 30, 1933): 3; Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," June 12, 1933, p. 4, Addresses, box 1, Robert Morton Hughes Papers, WMA. Also published in *WMQ*, 2d ser., 13 (July 1933): 195–202.
51. Faculty Minutes, Apr. 28, 1867.
52. BOV Minutes, June 18, 1872.
53. Thomas T. L. Snead to BOV, June 19, 1872, in Thomas T. L. Snead, Faculty/Alumni.
54. Ewell to Taylor, July 6, 1872, Taylor Papers. Ewell must have had mixed feelings about Snead's dismissal as he had at one time hoped that his daughter Lizzy would marry Snead. Chapman, "Ewell," 186.
55. Snead, Faculty/Alumni.
56. Ewell, report to BOV, July 1, 1867, BOV Minutes; McCandlish, Faculty/Alumni.
57. McCandlish to Grigsby, Feb. 19, 1868, Grigsby Papers.
58. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 4.
59. Ewell, report to BOV, July 3, 1868, filed with BOV Minutes, July 2, 1869.
60. McCandlish submitted his resignation in the fall of 1871, to take effect on October 1, 1872. McCandlish to James Lyons, Oct. 1, 1871, in McCandlish, Faculty/Alumni; BOV Minutes, Dec. 14, 1871. His frustration over the pay issue finally led him to sue the College in the summer of 1874; apparently, he lost. Charles Minnegerode to [Ewell], June 6 [?], 1873, Letters, 1873, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA; BOV Minutes, July 4, 1873, July 1, 1874; Faculty Minutes, July 10, 1874.
61. Beverley B. Munford, *Random Recollections* ([Richmond?]: privately printed, 1905), 27.
62. Ewell to Thomas Tasker Gantt, Aug. 6, 1865, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM.
63. Ewell asked Tazewell Taylor what he thought about getting Johnston to come to William and Mary even before classes resumed in 1865. Ewell to Taylor, Sept. 23, 1865, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; see also Moses D. Hoge to Ewell, Oct. 24, 1865, folder 12, box 4, Ewell Papers, WMM. Ewell approached Johnston directly three years later. Joseph E. Johnston to Ewell, Oct. 12, 1868, folder 13, box 5, Ewell Papers, WMM.
64. Ewell to Hoge, May 3, 1866, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM; Ollinger Crenshaw, *General Lee's College: The Rise and Growth of Washington and Lee University* (New York: Random House, 1969), 150–55.

65. Hoge to Ewell, Mar. 20, 1866, and Hoge et al. to Ewell, May 14, 1866, folder 12, box 4; Ewell to Hoge, May 3, 1866, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM; typed excerpt from Richmond *Examiner*, May 18, 1866, in Benjamin Stoddert Ewell, Faculty/Alumni.

66. Apparently Ewell asked John S. Millson of Norfolk to prepare the College's damages case against the federal government in return for a share or percentage of the indemnity. Millson declined. Millson to Ewell, Oct. 6, 1865, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

67. Grigsby to Ewell, Oct. 26, 1865, ibid.

68. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 25, 1865; see also a slightly different version in folder 3, box 1 , T. J. Stubbs Papers.

69. For Thompson's authorization, see Faculty Minutes, Dec. 27, 1865. His mission is discussed later in the chapter. In early 1867 the faculty asked alumnus Dr. William S. Morris to visit New York to raise money for the College in return for 10 percent of whatever he collected. He raised only enough to cover his expenses, but that did not deter the faculty from appointing a number of other such "agents" over the next several years. None had any greater success than Morris. Faculty Minutes, Jan. 10, 1867.

70. Grigsby to Ewell, Oct. 26, 1865, Letters, 1851–65; Grigsby to Ewell, Apr. 9, 1866; Ewell to Grigsby, Apr. 27, 1866; Grigsby to Ewell, May 11, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

71. For a handwritten copy, dated Dec. 28, 1865, see folder Writings, box 1 , Ewell Papers, WMA; the twenty-two-page printed version, *Historical Sketch of the College of William and Mary in Virginia* (Richmond: Gary and Clemmitt Printers, 1866), is in folder 19, College Papers, WMA See also clipping from Richmond *Enquirer*, Jan. 13, 1866, ibid.

72. Beecher to [Henry A. Wise], Jan. 29, 1866, folder 19, College Papers; Ewell to Sumner, Mar. 16, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

73. Faculty Minutes, Dec. 28, 1865; clipping from Richmond *Daily Examiner*, Jan. 13, 1866, folder 19, College Papers. In January 1866 the College saw its competition for the Morrill funds as Virginia Military Institute and the University of Virginia, but eventually in 1872 the money went to help found Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College at Blacksburg and to Hampton Institute. Edwin Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Jan. 14, 1866, in Taliaferro, Faculty/Alumni; Jack P. Maddex, Jr., *The Virginia Conservatives, 1867–1879: A Study in Reconstruction Politics* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1970), 214–15.

74. Faculty Minutes, Jan. 3, 1867.

75. Macfarland to Ewell, Feb. 3, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

76. See, for example, Thomas T. Giles to Ewell, Mar. 5, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1 , Ewell Papers, WMA; Giles to Tazewell Taylor, May 20, 1866; William J. Robertson to Taylor. June 29, 1866; E. H. Chamberlayne to Taylor, July 1 , 1867, Taylor Papers. James Douglas Smith, "Virginia during Reconstruction, 1865–1870: A Political, Economic and Social Study" (Ph.D. diss., University of Virginia, 1960), 13.

77. Thomas J. Randolph to Taylor, Mar. 4, 1867, Taylor Papers. For a detailed account of the Shadwell debt, see Ludwell H. Johnson III, "Sharper Than a Serpent's Tooth: Thomas Jefferson and His Alma Mater," *VMHB* 99 (Apr. 1991): 145–62. Of the $1,505.66 decree in the Amelia County cases, $301.13 went to Giles and $11.52 for court costs, leaving the College a total of $1,193.01. Giles to Ewell, Mar. 9, 13, 1868, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; Giles to Taylor, Mar. 13, 1868, Taylor Papers.

78. Grigsby to Ewell, Oct. 26, 1865, Letters, 1851–65, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

79. Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, Nov. 29, 1865, May 6, 1866, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM.

80. "What a humbug except the brave armies & earnest women has this whole affair been," Ewell wrote to Thomas Tasker Gantt, Aug. 6, 1865, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM. Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, Feb. 7, 1867, box 6, Brown-Ewell Papers, Tennessee State Library

and Archives.

81. The Hampton *True Southerner*, Nov. 24, 1865, reported that Ewell favored black suffrage. Typed copy in Biographical File, box 1 , Ewell Papers, WMA Alexander Dunlop, an African-American blacksmith and trustee of the First Baptist Church in Williamsburg, told the Joint Committee on Reconstruction on February 3, 1866, that the "rebels" opposed black education. "We have got two white teachers in Williamsburg, and have got to put them in a room over a colored family." *Report of the joint Committee on Reconstruction*, 39th Cong., 1st sess., pt. 2 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1866), 57–58. Richard L. Morton, "'Contrabands' and Quakers in the Virginia Peninsula, 1862–1869," *VMHB* 61 (Oct. 1953): 427. Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, Feb. 7, 1867, Box 6, Brown-Ewell Papers.
82. Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, Feb. 7, 1867, box 6, Brown-Ewell Papers.
83. Maddex, *Conservatives*, 43–44; see, for example, Ewell's letter to the *New York Times*, Mar. 29, 1867, signed "An officer of the late Confederate army." On January 22, 1868, he lamented to Colonel Albert Ordway, "What a pity that political strife should be allowed to keep the war sores running." He added that if people would follow the lead of moderate Unionists like Governor Orr of South Carolina, the Union and prosperity would soon be restored. Letters, 1867–68, box 1 , Ewell Papers, WMA
84. Thompson to Billy [William Berkeley], May 14, July 15, Aug. 12, 1867, Berkeley Papers, photocopies in Thompson, Faculty/Alumni.
85. For a brief sketch of the delegate in question, Alfred W. Harris of Petersburg, see Luther Porter Jackson, *Negro Office-Holders in Virginia, 1865–1895* (Norfolk: Guide Quality Press, 1945), 20. The vote to make William and Mary the state Male Normal School is discussed in chapter 3.
86. Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, Mar. 3, 1868; see also his letter of Feb. 19, 1868, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM, and Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Mar. 3[?], 1868, Taylor Papers.
87. Ewell to Taylor, Jan. 21, 1868, Taylor Papers; Ewell to Col. Albert Ordway. Jan. 31, 1868, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
88. Ewell to Ordway. Jan. 31, 1868, Ewell Papers, WMA.
89. Chapman, "Ewell," 217–18; Percy G. Hamlin, *"Old Bald Head" (General R. S. Ewell): The Portrait of a Soldier* (Strasburg, Va.: Shenandoah Publishing House, Inc., 1940), 194–96.
90. Adam Badeau to Ewell, Feb. 8, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
91. Ewell attacked a proposal by *Northern* publishers to distribute "distinctly southern school books" in a letter to the *New York Times*, Oct. 17, 1867. While he objected to the attempt "to create sectional literature and science," he also complained that all the profits would go to Northern firms. Ewell alluded to "strictures" on his letter when he wrote to praise General Francis Smith's new trigonometry text. "I am very glad you did not taint it with sectionalism," he added. Ewell to Smith, Jan. 29, 1868, Francis H. Smith Papers, Virginia Military Institute Archives.
92. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 8, 1867; Diary of Grigsby, Aug. 22, 1867, Grigsby Papers. In an 1890 letter in which he laments a lost opportunity for obtaining a much larger sum of money from Corcoran, Ewell says that the Washington banker made his initial donation in 1865. Ewell to Judge W. W. Crump, Aug. 17, 1890, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
93. R. E. Lee to Cynthia B. T. Coleman, Jan. 21, 1867, printed in pamphlet for the College's 1920 endowment campaign, p. 23, folder 26, College Papers; Coleman to Grigsby. June 24, 1868, Grigsby Papers.
94. Diary of Grigsby, Feb. 17, 1866, Grigsby Papers.
95. C. W. Newton to Rt. Rev. Bishop John Johns, Jan. 20, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA. Because the Visitors had no meeting that spring, they did not respond to the councils' resolution until September 18, 1866, when they resolved that the rector should thank the

councils but inform them that the Board "had no intention now, of removing the College." BOV Minutes.

96. William R. Galt to Grigsby, May 16, 28, Nov. 2, 1866, Grigsby Papers; Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Oct. 29, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

97. Clipping from Norfolk *Journal* [?], ——mber 28, 1866, [*sic*], folder 19, College Papers; copy of published letter from Ewell to Sydney Smith, Jan. 3, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA. Many years later Ewell claimed that there had also been some danger of gubernatorial interference with the Mattey Fund. Ewell to Tyler. Jan. 28, [1889?], Letters, 1889–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

98. Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Encyclopedia of Virginia Biography*, 5 vols. (New York: Lewis Publishing Co., 1915), 3:148; Thompson to Ewell, Feb. 16, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

99. Thompson to Ewell, June 1, 1866; C. T. Cantuar to Thompson, Mar. 6, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA. For Thompson's letter, see London Times, Apr. 19, 1866. Ewell assured Thompson that the Times letter had bucked up the American friends of the College and so was worth the effort even if nothing else came of it. Ewell to Thompson, May 21, 1866, Letters, 1866, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

100. Printed letter of introduction from Henry Ward Beecher, Apr. 9, 1867; U. S. Grant to Ewell, Apr. 30, 1867; letter of introduction from Bishop Horatio Potter of New York, May 14, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA. In addition, Ewell asked Grigsby, his sister, Elizabeth Ewell, and W. W. Corcoran to approach the Peabody Fund trustees on William and Mary's behalf. Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, Feb. 19, 1867, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM; Faculty Minutes, Feb. 19, 25, 1867; Diary of Grigsby, Mar. 7, 1867, Grigsby Papers; W. W. Corcoran to Ewell, Apr. 18, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA. *New York Times*, Apr. 12, 1867.

101. Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, Apr. 22, 1867, with four clippings enclosed, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM.

102. Beecher to Ewell, May 25, 1867, photocopy in Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

103. J. L. M. Curry, *A Brief Sketch of George Peabody, and a History of the Peabody Education Fund through Thirty Years* (1898; reprint, New York: Negro Universities Press, 1969), 25–39. Ewell's appeal to George Peabody for a personal gift also failed, as did the appeals of others on the College's behalf. Diary of Grigsby, Feb. 17, 1866, Mar. 7, Apr. 9, 1867, Grigsby Papers; Barnas Sears to Ewell, Apr. 24, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; Ewell, report to BOV, Faculty Minutes, July 1, 1867; Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, Feb. 19, 1867, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM; Faculty Minutes, Feb. 25, 1867.

104. The copy of the memorial in Faculty Minutes, [March 1867], estimates the College's losses at $50,000; the estimate is $80,000 in "Memorial to the Congress of the United States," 1867, folder 19, College Papers.

105. Ewell, supplementary report to BOV, Faculty Minutes, Sept. 14, 1866, and in folder 292, College Papers; Faculty Minutes, Apr. 27, 1867.

106. Copy of Mary Whalley's [*sic*] will, [Feb. 16, 1741] , folder 292, College Papers.

107. For a brief summary of the Mattey Fund story, see Dillard, "Grammar School," 108–9; see also Ewell, supplementary report to BOV, Sept. 14, 1866, and copies of several of the documents connected with the case, folder 292, College Papers.

108. Ewell, report to BOV, July 1, 1867, Faculty Minutes and BOV Minutes.

109. Ibid.

110. Typed copy of article from Richmond *Whig*, June 18, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

111. July 3, 1867, Grigsby Papers.

112. BOV Minutes, July 3, 1867; Diary of Grigsby. July 3, 1867, Grigsby Papers.

113. For a contemporary sketch of Lamb, see Lyon G. Tyler, *Men of Mark in Virginia*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Men of Mark Publishing Company, 1906), 1:190–94. For a recent account of Lamb's role at Fort Fisher, see Rod Gragg, *Confederate Goliath: The Battle of Fort Fisher* (New York: Harper Collins, 1991).

114. Diary of Grigsby. July 4, 1867, Grigsby Papers.

115. For a sketch of Rives, who had worked with Ewell—none too smoothly—on the defenses of Williamsburg and who in 1868 became division engineer of the Chesapeake and Ohio Railroad and later worked on the Panama Canal, see Jon L. Wakelyn, *Biographical Dictionary of the Confederacy* (Westport, Conn. and London: Greenwood Press, 1977), 368–69.

116. Chapman, "Ewell," 189; Rives to Ewell, July 15, 1867; Ewell to Ordway, Davis, and Company. July 23, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

117. Clipping from Philadelphia *Evening Telegram*, [July 1867], folder 19, College Papers; clipping from Norfolk Day Book, Aug. 20, 1867, and Grigsby to Ewell, Aug. 24, 1867, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

118. Ewell to Grigsby, Dec. 18, 1867; Ewell to Col. Albert Ordway; May 11, 18, June 2, 1868, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

119. For the slate saga, see Ewell to Ordway, Aug. 2, Oct. 3, 16, Dec. 2, 30, 1867; Jan. 9, 17, 18, 1868, ibid. For a good summary of the rebuilding problems, see Chapman, "Ewell," 189–91; Ewell to Ordway, June 4, 6, July 21, 1868, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

120. Ewell to Taylor, Jan. 21, 28, Feb. 11, 1868, Taylor Papers.

121. Grigsby to Ewell, Jan. 28, 29, 1868, Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

122. Ewell to Grigsby, Dec. 18, 1867, ibid.

123. Report of Building Committee to BOV, Feb. 3, 1868, Faculty Minutes; report of Building Committee to BOV, July 3, 1868, folder 52A, College Papers.

124. Ewell, report to BOV, July 3, 1868, filed under BOV Minutes. July 2, 1869.

125. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Nov. 4, 1868, Taylor Papers.

126. Faculty Minutes, July 10, 1868. In 1867–68 John C. King had been employed at $100 plus fees to offer elementary instruction, according to Ewell's July 3, 1868, report, filed under BOV Minutes, July 2, 1869.

127. Faculty Minutes, July 8, 10, 1868; Thomas Jefferson Stubbs, Faculty/Alumni.

128. James New Stubbs, Faculty/ Alumni; Thomas Jefferson Stubbs, Jr., Faculty/Alumni.

129. Undated clipping of Ewell's Sept. 16, 1868, letter to Richmond *Whig*; Letters, 1867–68, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

130. Ewell to Taylor, Nov. 4, 26, Dec. 2, 1868, Taylor Papers.

131. Ewell to Ordway, Nov. 12, 1868, Letters, 1867–68; Feb. 18, Aug. 4, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA

132. Letter of introduction from U. S. Grant, Dec. 22, 1868; J. M. Schofield to Ewell, Dec. 23, 1868; Schofield to A E. Burnside, Dec. 23, 1868; letter of commendation from O. O. Howard, Dec. 24, 1868: Hugh L. Bond to M. Hall Stanton, Dec. 28, 1868, Letters, 1867–68; Burnside to Ewell, Jan. 16, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; Ewell to Taylor, Dec. 2, 1868, Taylor Papers.

133. Ewell to Lizzy [Mrs. L. S. E. Scott], Jan. 4, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1 , Ewell Papers, WMA.

134. *New York Times*, Jan. 7, 1869; *Church Journal*, Jan. 13, 1869; clipping from Norfolk *Virginian*, Letters, 1869, box 1 , Ewell Papers, WMA.

135. Ewell to Lizzie [Mrs. L. S. E. Scott], Jan. 16, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

136. Ewell to Ordway, Feb. 18, 1869; Thomas Dunn English to Ewell, Mar. 2, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; Faculty Minutes, Apr. 18, 28, May 18, 1869; Ewell's report of June 28, 1869, estimates the value of the donated books at $1,200. BOV Minutes, July 2, 1869.

137. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 16, 1869. The additional endorsements Ewell collected, including one from General William T. Sherman, apparently had no impact. Letter of introduction from William T. Sherman, Apr. 19, 1869; F.[?] E. Parker to Rev. D.[?] Walker, Apr. 28, 1869; Thomas Russell to Hon. A. H. Rice and others, May 4, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

138. Vest, whose loans were crucial to the College's survival, was the father-in-law of a former professor, Edward S. Joynes. Report of Building Committee to BOV, June 28, 1869, folder 52A, College Papers, and in Faculty Minutes, July 3, 1869; "Schedule of Property Belonging to or Managed by Benj. S. Ewell," Dec. 12, 1868, folder 20, box 7, Ewell Papers, WMM.

139. Report of Building Committee to BOV, June 28, 1869, folder 52A, College Papers.

140. Benjamin S. Ewell to Richard S. Ewell, June 10, 1869, box 6, Brown-Ewell Papers; Susie Garrett to "My dear Auntie," June 5, 186[9], in Van F. Garrett's old notebook, Van F. Garrett, Faculty/Alumni. Ewell claimed in his "Autobiography" that he was reelected president in 1869 "contrary to his wishes expressed to the Visitors."

141. Ewell to Henry A. Wise, June 14, 1869; Ewell to John S. Wise, June 22, 23, 1869 (two letters), John S. Wise Papers, WMM; BOV Minutes, July 2, 1869.

142. Ewell noted that the College's income could not exceed $5,500, and he obviously doubted that it would come anywhere near that figure. Ewell, report to BOV, Faculty Minutes, July 3, 1869.

143. Ewell to Henry A Wise, June 14, 1869, J. Wise Papers.

144. Ewell to John S. Wise, June 22, 1869, ibid.

145. Ewell to Henry A. Wise, June 14, 1869, J. Wise Papers; Crenshaw, *Washington and Lee*, 129; Preston's Faculty/Alumni file contains some erroneous information.

146. Diary of William Lamb, July 2, 1869, William Lamb Papers, WMM; Diary of Grigsby. July 1, [July 2], 1869, Grigsby Papers.

147. Ewell to Macfarland, July 3, 1869, folder 51, College Papers; Grigsby noted in his diary on July 3 that Ewell sent him the proposal before he gave it to Macfarland.

148. Ewell to John S. Wise, June 22, 1869, J. Wise Papers.

149. BOV Minutes, July 3, 1869. The same day the College conferred honorary master of arts degrees on Frank Preston and Richard Wise. Faculty Minutes, July 3, 1869.

150. Grigsby nominated Thompson. BOV Minutes, July 2, 3, 1869; Diary of Grigsby, [July 2], 1869, Grigsby Papers. Why Snead and McCandlish accepted $700 in 1869 when they rejected $666 the year before is not clear. Probably they anticipated a larger student body—and thus more fees—after the rebuilding; they may also have failed to find other employment.

151. Susie Garrett to "My Dear Auntie," June 5, [1869]; [Mary L. Garrett?] to Nannie, [1869], in Van F. Garrett's old notebook, Garrett, Faculty/Alumni; *New York Times*, July 6, 1869, reprinted from the Richmond *Whig*, July 5, 1869; clipping from unidentified Richmond newspaper, Aug. 11, 1869, folder 19, College Papers; Benjamin S. Ewell to Hugh B. Grigsby, Aug. 16, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; Richard A. Wise to Tazewell Taylor, Nov. 29, 1869, Taylor Papers. The College spent $205.12 to advertise in papers in Richmond, Norfolk, and Lynchburg and $30 to advertise in the Opelika, Alabama, *Church Calendar* from January to June 1870. Faculty Minutes, Aug. 25, 1870.

152. Ewell to Ordway, Aug. 28, Sept. 5, Sept. 18 [?], Sept. 27, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

153. Ewell, report to BOV, BOV Minutes, June 17, 1872.

154. Ewell to Taylor, Aug. 2, 1869, Taylor Papers; Ewell to Grigsby, Aug. 16, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.

155. J. Wilmer Turner to "Father," Oct. 1, [1869], J. Wilmer Turner, Faculty/Alumni; Benjamin S. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Oct. 18, 1869, Taylor Papers.

2

A DISAPPOINTING DECADE: THE SEARCH FOR AID

1870–1879

To mark the reopening, the College bell tolled on October 1, 1869, for the first time in several years.[1] But relatively few responded to its summons. Both the Grammar School and the collegiate classes attracted a disappointingly small number of students, and many of those arrived well after the beginning of the session.[2] On November 5, J. Wilmer Turner told his father he had only twenty-five scholars, though he expected more in the next week.[3] (The year before, the Grammar School had enrolled forty boys.) In the collegiate courses Ewell reported thirty students, a figure he described as "small, but not discouraging."[4] Ewell believed that word of the College's reorganization had reached many people too late to allow them to enroll for the 1869–70 session. The matriculation book recorded a total of sixty-five students for the year, thirty collegiate and thirty-five preparatory; Ewell's annual report counted thirty-two collegians and thirty-one Grammar School boys.[5] Whichever figures are correct, they represent a slight increase in the collegiate enrollment but an almost identical total to that of the first postwar session. Not a disaster, to be sure, but not the dawn of a new era for the College, either.

A New Beginning

If the smaller-than-expected enrollment dismayed the faculty, Ewell would not admit it. Instead, he reported that the professors were "in good spirits[,] especially the new ones." Wilmer, Wise, and, of course, Preston he described as "full of earnestness, zeal, & energy." They were "of weight and character enough to build up a College themselves," he told Tazewell Taylor. Wilmer, who was fifty-one years old, provided seniority; Dr. Wise, who was elected secretary of the faculty and librarian at the beginning of the session, seemed to be following Ewell's advice to help out wherever he was needed; and Preston, for whom Ewell had such high hopes, was "first among equals."[6] These men, along with Snead and McCandlish, offered the serious student a good education, Ewell believed, whatever the inadequacies of the physical plant.

Fortune soon mocked Ewell's optimism. The promising young Frank Preston died of "pulmonary consumption" a little more than a month into the session. Although he had been sick before he came to William and Mary, Preston's friends and supporters in Williamsburg obviously underestimated the severity his illness, for they viewed his death as a sudden catastrophe.[7] "The College has met a severe blow in Capt. Preston's death," Ewell told Tazewell Taylor. "In all respects he promised to be a man of mark & a most able Professor."[8] J. Wilmer Turner agreed that William and Mary had "sustained a grievous loss."[9] The faculty, mourning the demise of this scion of a distinguished Virginia family and exemplar of "manly virtues," resolved that both they and the students would accompany his body to the wharf; a smaller group would escort it to Lexington and attend the funeral.[10] Replacing Preston would be difficult, Ewell confided to Grigsby, but added that the attempt should be made at once.[11]

In January the faculty did find a temporary replacement in the person of the Reverend Lyman B. Wharton.[12] A native of Bedford County who had been ordained by Bishop Johns, the thirty-nine-year-old Wharton had studied ancient and modern languages at the University of Virginia, attended Virginia Theological Seminary, served as chaplain of the Fifty-ninth Virginia Regiment during the war, and taught school in Abingdon before coming to William and Mary.[13] Although he sparked none of the excitement of his predecessor, Wharton did well enough with the Greek and German classes that Ewell, Snead, Wise, and Wilmer petitioned the Board at the end of the session to make his appointment permanent. The students liked him, and he was a good colleague, they reported. "We believe it as safe an appointment as can be made." Only McCandlish dissented. While he agreed with his colleagues' assessment of Wharton, he warned the Visitors that it would be a mistake to add another Episcopalian minister to the faculty.[14]

Evidently the Board did not share his concern, for they named Wharton to the vacant chair at their July meeting. In fact, at that same meeting, Hugh Grigsby raised the question of cultivating closer ties with Virginia Episcopalians, though he did not pursue the matter just then.[15] Ironically, Wharton long outlasted McCandlish at the College. He remained at his post under President Ewell until the summer of 1881, when he "resigned with almost heart-breaking feelings" as the College prepared to close its classrooms in order to preserve what was left of its endowment.[16] However, Wharton did return as one of the Seven Wise Men when the College reopened.

The prospects for the College that Ewell described as "misty" in August had begun to look decidedly darker by the late fall of 1869. The relatively low enrollment meant that student fees would add little to College coffers or faculty pockets, especially since fifteen of the Grammar School boys were nonpaying Mattey Scholars. Moreover, even while he struggled to correct the problems with the recent repairs, Ewell faced demands for repayment of the $9,000 construction debt. Thus, he continued a steady stream of appeals to Tazewell Taylor for any funds the bursar could manage to squeeze from the College's remaining assets or borrow at a reasonable rate. Ewell's letters were a litany of needs punctuated by flattery and calculation. "If you cannot get it [a loan] it is very certain there is no man in Norfolk who can," he told Taylor on October 21.[17] In mid-December he wrote that if the bursar could find $3,000 in January, the rest of the building debt could probably be put off for another six months. However, faculty salaries had to be paid, "for we are as poor as the same number of church rats."[18] Taylor responded to Ewell's pleas, but the checks he sent were never enough. Ewell had no choice but to resume his quest for outside money.

During the fall of 1869, Ewell continued to collect letters from prominent figures such as General George B. McClellan, President Frederick A. P. Barnard of Columbia College, and Virginia's new governor, Gilbert C. Walker.[19] Some of these he would use in New York, others in Washington and Richmond, as he retraced the routes he had already taken several times since the war. With a partially refurbished campus and these additional endorsements, Ewell set out once again to make the College's case to wealthy Northerners, the United States Congress, and the Virginia legislature. Once again the results were disappointing. Several weeks in New York in December did not even bring in enough to pay Ewell's expenses, and uncertainty about Virginia's readmission to the Union persuaded him to postpone a trip to Washington until the spring.[20] The president also delayed lobbying for the College's renewed request for a portion of the state's Morrill money until he had some reassurance that receipt of such funds would not weaken William and Mary's case for federal indemnification.[21]

When Ewell finally traveled to the two capitals in early March 1870, the faculty had to borrow $500 from Mr. Vest to pay his expenses. Ewell and his colleagues believed the financial stakes were high enough—and the College's needs urgent enough—to justify this additional indebtedness.[22] Unfortunately, few lawmakers in Washington or Richmond shared that sense of urgency, and Ewell accomplished little in either place.[23] Clearly, he had overestimated the impact of a rebuilt campus on potential donors or legislative supporters. Yet he could not afford to be discouraged; he would simply have to refine his arguments, recruit additional allies, and press his suit at every opportunity.

Although Visitors Hugh Grigsby and William Lamb suggested alternative strategies for revitalizing the College, Ewell found strong backing for his emphasis on the federal indemnity in Board member Henry A Wise. Neither Grigsby's proposal of a closer link with Virginia's Episcopalians nor Lamb's notion of turning the College over to the state (provided the legislature would "give it an equal endowment with the University of Virginia") aroused much enthusiasm, but Wise's offer to approach Representative Benjamin Butler of Massachusetts on behalf of William and Mary's wartime damage claim helped shape College policy for the next decade.[24]

It may have seemed a startling proposition to approach this Radical Republican and former Union general, who had gained notoriety early in the war for welcoming runaway slaves into his camp at Fortress Monroe, Virginia, and who later earned the sobriquet "Beast" for insulting Southern white womanhood during his occupation of New Orleans.[25] But Wise had known Butler as a fellow Democrat before the war, and he calculated that he could pique the congressman's interest in the College's reimbursement campaign, especially since Butler had supported educational aid bills in the House. Wise first raised the possibility of enlisting Butler's aid at a meeting of alumni in the College chapel on July 6, 1870.[26] With the endorsement of that group, he sent Butler a detailed account of the destruction of the College and challenged the congressman to show that he was a better man than his detractors allowed by advising Wise how best to prepare a relief bill for submission to Congress and by agreeing to be the bill's patron.[27] Wise's gambit paid off. Butler immediately replied in the affirmative, and he offered sound political advice as to what arguments the College might most effectively employ.

In Butler's view William and Mary had neither a legal case nor a legitimate financial claim against the federal government "So far as justice and claim go, the tree must lie where it fell," he stated bluntly. But he did believe the College could arouse the sympathy of the Congress and appeal to the federal government's tradition of aiding educational institutions that had suffered disasters by emphasizing its historic service to the nation, the many patriots whom it had educated, and its potential for future usefulness. College officials should prepare a statement of property damage that stressed the accidental or unauthorized nature of the destruction while "carefully not raising the issues of the war which might tend to invoke political considerations." Butler would energetically support such a memorial at the next session, he assured Wise.[28]

When Wise relayed Butler's response to his fellow Board members, they swiftly authorized Rector Macfarland to prepare an appeal along the lines the congressman had suggested. But though this document garnered significant support in the next several Congresses, the victory Butler predicted was long in coming. Despite his prescient warning that "political considerations" could hamper William and Mary's campaign and despite Ewell's constant efforts to avoid any hint of recrimination, strong sectional and partisan feelings proved more difficult to overcome than either man had anticipated.[29]

Acceptance of Butler's strategy was but one of several important Board of Visitors decisions in the summer of 1870. The physical plant required continued attention, and the Building Committee agreed that both the enclosures of the College grounds and the refurbishing of the Brafferton should be completed. The committee also accepted Ewell's recommendation that the Grammar School be moved off campus—the president thought it a mistake to mix the younger boys with the older—and approved plans for a one-story, brick schoolhouse measuring sixty-two by forty-three feet on a College-owned lot on the Palace Green.[30]

In addition, the Board elected three new members to fill the vacancies in its ranks , the most important of whom was General William B. Taliaferro of Gloucester.[31] An 1841 graduate of the College, brother of the late Edwin Taliaferro, son-in-law of Visitor James Lyons, and father of several future William and Mary students, Taliaferro was an influential lawyer and politician with a strong interest in higher education. (At various times he sat on the governing boards of Virginia Military Institute, Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, and the State Normal School for Women at Farmville, in addition to William and Mary.) Although Taliaferro never achieved the statewide political offices he sought, he was an invaluable legislative ally for the College, especially in 1888. And during his many years on the Board—the last seven as president—he was a staunch friend and frequent confidant of both Benjamin Ewell and Lyon Tyler.[32]

The Search for Students

Whatever the disappointments of the 1869–70 session, Ewell moved into the new decade with his characteristic perseverance and optimism. Now that Virginia was back in the Union and the College had friends in both Washington and Richmond, prospects for financial aid seemed brighter. Ewell knew much work lay ahead, but he could legitimately hope for tangible gains. He also believed that with proper advertising and incentives, the College could substantially increase its enrollment. He reported to the Visitors in July 1870 that he had already distributed twelve hundred copies of the 1870 general catalog. "There is every reason for expecting a fair increase of students next session," he added.[33] The College continued to advertise in newspapers throughout the state and as far away as Memphis, Tennessee, and Hartford, Connecticut.[34] In addition, Ewell stressed the low cost of a William and Mary education at every opportunity. Thus, for example, he assured General Taliaferro in October 1870 that he was "not underestimating" when he said that the general could educate his oldest son "at an expense of not over 50 Dolls. the session, by letting him mess & sending over provisions and room furniture."[35]

In all this, there was nothing new. Ewell had been making the same arguments since 1865. In the fall of 1872, however, the faculty did create an additional incentive by offering one tuition scholarship to each county in the State. Recipients, chosen by their county superintendents of schools, would have to pay only their expenses, estimated at less than $180 per session.[36] The College also had several endowed scholarships.[37] In addition, each professor could confer scholarships on two students selected from his classes each year on the basis of merit.[38] Moreover, by the 3 mid-1870s tuition and fees were lower than they had been immediately after the war.[39]

Despite the best efforts of Ewell, the faculty, and friends of the College, enrollment remained disappointingly low.[40] The numbers rose only slightly to 74 (41 collegiate) students for the 1870–71 session and 76 (49 collegiate) the next year and then declined to 66 (38 collegiate) in 1872–73, despite a new program designed to prepare candidates for West Point and Annapolis.[41] The decline continued in 1873–74, with only 50 (35 collegiate) students in attendance. Even Ewell found these figures discouraging.[42]

The situation did improve dramatically during the next two sessions, thanks in large part to a new charitable organization, the Southern Orphans' Educational Association, established by Richard and Henry Wise, Ewell, and others, for the purpose of offering free tuition and board at the College to sons of the Confederate war dead. By August 1874 Henry Wise had raised enough money to support 5 students, and he later gained state support for a lottery that funded several more.[43] In addition, Ewell took advantage of the approaching celebration of the nation's centennial to advertise the College's historic connections and contributions to a broader audience. The temporary nature of this boom became devastatingly obvious in 1876–77, however, when the total enrollment sank to 38. Even worse, the decline occurred entirely within the collegiate ranks, which fell to 23 students. Ewell blamed much of the decrease on the legislature's repeal of the law authorizing aid to the Confederate orphans and widows; he estimated that the College lost about 30 students with the demise of the Orphans' Association.[44] Moreover, the centennial celebration generated more publicity than students.

After 1876–77 the enrollment dropped steadily until the College suspended operations at the end of the 1880–81 session. There were only 27 students on campus that year, and 15 of those were in the preparatory department. Even the 12 students in the collegiate course were very young, ranging in age from fifteen to eighteen. In reality, by 1881 there was little left of the College to suspend.

Several factors accounted for the College's continuing difficulties. In the first place, neither the economic nor the political climate of the state and nation in the 1870s proved as propitious as Ewell had hoped. Hard times and bitter partisanship hindered many of his efforts. The unrelieved poverty of Tidewater Virginia, the area from which William and Mary continued to draw most of its students, remained a severe handicap. Even the College's well-advertised "cheap" rates were too high for many.

Second, the absence of either denominational or state support meant that the College could not subsidize students to the extent that some of its competitors could. Even during the economic depression of the mid-1870s, enrollments at the University of Virginia, Virginia Military Institute, and the just-established Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College far outstripped that at William and Mary. Denominational schools such as Emory and Henry, Hampden-Sydney, Roanoke, Richmond, and Randolph-Macon attracted significantly more students as well. Moreover, all of these schools, except the new Agricultural and Mechanical College, had substantial numbers of out-of-state students, whereas William and Mary relied almost entirely on Virginians. Washington and Lee University, the one other Virginia school that had neither state nor denominational ties, also attracted many non-Virginians, even after the death of Robert E. Lee in October 1870.[45]

A third factor, the remoteness of the College from the more densely populated areas of the state, continued to hinder recruitment. Williamsburg was still at least four hours by boat from Norfolk and eight from Richmond—and that on vessels that were neither frequent nor entirely reliable.[46] Even the carriage rides from the wharves on the James and York rivers into town were long and tedious. Ewell spoke often of the planned rail line between Richmond and Norfolk that would pass through Williamsburg, but progress on that road was glacially slow.[47]

Another perennial hindrance to attracting more students was the widespread impression that Williamsburg was an unhealthy place. Ewell worked valiantly to counter this belief; he quoted experts and cited low death rates at the College and at the Eastern Lunatic Asylum; he spoke of the area's salubrious climate from October to July in almost every appeal he made for the College. Yet he obviously left many Virginians unconvinced.[48]

Any one of these problems would have been difficult enough; in tandem they proved lethal. As enrollment declined after 1875–76, rumors circulated each year that the College might close. Although the faculty and the Board of Visitors hung on for another five years, the rumors quite naturally discouraged prospective students, and the College found itself caught in a near-fatal downward spiral.[49]

The Campaign for a Federal Indemnity, 1871–73

Ewell, of course, refused to believe that the College was beyond salvation. Throughout the 1870s he pursued the federal indemnity at every opportunity while looking to other sources of support as well. Inevitably, there were many disappointments, but he always found enough good omens and positive developments to keep hope alive. And, indeed, he did spark a great deal of interest in the College. Translating that interest into cash was the rub.

The initial, though limited, successes of William and Mary's appeal in 1871 and 1872 encouraged both Ewell and the Visitors. True to his word, Benjamin Butler introduced the College's memorial and had it referred to the Committee on Education and Labor in December 1870.[50] At his urging, Ewell traveled to Washington to testify before the committee in early 1871. Ewell's remarks, which he repeated with only minor variations in three subsequent appearances on Capitol Hill, summarized the historical, utilitarian, and emotional arguments he had been making since the end of the war. After carefully noting that William and Mary advanced no legal claim against the government, he argued that the $69,000 (reduced from an initial estimate of $80,000) the College was requesting was little enough to ask for the reconstruction of the alma mater of Thomas Jefferson, John Marshall, John Randolph, and James Monroe.[51] Ewell stressed the importance of William and Mary to the people of Virginia, but he also emphasized the intersectional and bipartisan support for the appeal. He cited the letters he had collected from various Union generals and quoted extensively from one written by Robert W. Hughes, a prominent Virginia Republican, whose son attended William and Mary.[52] Finally, he denied that this bill would open the floodgates for thousands of unwarranted war claims. The College was unique both in the extent of its injurie s and in its historical significance; no other Southern institution could make such an appeal to the Congress and the nation.[53]

After his testimony Ewell stayed on in Washington for several weeks to lobby on behalf of the College. He won over the committee. On March 3, 1871, chairman Samuel Amell, a Radical Republican from Tennessee, presented a favorable report, but the session ended before the House could act.[54] Butler expressed regret at this outcome but assured Henry Wise that the bill would be successful in the coming session. Wise passed this encouraging message along to his fellow Visitors, and they resolved in the summer of 1871 to continue to press the College's case.[55] To strengthen the effort, they appointed five of their number to confer with Virginia's United States representatives and senators.[56] Primary responsibility for the campaign, however, remained Ewell's.

In January 1872, with "strong hopes," Ewell returned to Washington to repeat his testimony.[57] Initially, those hopes seemed well founded. The Committee on Education and Labor was, if anything, more receptive than in 1871. Its new chairman, Legrand W. Perce, a carpet bagger from Mississippi, strongly supported the bill, as did member George F. Hoar of Massachusetts. Although both men were Radical Republicans, they shared a deep interest in federal aid to education, especially in the war-torn South. Indeed, Hoar proved to be one of the key backers of the indemnity and other aid for the College for the next twenty years.[58] Under Perce's leadership, the committee reported favorably and unanimously on the William and Mary bill at the end of January. Although they reduced Ewell's estimate by $4,000 (for damage to enclosures and grounds), committee members agreed that the destruction of the College "was entirely without authority, and utterly useless for any purpose of legitimate warfare."[59] The *New York Times* lent editorial support "because the claim is just, and because it is made for the interest of education in a Southern state where education has been sadly interfered with."[60] Debate began in the House in early February. In addition to Perce and Hoar, several Northern Democrats spoke in favor of the bill.[61] But many Republican congressmen opposed the measure; they could see no reason why federal funds should go to a school whose students and faculty had supported the Confederacy. They considered that the destruction of the College was simply part of the price the South had to pay for its failed rebellion.[62] Despite Ewell's claim of uniqueness, they worried that the bill might set a precedent and "burden the Treasury with the cost of rebuilding every school or church or institution of charity destroyed during the war."[63]

Opposition arose outside of Congress, too. A former officer of the Eleventh Pennsylvania Cavalry, offended by the House committee's strictures against "drunken, disorderly and insubordinate U.S. soldiers," claimed to have evidence that the Confederates had actually fired the Main Building. He urged Representative Perce to postpone action for two weeks to allow him time to gather affidavits.[64] Nothing seems to have come of this particular challenge, but another Union veteran later told Republican representative John Hawley of Illinois that he was certain the rebels were responsible for the conflagration.[65]

More serious were the charges that began to circulate in Washington of current disloyalty at the College. Reports that a volunteer militia company commanded by Professor Richard Wise had disrupted a Republican political meeting in Williamsburg and shown contempt for the federal government at the state fair in Richmond sent Ewell scrambling to investigate and explain. Having been assured by Wise that the interruption of the Republican gathering was entirely inadvertent and that nothing untoward had occurred at the fair, Ewell quickly rebutted the allegations. And, for good measure, he noted that very few students belonged to the militia, which had no official connection with the College.[66]

Faced with these mounting obstacles, but still hopeful of success, Ewell prepared for a long fight.[67] In late February the faculty endorsed his efforts and authorized him to borrow enough money to meet his expenses while he lobbied for the College's claim. As it turned out, he stayed in Washington "with little interruption" until mid-May 1872.[68]

Drawing heavily on his own record of unionism and moderation, President Ewell worked feverishly to counter the bloody shirt arguments. He wrote to Representative Perce in late February that the secession flag had never been raised on the College buildings, and since the war the College had educated all who had applied, regardless of political preference or regional background. "One of the most prominent Republicans in Virginia declares that he sends his son [here] in the confident belief that he will not be insulted on account of his politics," Ewell reported. He went on to point out that since 1865 the school had awarded honorary degrees to distinguished Northerners, and he reminded Perce that for two years after the war the faculty "gave preaching accommodations in the college premises to the northern Methodists who could not get them elsewhere in Williamsburg."[69]

To strengthen the bipartisan appeal of the measure, Ewell rallied alumni and friends. William Reynolds of Baltimore, who had been a law student at the College in the spring of 1861, filed a deposition attesting to Ewell's hostility to secession.[70] Samuel Chapman Armstrong, principal of Hampton Institute, furnished a letter of introduction to Representative Henry L. Dawes, a Massachusetts Republican, in which he praised Ewell's kindness and liberality toward Northerners who had settled in Virginia. He also urged passage of the bill. "This grant will do more to bring about good feeling than any measure of the govt. since the war," he argued.[71] Dr. D. R Brower, a Union veteran from Pennsylvania and current superintendent of the Eastern Lunatic Asylum, wrote to Pennsylvania Representative William D. ("Pig Iron") Kelley, another Republican, on behalf of the College and assured him of the loyalty of the faculty.[72] Robert W. Hughes took up his pen again. In an open letter to George Hoar, published in the Washington *Chronicle*, he made an explicitly Republican case for the indemnity. Arguing that latent Republican sentiment in Virginia could be aroused if the national government offered aid to repair war damage, he suggested that passage of the William and Mary bill might help President Grant carry the state in the forthcoming election.[73]

Finally, in May 1872 Ewell took the dramatic step of publicly endorsing Grant for a second term and admitting that he had also favored the general in 1868. His letter, praising Grant's commitment to peace and reconciliation and noting that the president had allowed Virginia to reenter the Union on very favorable terms, appeared in the Washington *Chronicle*, the *New York Times*, and several other papers around the country.[74] It was also reproduced as a broadside entitled "The South and Grant," presumably for use in the 1872 campaign.[75]

All these efforts were not enough to prevent the bill's opponents from blocking its passage by what Ewell called "parliamentary stratagems" in the spring of 1872. Disappointed, he nevertheless took comfort in the unanimous support of the committee and the optimistic assessments of friendly representatives who told him that the bill might fare better in the next session.[76]

In light of the College's sorry financial condition and diminishing opportunities for fund-raising elsewhere, Ewell had every reason to cling to whatever hope Washington offered. In 1871 and 1872, George Hoar had led a subscription drive for William and Mary among residents of Massachusetts, but a disastrous fire in Boston in late 1872, combined with an economic downturn, meant the pledges—totaling perhaps as much as $100,000—went unfilled.[77] In March 1872 the General Assembly had finally disposed of the state's Morrill money; two-thirds of it went to establish a new institution, Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College at Blacksburg, and one-third went to Hampton Institute.[78] Despite their extensive lobbying campaigns, none of Virginia's established white schools received a penny. In June the Board of Visitors reduced the College faculty to four professors, including Ewell. Although they hoped to attract additional students in the coming year with the special preparatory program for service academy candidates, Visitors and professors alike knew that increasing the enrollment was a difficult task.[79]

If the College's situation seemed unpromising, political developments in the state offered some encouragement. During the summer of 1872, Ewell discovered that he was not alone in his endorsement of President Grant. Many prominent Virginia Conservatives and Democrats who could not abide Horace Greeley, the Liberal Republican challenger, threw their support to the incumbent. Among those who offered to canvass for Grant was James Lyons, rector of the Board of Visitors since July 1871. (His predecessor, William Macfarland, had gone insane in February of that year.)[80] Henry Wise also denounced the Liberal Republicans, although he could not bring himself to campaign for the president.[81] When Grant carried Virginia by a small margin in November, Ewell may well have hoped that the Republican victory would redound to the benefit of the indemnity campaign. Otherwise, as he had admitted to Hugh Grigsby in early October, "the prospects [were] not very encouraging for the College."[82]

In anticipation of the reintroduction of the William and Mary bill in the third session of the Forty-second Congress in December 1872, the faculty—consisting of Professors Wilmer, Wharton, and Wise—resolved that Ewell must go again to Washington and renewed his plenary authority to represent the College.[83] But Rector Lyons opposed this trip, probably for financial reasons. Meeting with Lyons and other Visitors in Richmond in early December, Ewell managed to persuade a majority to overrule the rector by arguing that his presence on Capitol Hill was essential. "Unless someone is there all the time there will be no chance for it the College Bill [*sic*]."[84] Ewell returned to the capital in time to see Representative Perce present H.R 1338 on December 13.

Opponents of the bill immediately demanded additional debate. Some of the arguments echoed those of the previous session, but Indiana Republican John Shanks proposed an amendment skillfully designed to discomfit the College's Radical Republican supporters. He moved that none of the $65,000 indemnity should be paid until the Board of Visitors had adopted a resolution declaring William and Mary now and forever open for admission on equal terms and with equal privileges to "all persons irrespective of race, color, or previous condition of servitude."[85] Perce angrily charged that Shanks was simply trying to defeat the measure. While he and other backers of the bill favored equal rights, Perce said, it was unfair to single out one college in the entire country for integration. The practical effect of the amendment would be to make William and Mary an all-black school. Moreover, he added, sounding more desperate and hypocritical by the minute, his black constituents did not want this kind of amendment. Shanks replied that since the money in question was from the public treasury, it should be used in a nondiscriminatory fashion. Another supporter of the bill, Virginia Democrat John Critcher, argued that since there was a flourishing black college (Hampton Institute) just a few miles from Williamsburg, there was no need to integrate William and Mary. Shanks asked whether Hampton barred whites. Critcher professed not to know but claimed that no whites currently attended.[86]

Shanks had clearly placed many Republicans in an awkward position. But when George Hoar got up to speak, he agreed to the amendment, admitting that his commitment to equal rights required as much. More surprising was his announcement that he understood College authorities were willing to open the school's doors to all. Hoar then went on to argue for the appropriation as a gesture of reconciliation.[87]

Ewell must have authorized Hoar to accept Shanks's amendment, but whether either of them really expected it to become law is not clear. Just a few weeks earlier, Ewell had assured Rector Lyons that a report that Ewell favored admitting blacks to William and Mary was "a malicious falsehood."[88]

In any event, although the House endorsed the Shanks amendment, it then defeated the amended bill, 36 to 127, with 78 not voting. Perce, Hoar, and Kelley all voted yea, as did three Virginia congressmen, but Benjamin Butler abstained.[89] A month later the House reversed itself and passed Perce's original bill, without the amendment, 111 to 75, with 54 not voting. The bill contained no appropriation, however, and the Senate adjourned without ever considering it.[90] Another Congress expired without any relief for William and Mary.

As usual, there were optimists who assured Ewell that the bill would surely pass during the next session. In the meantime, the College faculty rewarded Legrand Perc and Georg Hoar; each received an honorary doctor of laws degree on February 22, 1873.[91] Despite the frustrations of congressional politics, Ewell took heart from such allies. They confirmed the cogency of his historical arguments for William and Mary. He remained committed to pursuing the federal indemnity, he told the Board of Visitors in his report for 1873.[92]

Consideration of Closer Ties with the Episcopal Church

Not all of the Visitors shared Ewell's faith in the eventual success of his Washington lobbying. The immediate needs of the College—thousands of dollars for repairs to the eternally leaking roof of the Main Building and to the increasingly dilapidated College Hotel and Brafferton, as well as for faculty salaries—seemed to demand a swifter and more certain solution. Hugh Grigsby, who since July 1871 had been chancellor of the College as well as a Visitor, revived his idea of pursuing closer ties with the Episcopal church. At the July 4, 1873, Board meeting he moved to appoint a committee of three to investigate the possibility of "a more intimate connexion [*sic*]" between William and Mary and the Diocese of Virginia and to report back at the next annual meeting.[93] Grigsby's resolution aroused the spirited and long-winded opposition of Henry Wise who kept the Board in session until almost two in the morning with his objections. As Grigsby later described the scene:

> Gov. Wise … spoke for two mortal hours in opposing my resolution. While he was speaking, every member of the Board, excepting the Rector, Gen. Taliaferro, and myself, went soundly to sleep. Some were strewed on the platform, others nodded in their chairs; but Wise went on and, according to the papers, consumed *two hours and a half after ten at night*.[94]

When the vote was taken, only Taliaferro and William Crump joined Wise on the negative side. Not yet ready to concede defeat, Wise then offered an alternative resolution that would have impossibly broadened the charge to the committee. Again he spoke at length, and again he could muster only two votes besides his own, this time from William Peachy and Crump. The committee as finally appointed consisted of three ministers, Woodbridge, Minnegerode, and J. H. D. Wingfield. They were given the added charge of devising a feasible plan for raising $100,000 in permanent funds for the College.[95] (Ironically, the two men quietly added to the Board at this contentious meeting, John Goode and Warner T. Jones, would play important, and in Jones's case, successful roles in raising money for William and Mary from secular sources.)[96]

The lopsided vote in favor of Grigsby' s resolution and the ministerial composition of the committee overstated the enthusiasm of the Board for a formal link with the church. Although most of the Visitors were Episcopalians, they were less concerned with theological questions than with money. In attempting to capitalize on William and Mary's historic ties with the large and influential denomination, they sought financial rather than spiritual support.

Even as the committee began its work, other friends of the College tried to interest the Episcopalians of the state in the school's welfare. A stranger from Nelson County bombarded both Professor Wilmer and President Ewell with elaborate plans for circularizing the communicants of the diocese and pleading the College's case in the *Southern Churchman*.[97] The Churchman itself weighed in with the perennial, and perennially unwelcome, suggestion that the College consider moving to a new location. To counter this "mad scheme of removing Wm & Mary," Ewell's old friend, Superintendent Francis Smith of the Virginia Military Institute, submitted an article to the journal which stressed yet again the College's historic roots in Tidewater and complained of the church's neglect of an institution that "had been the nursery of its ministry, & the chief instrument in maintaining an educated class of gentlemen & scholars in our State."[98] Grigsby remained convinced that if the College's "clerical friends" would embrace his scheme, William and Mary would prosper.[99] But the only visible support came from New York churchmen when the trustees of Episcopalian Hobart College in Geneva conferred an honorary doctor of laws degree on President Ewell in 1874.[100]

Although Ewell, who was a Presbyterian by birth, told one correspondent that all the professors at the College were Episcopalians "in feeling, if not in fact," the faculty opposed any attempt to transform William and Mary into a church school.[101] On the eve of the July 1874 Board meeting, they drafted a resolution urging the Visitors to make no overtures toward the church. "In our opinion," they wrote, "the adoption of any resolution on the subject might stir sectarian odium—but could not create any church patronage."[102]

The faculty need not have worried. The Board's committee discovered that the Episcopal church in Virginia had no interest in linking itself with a liberal arts college under independent trustees. Any formal relationship would necessarily entail complete ecclesiastical control. And that was not at all what the Visitors had in mind. Minnegerode thought the positions of the two parties were "probably irreconcilable," and

Woodbridge reported that there was no hope for any connection beyond goodwill and "friendly interest."[103] Hugh Grigsby was unable to reach Williamsburg in time for this Board meeting, so there is no record of his reaction to the report, but Henry Wise felt vindicated.[104] He promptly moved that the College should remain free of any religious connection whatever. Wary of offending potential supporters, other Visitors favored a substitute motion declaring that while it was "inexpedient, injudicious and unwise" to give any one denomination control of William and Mary, "we cordially invite the co-operation of all denominations of Christians in our effort to promote the usefulness and prosperity of the College."[105] If there was no hope of any money from the Episcopalians, let alone the $100,000 the committee had been directed to find, the College needed to cast its net as widely as possible.

Although there would be one more serious attempt to join the College and the Episcopal church near the end of the decade, the Visitors' 1874 resolution freed Ewell to focus most of his energies once again on the federal government. Minnegerode, for one, urged that strategy. "It seems to me very important, to press our claims upon Congress at the earliest possible day," he wrote. "The longer it is put off, the less hope do I have of success."[106] The faculty also remained firm in its support of Ewell's efforts to extract money from the national treasury.[107]

Campaign for the Indemnity and Other Fund-Raising Efforts, 1873–76

Despite the distraction of the other issues, Ewell had kept a close watch on the situation in Washington. On the advice of the state's Democratic senator, John W. Johnston, Ewell resubmitted the College bill in 1873, and on April 1, 1874, he again testified before the House Committee on Education and Labor.[108] This time, thanks to the exertions of General Taliaferro, he had the added support of a joint resolution from the General Assembly urging Virginia' s senators and representatives to back the indemnity.[109] He had been careful, too, in Williamsburg to see that no embarrassing hint of sectional rancor emanated from the College. When the Phoenix Literary Society invited General Taliaferro to speak at its final celebration in July 1873, Ewell followed up by asking the general, as diplomatically as possible, "not to be too hard on the political powers that be" in his talk. As he explained to Taliaferro, he knew from his previous trips to Washington "how the opponents of the College Bill exaggerate every point of which they deem capital can be made." Taliaferro professed not to be offended by Ewell's request, but he did decline the invitation and thus avoided the possibility of an indiscrete remark.[110]

Although Legrand Perce had lost his House seat, George Hoar remained a staunch advocate, and the committee once more recommended passage of the College's bill. But, as Ewell reported to the Board of Visitors, despite a significant amount of support for the measure, the timing was unpropitious, and opponents of the bill blocked consideration. This time Ewell found his silver lining in the fact that Hoar told him that Haivard (Hoar's alma mater) and one or two other leading colleges would help William and Mary with its campaign.[111]

That the campaign must continue was clear to Ewell. In fact, the approaching national centennial seemed to open new opportunities for the College to assert and publicize its historical importance. Not only would the American people be looking back to the days of the Founders, but the celebration would also present innumerable occasions to promote sectional reconciliation. Before Ewell approached Congress again in 1876, he spent almost two years trying to win support around the country.

He began in the summer of 1874 by circulating as widely as possible a new catalog and history, published by Randolph and English of Richmond. The *History of the College of William and Mary from its Foundation, 1660, to 1874,* adjudged by the *New York Times* "an interesting account," emphasized the number of great men who had studied at the school during the eighteenth century.[112] In 1875 the Virginia novelist and biographer John Esten Cooke contributed a laudatory short history of the College to *Scribner's Monthly,* a magazine known for its espousal of reconciliation between North and South.[113] George Hoar had also emphasized the theme of reconciliation in a letter to the *Boston Advertiser* in March of that year. Urging the people of Massachusetts and especially the sons of Harvard to contribute to the rebuilding of William and Mary, Hoar argued that such aid would be a fitting gesture for the centennial year. The *New York Times* gave Hoar's appeal a handsome notice and ventured the thought that "New-York would not be found unwilling to do her part" in a private subscription campaign for the College.[114] United States Commissioner of Education John Eaton, a strong advocate of federal aid to education, was so impressed with Hoar's suggestion that he reprinted the letter in his annual report.[115] Eaton believed that the movement to aid William and Mary would promote both learning and goodwill; he also hoped it would interest the South in the centennial celebration.

The favorable response to Hoar's letter encouraged both Ewell and Hoar to think about a major fund-raising effort for the College in New England. While attending the centennial celebration of the battle of Lexington in April, Ewell met with Hoar to plan an elaborate appeal to graduates of colleges in the North that would carry the endorsement of a number of distinguished Harvard men.[116] Hoar then enlisted the aid of Edward Hale, "a power in all good works in Boston," and by June the three had agreed on the text of the appeal and the accompanying signatures, including George and E. R. Hoar, Hale, Charles W. Eliot, James Russell Lowell, Richard H. Dana, and several other prominent residents of the Boston area.[117] Addressed "to the liberal friends of education in the Northern States," the appeal emphasized the " truly national character" of the College in its early days, calculated its losses in both property and money in 1776, 1859, and 1862 at $150,000, and suggested that donors endow professorships and scholarships to that amount.[118]

In mid-July Hoar arranged for the printing of six hundred copies and publicized the appeal anew in the Boston *Advertiser*.[119] He planned that he and Hale would distribute it to likely donors over the summer. Then, he suggested, Ewell should come north early in the fall to follow up in person.[120] Once again the *New York Times* extended the reach of the campaign by reprinting Hoar's letter to the *Advertiser*. On the same day, the paper also reported that Ewell had spoken at the recent commencement exercises at Hampton Institute. It hailed Ewell's presence as evidence of "the reasonable spirit with which intelligent Virginians have overcome the traditional prejudices of their section."[121] Such a comment could only help Ewell's efforts in the North.

Unfortunately, the campaign came to naught. After months of optimistic pronouncements, Hoar suddenly admitted in September 1875 that economic conditions in Boston were so grim that the appeal had no chance of success. He told Ewell there was little point in his coming to the city after all.[122] Ewell's disappointment can only be imagined. Even a small amount of money would have been a godsend to William and Mary in 1875. Talk about closing the College was apparently so widespread that Rector Lyons, whose rheumatism prevented him from attending the Board meeting in July, sent a letter emphasizing his opposition to such a step.

Lyons favored spending part of the endowment, if it came to that, rather than shutting the College's doors. What he suggested instead was "to enforce rigidly the collection of all outstanding interest and to sell so much of the stock or other property of the College as will pay off all the debt" that carried more than 6 percent interest.[123] Getting a decent price for any of the property the College wanted to sell was nearly impossible, but the Board adopted a variation of Lyons's proposal. They authorized the bursar to borrow enough money to pay off the portion of the College debt bearing 10 percent interest.[124] In that way they managed to buy a little more time.

Lyons had earlier demonstrated his commitment to saving the school by working with General Taliaferro to encourage the formation of an alumni association. Under their sponsorship and the leadership of Richard Wise and other faculty members, a number of William and Mary graduates met in Richmond in May 1875 to organize the "Society of Alumni and Students of the College of William and Mary." They planned and publicized a grand reunion for the July commencement.[125] The response was heartening. The meeting and dinner drew an impressive crowd, but the alumni group never became the financial supporter of the College its organizers had hoped.[126]

The College's already dismal economic situation was complicated further in the fall of 1875 by the death of longtime bursar Tazewell Taylor.[127] Although he and Ewell had often been at odds, his cautious, conservative approach to financial matters had helped balance the president's more expansive attitude. Ewell could be remarkably imprecise about both the College's finances and his own. Even his good friend Hugh Grigsby described Ewell as "the poorest manager of money that I have ever known."[128] Whether because he enjoyed being free of the oversight of a financial officer or because he had other things on his mind, Ewell delayed the nomination of a new bursar for several months. Visitor Montagu Thompson was both irritated and alarmed at the delay. A fiscal conservative with a reputation for parsimony, Thompson feared for the institution. "I am certain that the financial affairs of the College are daily getting worse," he wrote, "and that it is only a question of a few years when the College must be closed, unless something be speedily done for its relief."[129]

When Ewell finally selected John S. Wise of Richmond as Taylor's replacement in March 1876, not everyone was happy to see a third member of that family assume an important role at the College.[130] Henry Wise's political eccentricities were well known, and both John and Richard seemed to be following in his steps. Their move toward the Republican party in the 1870s displeased some of the staunch Democrats on the Board who worried that the College might be tainted by their unpopular stance. In the end , however, John Wise's politics mattered little in dealing with William and Mary's problems. They proved intractable to Democrats and Republicans alike.

As of late 1875, none of the positive publicity or organized effort on behalf of William and Mary had in any way eased the school's financial plight. But Ewell was determined not to let all that activity go to waste; he still had hopes that the nation's centennial mood would somehow benefit William and Mary. He turned once more to Congress. Although George Hoar remained supportive, he reminded Ewell that the College must this time depend on the Democrats, who by now controlled the House of Representatives.[131] It made no difference. Although the House passed the measure on April 7, 1876, the centennial spirit did not extend to the upper chamber. Many senators still believed that the College had done as much to destroy the nation as to found it.[132]

The Final Push for an Indemnity and an Appeal to the State, 1877–79

The repeated failures in Washington, like those in Richmond and in the North, were deeply discouraging, yet the men who hoped to keep the College alive had little choice but to renew their pleas year after year. Changes in the membership and shifting political tides held out the possibility, however slim, of favorable action in the next Congress or General Assembly. Moreover, the presence in each legislative session of at least some representatives who shared Ewell's deep reverence for the country's past and William and Mary's part in it ensured that the College's appeal would not be completely overlooked.

In the late 1870s, John Goode was the congressional optimist who encouraged his fellow Visitors to renew the appeal to the federal government. The Board agreed at their July 1877 meeting and promptly appointed a committee of three (Goode, Lamb, and Crump) to ask Congress for an appropriation of $70,000. At the same time, the Board designated a second group to approach the state legislature for aid.[133] As the College teetered on the brink of closure, every avenue had to be tried—and tried. In fact, new legislative campaigns looked practical next to the other proposals of some of the school's supporters. For example, Richard Wise suggested converting the College into a normal and agricultural school, while Rector James Lyons wanted to investigate the possibility of establishing a military institute at William and Mary.[134] Such plans were indicative of the growing sense of desperation in Williamsburg. As Bursar John Wise had told the Visitors in his May 1877 report, "Gentlemen, this is a gloomy outlook."[135] His words were prophetic, for in early December 1877, a single congressman was able to force postponement of consideration of the College bill until late January.[136]

Meanwhile, the committee appointed to petition the state prepared a thirteen page printed appeal to the General Assembly. Most of the arguments about William and Mary's historic status and contributions were familiar, but there were some novel elements. For example, borrowing from both Richard Wise and James Lyons, the document offered the Grammar and Mattey School as the basis for a normal program and also asked the state to establish a chair for military studies at the College. Also, the appeal introduced a racial element by inquiring rhetorically and self pityingly whether "every other college, and even the negro schools" were to be "bountifully supplied" while William and Mary was "treated worse than a prodigal son." Surely the General Assembly would never be so "unjust or ungenerous."[137] Unfortunately for the College, the legislators reserved their justice and generosity for other causes in 1877.

When Congress reassembled in January 1878, Representative Goode renewed his efforts for the College's bill. But this time President Ewell did not go to Washington to testify. The case for William and Mary had been made so many times that both sides knew the arguments by heart. Success or failure depended less on persuasion than on legislative skill and political power. Moreover, Goode had articulate allies. Massachusetts Republican George B. Loring, who had taken Butler's old seat, was another Harvard graduate who appreciated William and Mary's contributions to the early republic; he repeated all the historical arguments so dear to Ewell's heart.[138] John Tyler's widow, Julia Gardiner Tyler, also did some lobbying when she was in Washington in March.[139] Goode was convinced that a substantial majority favored the measure. But because it was a private bill, five hostile votes were enough to force another postponement.[140]

Representative Loring rose to make the case for William and Mary on April 12. "It is not for the property of Virginia but for a national monument that I speak," he declared.[141] The opponents refused to see the College in that light. Republican Martin Townsend of New York ridiculed the constant references to William and Mary's distinguished graduates.

> It is because this College forgot her great men that she comes here today suppliant, cringing, begging for money at the hands of those whose sons she has caused to lie down in bloody graves by the side of her own sons that she hounded on to death and destruction.

William and Mary "sought rebellion," he charged; "she went into the rebellion; she sent her sons into rebellion; why shall she not take the consequences?"[142] Such vigorous waving of the bloody shirt had enough public appeal to frighten the Northern Democrats; they did not dare vote for the bill in an election year. They counseled another postponement until the short session in December 1878, after the November elections. They promised to aid William and Mary then, but Lyon Tyler, following these maneuvers from Williamsburg, told his mother, "In my opinion and most people agree with me the Bill is dead."[143] Tyler permitted himself a brief resurgence of optimism in the summer of 1878, but by the time Goode and his allies began their final push, he had left William and Mary.[144]

When Goode demanded consideration of the College measure in the third session of the Forty-fifth Congress, opponents were amazed at such dogged persistence. Republican Joseph W. Keifer of Ohio observed that "the friends of this bill press it from one

Congress to another with a pertinacity that challenges admiration. The many speeches made in this and former Congresses in favor of the payment of the claim of William and Mary College would make a large volume."[145] In January 1879 Representatives Goode, Loring, and Randolph Tucker, Democrat of Virginia, J. brought to be all the eloquence, rhetoric, and lofty appeals at their command one last time.[146] But they did not have the votes. The bill was defeated 87 to 127, with 75 not voting.[147]

Writing from Williamsburg, Ewell claimed not to be too disappointed at the outcome of Goode' s efforts because he had never thought there was much chance for success this time around. Goode had made a fatal error, in Ewell's view, when he allowed the bill to become a partisan issue. "At the time I was entrusted with it," the president reminded General Taliaferro, "the House of Reps. voted for & passed it by a majority of 40, & upwards, and about 45 Republicans voted for it. This time 5 or 6 only." Ewell had scrupulously followed Butler's original advice "not to let either party as such take it up."[148] But, of course, Ewell's successes in the House, gratifying though they may have been, had no greater practical impact on the College than Goode's failures. Ewell was undoubtedly unhappy that he had not been dispatched to Washington to direct the indemnity campaign in 1878 and 1879, but he could hardly blame Goode's strategy, however flawed, for the defeat of the College's hopes for federal aid in the 1870s.

The Rejection of a Merger

By the spring of 1879, the outlook for the College was bleak indeed. Rebuffed repeatedly by both the Congress and the General Assembly, unsuccessful in its appeals to private donors, the school had few remaining options. A growing number of Visitors, unhappy at having to borrow money to meet current expenses, favored closure in order to preserve what remained of William and Mary's resources. Even Ewell admitted that "times [were] hard & threatening," though, characteristically, he added that he felt certain better times were coming.[149]

The well-publicized difficulties of the College encouraged those who still favored a formal link with the Episcopal church to make one last effort to convert William and Mary into a sectarian institution. This time the initiative came from the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. Three Sewanee faculty members, including the Reverend George T. Wilmer, formerly of William and Mary, met with several of the Visitors in Richmond in March 1879 to urge a merger of the two schools. They proposed that the College move to Tennessee, where it would be known as the College of William and Mary of Virginia at the University of the South.[150] Rector Lyons seems to have been intrigued by this idea, though other Visitors, such as Colonel Lamb, were opposed.[151] Lacking a quorum, they took no action. Lyons called a second meeting in April for further discussion with a Sewanee representative, but again there was no quorum. Not until the July meeting in Williamsburg did the Board offer an official response.

Meanwhile, word of the proposal sparked a flurry of activity. If the College were to be moved, localities within the state wanted to assert their claims. One suggestion that aroused some interest was to incorporate William and Mary into the University of Virginia.[152] People in Norfolk again offered their city as a site.[153] Ewell also prepared a report for the Board outlining his opposition to the merger. Although he admitted that the College was in dreadful shape, he marshaled all his usual arguments against either removal or closure. The Peninsula was growing in wealth and population, albeit more slowly than he had anticipated. Within five years there would be a railroad through Williamsburg. Moreover, closer ties with the Episcopalians did not necessitate a move to Sewanee; William and Mary could be a church school in Williamsburg, if necessary.[154]

Proponents of the merger were not idle. On the eve of the Board meeting, they had printed in Richmond a fourteen-page pamphlet that presented their case. Carrying the endorsement of some forty prominent Southern Episcopalians, including the bishops of Mississippi, Texas, Alabama, Tennessee, Florida, and Arkansas, the pamphlet argued that the merger of the two schools would create a true university at Sewanee, with freedom for research within an "atmosphere of historical Christianity." Such an institution would benefit the region by keeping a distinctive Southern culture alive. This positive vision was only part of the argument, however. Many pages called attention to the current sorry state of the College. Pointing out that both the state of Virginia and the federal government had ignored William and Mary 's plight, the pamphlet contended, "William and Mary College is virtually defunct" "It is a college in name only, and has no standard." Union with the University of Virginia or reendowing the College in Williamsburg, the pamphlet judged chimerical. Individuals in the North had offered verbal support, but only the University of the South had real sympathy for William and Mary.[155]

Despite the accuracy of the pamphlet's grim picture of the College, the Board of Visitors declined Sewanee's offer at their July 1 meeting.[156] Neither Hugh Grigsby nor James Lyons voted, but Grigsby noted in his commonplace book, "The removal is opposed by Faculty & every member of the Board of Visitors so far as I have heard."[157] In order to soften the rejection, the Visitors stressed the legal barriers to such a move and expressed doubt that the merger would really be advantageous to either institution. They also appointed a committee of three to conference more with the Episcopal bishop and council of Virginia on the possibility of a closer connection between the diocese and the College.[158]

Having reaffirmed their loyalty to Williamsburg, the Visitors were left with the task of finding enough money to allow the College to continue to eke out an existence there. They appointed a committee to look for ways to raise $20,000 to liquidate the College's debt and another to memorialize the legislature to continue to pay the full interest on the College's state stock. They also reduced faculty pay and resolved that they would not take any compensation or reimbursement for Board meetings.[159] If all these resolutions had an air about them of trying to squeeze blood from a stone, the Board had little choice once it accepted Ewell's recommendation to keep the College open for another year.

NOTES

1. J. Wilmer Turner to "Father," Oct. 2, [1869], Turner, Faculty/Alumni.
2. The Grammar School opened on October 4, collegiate classes on October 13.
3. J. Wilmer Turner to "Father," Nov. 5, 1869, Turner, Faculty/Alumni.
4. Benjamin S. Ewell to Hugh B. Grigsby, Nov. 22, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
5. Matriculation Book, 1827–81; Ewell, report to BOV, July 4, 1870, in BOV Minutes for July 22, 1870.
6. Benjamin S. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Oct. 21, 1869, Taylor Papers; Faculty Minutes, Oct. 14, 1869.
7. Benjamin S. Ewell to Hugh B. Grigsby, Nov. 22, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA; Diary of Grigsby, Nov. 23, 1869, Grigsby Papers.
8. Benjamin S. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Nov. 24, 1869, Taylor Papers.
9. J. Wilmer[Turner] to "Brother," Nov. 29, 1869, Turner, Faculty/Alumni.
10. Faculty Minutes, Nov. 20, 1869.
11. Benjamin S. Ewell to Hugh B. Grigsby, Nov. 22, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
12. Faculty Minutes, Jan. 31, 1870.
13. Lyman Brown Wharton, Faculty/Alumni.
14. Benjamin S. Ewell et al., petition to BOV, with additional note by Thomas P. McCandlish, July 4, 1870, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
15. BOV Minutes, July 22, 1870.
16. BOV Minutes, July 8, 1881; Lyman B. Wharton to James Lyons, June 2, 1882, Wharton, Faculty/ Alumni.
17. Benjamin S. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Oct. 21, 1869; see also letter of October 18 for an earlier reference to a loan and one of November 24 begging for money, all in Taylor Papers.
18. Ewell to Taylor, Dec. 16, 1869; see also letter of January 17, 1870, for another demand that Taylor borrow enough to meet the "most pressing" demands of the College, ibid.
19. George B. McClellan to Benjamin S. Ewell, Dec. 6, 1869; F. A P. Barnard to the Rev. Dr. B. I. Haight, Dec. 13, 1869; Gilbert C. Walker, letter of introduction, Nov.[?] 9, 1869, Letters, 1869, box 1, Ewell Papers, WMA.
20. Benjamin S. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Dec. 16, 1869, Taylor Papers; Faculty Minutes, Jan. 3, 1870; Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, Jan. 22, 1870, folder 4, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM. Ironically, just a few days after Ewell told his sister that the uncertain political situation had forced him to postpone his trip, Congress readmitted Virginia to the Union on January 26, 1870.
21. The faculty agreed to draw up a new petition for the money for agricultural education. Faculty Minutes, Jan. 31, 1870. See *A Memorial of the College of William and Mary, to the Legislature of Virginia, For an Equitable Portion of the Land Scrip Fund ...* (Richmond: Enquirer Steam Presses, 1870), folder 19, College Papers. John W. Johnston, Virginia's new Democratic senator, told Ewell that he did not see why any receipt of Morrill funds should affect the College's plea for indemnification. Johnston to Ewell, Feb. 25, 1870, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
22. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 7, 1870.

23. Senator Johnston was away from Washington during Ewell's visit, but he later promised to push the College's case and assured Ewell that Maryland Democratic Senator George Vickers had presented Ewell's memorial to the Senate in early April. Johnston to Ewell, Apr. 5, 1870, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
24. Diary of Lamb, Dec. 24, 1869, Lamb Papers. The 1870 catalog did make a special appeal to Episcopalians "as this Institution was an efficient instrument of that 'nursing care and protection' extended to them throughout the colonial era, by the Mother Church of England." *The History of the College of William and Mary from Its Foundations ... to 1870* (Baltimore: John Murphy and Company, 1870), 57.
25. There are several modern biographies of the colorful and controversial Butler. See, for example, Hans L. Trefousse, *Ben Butler: The South Called Him BEAST!* (New York: Twayne Publisher, 1957); Richard S. West, Jr., *Lincoln's Scapegoat General: A Life of Benjamin F. Butler, 1818–1893* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1965); Howard P. Nash, Jr., *Stormy Petrel: The Life and Times of General Benjamin F. Butler, 1818–1893* (Rutherford, Madison, Teaneck, New Jersey: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 1969) .
26. Henry A. Wise to Rector, Visitors, and Faculty of the College, July 22, 1870, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
27. Henry A. Wise to Benjamin F. Butler, July 9, 1870, folder 19, College Papers.
28. Benjamin F. Butler to Henry A. Wise, July 10, 1870, folder 19, College Papers.
29. BOV Minutes, July 22, 1870; Diary of Grigsby, July 22, 1870, Grigsby Papers; draft of Memorial to Congress of the United States, July 1870, folder 19, College Papers.
30. Ewell, report to BOV, July 4, 1870, in Faculty Minutes, July 4, 1870; Diary of Grigsby, July 23, 1870, Grigsby Papers.
31. BOV Minutes, July 22, 1870. The secretary of the Board, William H. E. Morecock, forgot to notify Taliaferro of his election, so the man who was to provide invaluable support and leadership in the struggle to nurse William and Mary back to health for the next twenty-seven years only learned of his appointment two weeks before the July 1871 Board meeting. See Benjamin S. Ewell to William B. Taliaferro, June 16, 1871, folder 5, box 6, group 1, Taliaferro Papers, WMM.
32. For a workmanlike summary of Taliaferro's life, see Martha A. Sibley, "William Booth Taliaferro: A Biography" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1973).
33. Ewell, report to BOV, July 4, 1870, in Faculty Minutes, July 4, 1870.
34. See list of printing bills to be paid in Faculty Minutes, Aug. 1872; it also includes papers in Wilmington and Raleigh, North Carolina.
35. Benjamin S. Ewell to William B. Taliaferro, Oct. 13, 1870, folder 3, box 6, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.
36. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 1, 1872.
37. By 1872 the faculty could award the Corcoran, Soutter, Chancellor, and Graves Scholarships. For a convenient list of the donors and dates of donation, see Lyon G. Tyler, ed., *Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Charter of the College of William and Mary, 1693–1893* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1894) , 9.
38. *History of W&M to 1874*, 172.
39. In July 1875 the faculty abolished the two scholarships each professor controlled, but tuition and fees at that point were only forty dollars per session. Faculty Minutes, July 26, 27, 28, 1875.
40. The enrollment figures in the following discussion are drawn from the Matriculation Book, 1827–81, except for the breakdown of collegiate and preparatory students for 1870–71 and 1871–72, which can be found in Ewell's annual reports for those years, BOV Minutes, July 3, 1871, July 17, 1872.

41. Typed copy of unidentified newspaper advertisement, July 19, 1872, folder 20, College Papers.

42. See, for example, Ewell, report to BOV, BOV Minutes, July 1, 1873.

43. In addition to the name in the text, some sources refer to this organization as the Southern Widows and Orphans Aid Association, others as the Southern Association for the Benefit of Widows and Orphans. Richard A Wise to William B. Taliaferro, Aug. 24, 1874, folder 1, box 8, group 1; Wise spoke of aiding ten orphans for 1875–76, Wise to Taliaferro, Sept. 5, 1875, folder 7, both in Taliaferro Papers; Ewell, report to BOV, Jan. 12, 1877, in BOV Minutes, July 4, 1877.

44. Ewell, report to BOV, BOV Minutes, July 4, 1877. William G. Stanard, who entered the College on one of the scholarships, recalled that Conservative legislator Thomas Branch led the effort to end the lottery. William Glover Stanard, Faculty/Alumni. Ewell may have exaggerated the loss of students; in 1876 he had reported that the College received $2,000 from the association to educate thirteen young men in 1875–76. Ewell, report to BOV, July 4, 1876, in BOV Minutes, May 24–25, 1877.

45. Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Virginia School Report to 1874* (Richmond: R F. Walker, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1874), 145; ibid. (1880) , 57.

46. Copy of broadside dated July 1869, but edited for July 1871 in McCandlish, Faculty/Alumni.

47. The importance of a rail link was obvious even to Ewell's relatives in Tennessee. Campbell Brown wrote in 1872 that he saw no chance of bringing the College to life again without a railroad to Williamsburg. Even then, Brown wondered. He thought William and Mary "might become a good local school for advanced scholars—but I am afraid it is too much out of the present line of travel & too remotely connected with the events that interest the present generation to come into any general distinction." Brown to Ewell, May 4, 1872, folder 1, box 1, Ewell papers, WMM.

48. Lyon Tyler also struggled with this issue. See M. M. Lynch to Lyon G. Tyler, July 6, 1904, folder Students—Recruiting, 1894–1914, box 12, Lyon G. Tyler Papers, WMA

49. "A report widely circulated last summer to the effect that the College was to be closed, without doubt kept some students away." Ewell, report to BOV, BOV Minutes, June 15, 1878. See also his comment: "Young men are not willing to connect themselves with an Institution declared to be in the decline." Ewell, report to BOV, [July 2, 1878], BOV Minutes, July 5, 1878.

50. Benjamin F. Butler to Henry A. Wise, Dec. 18, 1870, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

51. Ewell mentions scaling down the request but does not explain why in his supplemental report to the Board. BOV Minutes, July 3, 1871.

52. Hughes, former editor of the Richmond *State Journal* and later United States district judge for eastern Virginia, wrote to Republican Representative Charles H. Porter of Virginia: "My own interest in William and Mary is explained by the fact that my father was educated there, and that I have sent my son to this college in the confident belief that he will not be insulted because of my well known politics." The letter was published, probably in a Washington paper, and Ewell also paraphrased it in some of his subsequent defenses of the College. Hughes to Porter, Jan. 16, 1871, clipping from unidentified newspaper, folder 20, College Papers.

53. *Remarks of Prof. Benj. S. Ewell, President of the College of William and Mary, Before the Committee of Education and Labor of the House of Representatives*, Jan. 24, 1872, printed pamphlet, folder 20, College Papers. In this version, Ewell notes that he is repeating his 1871 testimony. Ewell exaggerated the uniqueness of William and Mary's claim. Other Southern schools also sought and sometimes received indemnification. For example, both Washington and Lee and Virginia Military Institute ultimately received compensation for the damage inflicted by General David Hunter's troops in 1864. Washington and Lee received $17,484 in 1895, and VMI got $100,000 in 1915. Crenshaw, *Washington and Lee*, 138–39.

54. Ewell, supplemental report to BOV, BOV Minutes, July 3, 1871.

55. Benjamin F. Butler to Henry A. Wise, Apr. 23, 1871; Henry A. Wise to Rector and Board of Visitors July 3, 1871, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

56. BOV Minutes, July 3, 1871; copy of resolution also in folder 51, College Papers.

57. L. S. E. Scott to Lizinka Ewell, Dec. 25, 1871, box 10, Brown-Ewell Papers.

58. For a modem biography of Hoar, consult Richard E. Welch, Jr., *George F. Hoar and the Half-Breed Republicans* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1971); for an older 'life and times' account, see Frederick H. Gillett, *George Frisbee Hoar* (Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1934).

59. U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor, 42d Cong., 2d sess., Report No. 9, Jan. 29, 1872, in folder 20, College Papers. Somehow another $1,000 disappeared before the final recommendation, which was for $64,000.

60. *New York Times*, Feb. 8, 1872.

61. *Congressional Globe*, 42d Cong., 2d sess., Feb. 9, 1872, pt. 2: 939.

62. Ibid., Feb. 23, 1872, pt. 2: 1190–93.

63. George F. Hoar to Boston Advertiser, Mar. 15, 1875, in [John Eaton], *Report of the Commissioner of Education for the Year 1874* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1875), cxxx; Hoar said the bill faced opposition from many Republicans who were still excited by wartime passions; Hoar, *Autobiography of Seventy Years*, 2 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1903), 2:266.

64. Charles W. Butlz [?] to Legrand Perce, Feb. 6, 1872, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

65. *Congressional Globe*, 42d Cong., 3d sess., Dec. 13, 1872, 186.

66. Benjamin S. Ewell to Legrand W. Perce, Feb. 12, 1872; Ewell to Editor, Washington *Chronicle*, Feb. 22, 1872, undated clipping; Ewell to Hon. Charles H. Porter, Feb. 16, 1872, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. Newspaper accounts of the activities of the Wise Light Infantry at the state fair give no hint of any trouble. Richmond *Dispatch*, Nov. 1, 3, 1871. For a fuller discussion of this controversy, see Chapman, "Ewell," 214–16.

67. Apparently Ewell's hopes had some foundation. Democratic Representative Samuel Griffith of Pennsylvania, who supported the bill, told a concerned alumnus that he believed the bill would pass the House and probably the Senate as well, "unless some ungenerous fanatic may defeat it by appeal to sectional feeling." Griffith to R. L. Graves, Feb. 13, 1872, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

68. Ewell, supplemental report to BOV, BOV Minutes, June 17, 1872.

69. Benjamin S. Ewell to Legrand W. Perce, Feb. 27, 1872, printed copy, folder 20, College Papers. Ewell also argued the College's case again to Representative Charles Porter of Virginia and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Ewell to Porter, Feb. 16, 1872; Ewell to Sumner, Feb. 14, 1872, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. Bloody shirt arguments revived the sectional hostilities of the Civil War.

70. Deposition of William Reynolds, Feb. 27, 1872, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

71. Samuel C. Armstrong to H. L. Dawes, Feb. 6, 1872, ibid.

72. Cited in Benjamin S. Ewell to Legrand W. Perce, Feb. 27, 1872, printed copy, folder 20, College Papers.

73. Robert W. Hughes to George F. Hoar, Apr. 13, 1872, undated clipping from Washington *Chronicle*, scrapbook, folder 4, Robert W. Hughes Papers, WMM. There is also a typed copy, erroneously addressed to E. R. Hoar in folder 20, College Papers.

74. Washington *Chronicle*, May 20, 1872; *New York Times*, May 22, 1872.

75. Copy in Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

76. Ewell, supplemental report to BOV, BOV Minutes, June 17, 1872.
77. Ewell claims in his autobiographical fragment that the failure of this drive deprived the College of $100,000, but that figure seems inflated. Late in life, as he looked back on his work at the College, he told of several instances where the College just missed receiving large sums of money, but the surviving documents do not always support his claims. Ewell, "Autobiography"; Chapman, "Ewell," 225.
78. Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Virginia School Report to 1872* (Richmond: R. F. Walker, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1872), appendix, First Report of Board of Visitors of Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1.
79. Advertisement for College of William and Mary. July 19, 1872, clipping from unidentified newspaper, folder 20, College Papers. The advertisement also claimed that provisions could be made for those who wanted to study law.
80. Diary of Grigsby, Feb. 10, July 3, 1871, Grigsby Papers.
81. *New York Times*, July 18, 1872.
82. Maddex, *Conservatives*, 134; Benjamin S. Ewell to Hugh B. Grigsby, Oct. 2, 1872, photocopy of original in VHS, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
83. Faculty Minutes, Nov. 25, Dec. 2, 1872.
84. Benjamin S. Ewell to Tazewell Taylor, Dec. 3, 1872, Taylor Papers.
85. *Congressional Globe*, 42d Cong., 3d sess., Dec. 13, 1872, 186.
86. Ibid.
87. Ibid., 187.
88. Benjamin S. Ewell to James Lyons, Nov. 25, 1872, Brock Collection, Huntington Library, San Marino, California, quoted in Chapman, "Ewell," 219–20.
89. *Congressional Globe*, 42d Cong., 3d sess., Dec. 13, 1872, 188.
90. Ibid., Feb. 17, 1873, 1423–24.
91. Faculty Minutes, Dec. 23, 1872.
92. Ewell, report to BOV, July 1, 1873, BOV Minutes.
93. BOV Minutes, July 4, 1873.
94. Hugh B. Grigsby to Horace Binney, Sept. 4, 1873, sec. 31, Grigsby Papers.
95. Ibid.; Diary of Grigsby, July 4, 1873, Grigsby Papers; BOV Minutes, July 4, 1873.
96. As a member of Congress, Goode helped lead the campaign for the federal indemnity in the late 1870s, and Jones was instrumental in persuading the General Assembly to pass the normal school bill that revived the College in 1888.
97. James L. Hubard to George Wilmer, June 1873, George T. Wilmer, Faculty/Alumni; Hubard to Benjamin S. Ewell, July 25, Oct. 2, 1873, Letters, 1873, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
98. Francis H. Smith to Benjamin S. Ewell, Sept. 30, Nov. 15, 1873, Letters, 1873, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
99. Hugh B. Grigsby to Benjamin S. Ewell, Oct. 25, 1873, copy of original in DLC, ibid.
100. M. Van Rensselaer to Benjamin S. Ewell, Mar. 3, 1874; Rt. Rev. William S. Perry to Ewell, Mar. 4, 1874, Letters, 1874–76, ibid.
101. Benjamin S. Ewell to the Rev. William Brown, Sept. 12, 1873, Letters, 1873, ibid.
102. Faculty Minutes. July 1, 1874. A note by faculty secretary Richard Wise indicates that the resolutions were rewritten and never sent.
103. Charles Minnegerode to Benjamin S. Ewell, [1874?], folder 54; report of the committee to consider a closer connection with the Episcopal church, July 1, 1874, folder 52A, College Papers. Wingfield does not seem to have contributed to the report; he resigned from the

Board in December 1874 because he was moving to a church in southern California. J. H. D. Wingfield to Benjamin S. Ewell, Dec. 8, 1874, Letters, 187476, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

104. Although Grigsby noted in his diary that he did not arrive in Williamsburg until the morning of July 2 because there was no boat the previous day, he said nothing about the committee report or the Board's response to it. Diary of Grigsby, July 2, 1874, Grigsby Papers.
105. BOV Minutes, July 1, 1874.
106. Charles Minnegerode to Benjamin S. Ewell, [1874?], folder 54, College Papers.
107. See, for example, Faculty Minutes, Mar. 12, 18, 1874.
108. *Remarks of Benjamin S. Ewell, President of the College of William and Mary, before the Committee of Education and Labor ... April 1, 1874,* printed pamphlet, folder 20, College Papers.
109. Richard A. Wise to William B. Taliaferro, Mar. 18, Apr. 1, 1874; J. L. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Apr. 1, 1874, folder 9, box 7, group 1, Taliaferro Papers; J. L. Kemper to U. S. Grant, Apr. 2, 1874, folder 20, College Papers.
110. Robert M. Hughes to William B. Taliaferro, May 12, [1873]; Benjamin S. Ewell to William B. Taliaferro, May 22, June 8, 1873, folder 5, box 7, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.
111. Ewell, report to BOV, BOV Minutes, July 1, 1874.
112. *New York Times*, Aug. 13, 1874.
113. John Esten Cooke, "William and Mary College," *Scribner's Monthly* 11 (Nov. 1875): 1–15. The College spent thirty-five dollars on the illustrations for Cooke's piece. Faculty Minutes, July 26, 27, 28, 1875.
114. George F. Hoar to Benjamin S. Ewell, Mar. 3, 18, 1875, Letters, 1874–76, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA; New York Times, Mar. 18, 1875.
115. [Eaton], *Report of Commissioner, 1874,* cxxix-axx.
116. Benjamin S. Ewell to Hugh B. Grigsby, Mar. 30, June 2, 1875, copies of originals in VHS, Letters, 1874–76, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
117. George F. Hoar to Benjamin S. Ewell, Apr. 10, 1875, ibid.
118. *Appeal of the College of William and Mary in Virginia* (Worcester, [Mass.]: Tyler and Seagrave, [1875], WMA.
119. Boston *Advertiser*, July 16, 1875, reprinted in *New York Times*, July 18, 1875.
120. George F. Hoar to Benjamin S. Ewell, July 18, 1875, Letters, 1874–76, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
121. *New York Times*, July 18, 1875.
122. George F. Hoar to Benjamin S. Ewell, Sept. 7, Dec. 13, 1875, Letters, 1874–76, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
123. James Lyons to Board of Visitors, June 28, 1875, folder 54, College Papers.
124. BOV Minutes, July 1, 1875.
125. Printed notices to alumni, Apr. 13, June 15, 1875, folder 133, College Papers; Diary of Lamb, May 19, 1875, Lamb Papers.
126. Faculty Minutes, July 1, 1875; Diary of Lamb, July 1, 1875, Lamb Papers.
127. Diary of Lamb, Oct. 23, 1875, Lamb Papers.
128. Grigsby's Deaf-Man's Notebook, ca. 1879, Grigsby Papers.
129. P. Montagu Thompson to Warner T. Jones, Dec. 31, 1875, folder 122, box 1, Warner T. Jones Papers, WMM. A longtime black resident of Williamsburg described Thompson thus: "He lived close. He was an old bachelor. He was as close as bark." Memoirs of Williamsburg, Virginia, transcript of conversation between Eliza Baker and the Rev. W. A R. Goodwin, May 4, 1933: 12, CWF Archives.

130. Faculty Minutes, Mar. 20, 1876. Wise posted a $5,000 bond on Apr. 1, 1876, folder 21, College Papers.

131. George F. Hoar to Benjamin S. Ewell, Dec. 13, 1875, Letters, 1874–76, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

132. For an account of the College bill in committee and on the floor, see the following: Gilbert C. Walker to Benjamin S. Ewell, Jan. 7, 1876, ibid; John Goode, *Recollections of a Lifetime* (New York and Washington: Neale Publishing Company, 1906), 164 (Goode's autobiography says nothing about the battle over the College bill except that he introduced it during the Forty-fifth Congress, and it "became law at a subsequent session"); *Remarks of Benjamin S. Ewell, President of the College of William and Mary, Before the Committee of Education and Labor ... January 25, 1876*, printed pamphlet, folder 20, College Papers; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor, *The College of William and Mary, H. Rept. 203*, 44th Cong., 1st sess., Mar. 3., 1876, folder 21, College Papers; Warner T. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Mar. 28, [1876], folder 1, box 9, group 1, Taliaferro Papers; *Congressional Record*, Apr. 7, 1876, 195: 2306.

133. BOV resolutions, July 4, 1877, folder 51, College Papers.

134. Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], Dec. 9, 1876, Dec. 1876, box 2, group b, Tyler Family Papers; BOV Minutes, Jan. 17, 1877. Lyons reiterated his support for a military program in June 1877; he believed that since the federal government had established a military program at Hampton Institute and detailed West Point officers to teach in it, "that Government cannot refuse similar aid to this college if we ask for it." James Lyons to Board of Visitors, William and Mary College, June 29, 1877, folder 54, College Papers.

135. BOV Minutes, May 24, 25, 1877.

136. [Lyon G. Tyler] to Annie [Tucker], Nov. 18, Dec. 12, 1877, Nov.–Dec., 1877, box 2, group b, Tyler Family Papers; U.S. Congress, House Committee on Education and Labor, *William and Mary College, Virginia, H. Rept. 12*, 45th Cong., 2d sess., Dec. 5, 1877, folder 21, College Papers.

137. Printed appeal to the General Assembly of Virginia, [1877], folder 21, College Papers. The writer of the historical sketch was William H. Hurlbert of the New York *World*. Most of his information seems to have come from the historical catalogs Ewell had prepared in 1870 and 1874.

138. Butler was back in Congress this session, having been elected from a neighboring district.

139. Whether she had any real impact is uncertain, but her son assured her, "Col. Ewell says your influence there would be worth that of any six men, which is a compliment, you know." Lyon G. Tyler to "Mother," Mar. 13, 1878, folder March 1878, folder 2, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.

140. Lyon G. Tyler to [Annie Tucker], Mar. 22, 1878, folder March 1878, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.

141. *College of William and Mary: Speech of Hon. George B. Loring, of Massachusetts, in the House of Representative April 12, 1878* (Washington: n.p., 1878), 12, folder 21, College Papers.

142. *Southern War Claims: Speeches of Hon. Thomas B. Reed of Maine, and Hon. Martin I. Townsend, of New York, on Bill to Pay William and Mary College, of Virginia, the Sum of $65,000 for Injuries Received during the Rebellion.* Delivered in the House of Representatives, Apr. 12, 1878 (Washington: Darby and Duvall, 1878). The debate was also printed in the New York Times, Apr. 13, 1878.

143. Lyon G. Tyler to "Ma," May 16, 1878; Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], May 17, 1878, folder May 1878, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.

144. [Lyon G. Tyler] to Annie [Tucker], July 15, 1878, folder July–Aug., 1878, ibid.

145. Goode told a correspondent on December 21, "I have very little hope of passing the Bill as northern members seem to be afraid of it as a precedent." John Goode to [Robert M. Hughes?], Dec. 21, [1878?], folder Board of Visitors, 1916–18 + n.d., box 1, Robert Morton Hughes College Papers, WMA; Congressional Rewrd, 45th Cong., 3d sess., 8, pt. 1, Dec. 13, 1878: 181.

146. *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong., 3d sess., 8, pt. 1, Jan. 10, 1879: 408; *Speeches of Hon. George B. Loring, of Massachusetts, Hon. John Goode, of Virginia, and Hon. J. Randolph Tucker, of Virginia, on the Bill to Pay the College of William and Mary, in Virginia, the Sum of $65,000 for Losses Incurred during the Late War, Delivered in the House of Representatives, Friday, January 10, 1879* (Washington: n.p., 1879).
147. *Congressional Record*, 45th Cong., 3d sess., 8, pt. 1, Jan. 10, 1879: 417.
148. Benjamin S. Ewell to William B. Taliaferro, Feb. 19, 1879, folder 4, box 10, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.
149. Ibid.
150. BOV Minutes, Mar. 11, 1879, recorded July 1, 1879.
151. Diary of Lamb, Mar. 10, 1879, Lamb Papers.
152. John R. Page to Warner T. Jones, Mar. 27, 1879, folder 21, College Papers.
153. Diary of Lamb, May 28, 29, 1879, Lamb Papers.
154. *Report and Address of Benj. S. Ewell, the President of the College of William and Mary, at Their Convocation in Richmond on the 18th day of April, 1879* (Richmond: J. W. Randolph and English, 1879).
155. [Veritas], *William and Mary College University of the South* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, Printers, 1879), passim, folder 21, College Papers.
156. BOV Minutes, July 1, 1879.
157. Commonplace Book, 1879, Grigsby Papers.
158. BOV Minutes, July 2, 1879.
159. Ibid.

3

SURVIVAL AND SALVATION
1870–1888

For all the anxiety and uncertainty of the 1870s, life did go on at the College. In fact, despite the upheaval of the war and the suspension of classes in 1868–69, the continuities with both the prewar and immediate postwar periods were more striking than the changes. The curriculum, faculty responsibilities, College governance, student discipline, intellectual and social activities—in none of these areas was there significant innovation.

The Curriculum and Faculty in the 1870s

In July 1871 a *New York Times* editorial entitled "The 'New Departure' in Colleges" praised many schools for adding more science to the curriculum and moving away from the traditional emphasis on Greek, Latin, and pure mathematics.[1] William and Mary was not part of this trend. The first three departments listed under "Course of Instruction" in the 1874 catalog were Latin, Greek, and mathematics.[2] True, Ewell had fought to hire Richard Wise to improve instruction in natural sciences, but the College's meager resources limited what Wise could do. One former student recalled his course as interesting but not very advanced because of the lack of necessary equipment.[3] And the Grammar School master, J. Wilmer Turner, reported to his brother in 1870:

> Dr. Wise teaches Chemistry some three hours a week. … He also teaches or is expected to teach Physiology. You will doubtless see more set down in the catalogue; but … Professors do not teach all they profess to be able to teach.[4]

Wise's service as librarian, college physician, and, later, his off-campus attempts to supplement his salary may also have lessened his impact as a science instructor.

In any case, only the bachelor of philosophy degree, which one graduate described as a consolation prize for those who were able to attain proficiency in just two departments instead of the usual four, allowed a student to omit Greek and Latin.[5] The bachelor of arts, still a three-year program, required at least one year's work in all departments.

During the 1870s the master of arts was the only four-year degree at the College, and unlike its modern equivalent, it required additional breadth rather than advanced work in a single discipline. Three of the five prescribed courses were in mathematics; the other two were advanced metaphysics and English literature. In addition, students had to demonstrate proficiency in two modern languages. Candidates for all three degrees had to submit a final essay to be read at commencement, if the faculty so desired.[6]

The faculty controlled the curriculum as they did most other aspects of campus life. Management of the College property, as well as "the care, government, and instruction of the students," came within their purview, according to the College laws. Although their actions were "subject to the inspection, direction and statutes of the Visitors and Governors," the president and professors exercised the day-to-day authority at the institution. In modern terms, they were the administration.[7]

Meeting weekly, the faculty dealt with everything from academic requirements to student discipline to the College's economic problems. As there were as yet no academic ranks, and no faculty member in the 1870s had an earned doctorate, they met more or less as equals. Age, experience, or force of personality might strengthen the influence of one or another individual, but only the president enjoyed special powers. He had general supervision over the affairs of the College, served as chief spokesman for the institution, and presided over faculty meetings. In those meetings he was empowered by the College laws to cast a second vote to break a tie. He could also call a special meeting, as could any other two professors.[8] Many of the president's duties involved additional responsibilities rather than additional authority; his administrative tasks came on top of his academic work. Rather than standing apart from the rest of the faculty, he was, as Ewell had once said of young Frank Preston, first among equals.

When the College reopened in October 1869, the Board and the faculty agreed that each professor should spend at least three hours a day in the classroom. Recitations would begin at 9:00 a.m., and there would be no Saturday classes.[9] However, the small enrollment quickly frustrated these plans; there were simply not enough students to keep all faculty members fully employed. Responding to complaints about professorial absences from the College, Ewell admitted to the Board in July 1871 that he had not been able to enforce the three-hour-a-day rule. To counter the criticism, he gave a detailed accounting of every faculty member's activities for the 1870–71 session.[10]

Wharton and McCandlish, each of whom was responsible for two languages, did, in fact, teach three hours a day, and neither had missed more than a day or two of classes. Wilmer and Snead had only two regular courses, but Wilmer taught a Bible class on Sundays and led the daily chapel services; he had been absent a few days because of illness.[11] Snead 's classes consumed about one and a half hours a day, and he did have outside employment both as a surveyor and as a land company agent, a position Ewell confessed he had advised Snead to accept. Like Snead, Richard Wise also had other commitments. His three science classes required only two hours a day, so he practiced medicine in town. In addition, he missed two or three weeks at the beginning of the session, during which time Ewell taught two of his classes. Again Ewell defended the professor. He explained that Wise had offered to resign when he discovered he would have to be away from campus for more than a few days in the fall, but Ewell had rejected the offer. Finally, Ewell reported that he himself had only one very small class in natural philosophy that required about three hours a week in instructional time. Moreover, he had been out of town for approximately eight weeks to lobby for the College in both Richmond and Washington.[12]

Although the College laws clearly forbade a professor to engage in any occupation that interfered with his teaching, Ewell realized that he had to allow underpaid and underutilized faculty members to supplement their incomes if he hoped to keep them at William and Mary.[13] His own travels, he believed, were essential to the survival of the institution.

Ewell's strong defense deflected the complaints for the time being, and in the fall of 1871, he helped push through a controversial faculty resolution designed to employ the professors more fully. He proposed that in addition to William and Mary's existing preparatory department, each collegiate department should establish its own preparatory classes "for such students as can enter some regular College Department." These classes would be taught "by the Professors of the respective Departments, when their regular classes do not give them three hours of recitation per day."[14]

The faculty divided evenly on this motion. Wilmer and Wise voted in the affirmative with the president, while Snead, McCandlish, and Wharton opposed it. Ewell thereupon cast his second, presidential vote, and the resolution carried, four to three. The dissenters, who argued that these new classes would both lower standards at the College and put it in direct competition with its own Grammar and Mattey School, questioned the legality of the resolution. Only the Board of Visitors, they contended, had the authority to make such a change. Ewell agreed to submit the dispute to the Board, and in mid-November the faculty formally asked the Visitors to meet on this issue as soon as possible.[15] "There is no personal difficulty whatever," Ewell assured Grigsby. "The policy & legality of the Faculty action are doubted & honestly so."

All the same, Ewell knew that it was essential for the Board to uphold his authority, as exercised through the faculty. "It is absolutely necessary, for subordination, that the Visitors define to some extent, the powers of the Faculty over its members," he told Grigsby. "For each member … to do as he pleases, may give satisfaction, but not as men are generally constituted, success."[16] When the Board met in December, it endorsed the disputed resolution and affirmed the right of the legal majority of the faculty to set policy for its members. The Visitors also received McCandlish's resignation and authorized Ewell to make another trip to Washington to work for an indemnity.[17] For all his amiable, apparently easygoing manner and his lack of well-defined presidential powers, Ewell was clearly the dominant force at William and Mary.[18]

In what was perhaps another move to quiet their critics, the faculty voted in October 1871 to return to Saturday recitations. A schedule from this period shows classes running from 9:00 a.m. to 3:00 p.m., Monday through Friday, and 9:00 a.m. to 1:00 p.m. on Saturday. Most courses met for three hours a week, except for junior Latin and intermediate mathematics, both of which had five meetings, and junior mathematics, which required six.[19] As full as the schedule looked on paper, however, the reality remained that the College had neither enough students nor enough money to support the faculty. Even McCandlish's departure did not solve the problem.

In June of 1872, Ewell reported to the Board that the faculty would have to be reduced to four professors and one assistant if annual salaries were to be kept from dropping below $800. He did not want to see any professorships abolished; they could just be left vacant, and the remaining faculty members would offer the necessary courses. He suggested that Professor Wharton be asked to take over McCandlish 's Latin and French classes. Ewell apparently persuaded his colleagues of the wisdom, or at least the necessity of his plan because they all joined him in a letter of resignation to the Board, an action intended, they said, to give the Visitors a free hand in reorganizing the College.[20]

The Board accepted the resignations and then promptly rehired everyone except the unfortunate Snead. General Taliaferro argued for five professors, but the majority favored Ewell's proposal. The Visitors set the salaries for the president and the professors at $800, with a $200 supplement for Wilmer to compensate for his extra classes. Both Ewell and Wise acquired new titles; Ewell became professor of mathematics as well as natural philosophy, and Wise became Ewell's assistant in natural philosophy while retaining his professorship of chemistry and physiology. Wise's salary actually rose by $100, but Ewell, who no longer received extra money for his work as president, Wilmer, and Wharton all suffered pay cuts.[21] A year later in July 1873, the Board resolved that salaries for the president and professors should henceforth be $1,000. Unfortunately, the College was so frequently in arrears for the rest of the decade that it rarely met its contractual obligations. In the summer of 1875, the faculty described themselves as "laboring for the minimum amount of salary upon which they [could] live," and by the late 1870s they were being asked to accept College bonds for up to half of their pay.[22] For the 1877–78 session they were guaranteed only $500 in cash and for the next year a mere $400.[23] Even that tiny amount did not materialize during the following session. "To support himself & family Dr. Wharton has recd but 200 Dolls. since July 1st 1879," Ewell told the Visitors in August 1880. "He needs the balance 200 Dolls. due him, and so does Dr. Wise, his 150 Dolls." Ewell, too, was in straitened circumstances.[24]

To say that the faculty lived frugally is an obvious understatement. For a time, both Wilmer and Wise occupied the President's House, while Ewell frequently stayed at his farm outside of town.[25] Other professors boarded at the College Hotel or with local families. Fortunately for their morale , they were not alone in their penury. As one student remembered Williamsburg in 1870, "Everything betokened poverty and paralysis."[26] Howev er small and irregular their salaries, faculty members had at least the promise of an income. Moreover, the hope of obtaining the federal indemnity that Ewell pursued so zealously year after year periodically raised their spirit, as did various schemes for increasing the enrollment. But success proved elusive. Accumulating disappointments gradually eroded their faith, and the steadily worsening economic position of the College finally disheartened even the most dedicated among them.

Wilmer left in August 1876 to take a chair at the University of the South in Sewaee, Tennessee.[27] His replacement as professor of belles lettres, the young Lyon G. Tyler, son of former United States president and former chancellor of the College, John Tyler, remained only a little more than a year.[28] Wise, who had several times sought other positions, even as he labored to keep the College afloat, finally resigned in August 1880 after he became assistant physician at the asylum.[29] Wharton stayed for another year before he, too, conceded defeat.[30]

As the full professors departed, one by one, several assistants and adjuncts filled in for varying lengths of time. Charles S. Dod, master of the Grammar School, also served as adjunct professor of Latin, French, and mathematics in 1874–75 and then as professor of those subjects the next year—until he collapsed under the weight of his frenetic schedule. As student Warner Taliaferro explained to his father in early May 1876:

> Mr. Dod, who lost his mind about a month ago, is expected at the Asylum in a few days; he … is now considered incurable. Over-work the Drs say—at the time of his attack, besides attending to his College duties he was writing a Latin grammar, a French grammar, a novel, & various articles of a scientific nature for magazine publication: so that he only slept 4 out of the twenty-four hours.[31]

Student J. Cannon Hobson, Henry Wise's grandson, covered many of Dod's classes until the end of the session.[32] Another student, the brilliant Jennings Wise Garnett, served as assistant professor of belles lettres and metaphysics during his third year at the College in 1876–77.[33] When Tyler resigned in November 1878, the College hired the Reverend Dr. Henry Wall of Bruton Parish to lecture on philosophy for not more than $100.[34] And at Ewell's insistence, 1876 graduate William G. Jones returned to William and Mary in 1880 to teach the elementary classes in several departments. He remained until the summer of 1883, when poverty forced him to resign. "I wanted to help Col. Ewell and the College as much as I could," he recalled many years later; "but, I got so little money that I could not afford to stay longer."[35] In the end, only Benjamin Ewell stayed at his post during the interregnum when the College ceased to offer collegiate classes between 1881 and 1888.

The Grammar and Mattey School

While Ewell and the Visitors struggled to keep the College alive, the history and fortunes of the Grammar School diverged from those of the collegiate program.[36] The two rooms of the new school erected by the Visitors in 1870 accommodated 34 students under the tutelage of J. Wilmer Turner in the first session, but the enrollment dipped to 27 and 28 in the two succeeding years, after Williamsburg launched its public school system in early 1871. From February to June of that year, the three city teachers—one black male and two white females—taught 40 black children and 35 whites in rented rooms or existing private schools.[37] The small amount of money that came in from the state went for teachers' salaries while the city council paid the rent and operating expenses. The next year enrollments rose to 119 blacks and 193 whites, again with three teachers and rented rooms.[38]

Given the difficulty of finding adequate space for the city's pupils, the small enrollments at the Grammar School, and the limited funds available to both the city and the

College, it is not surprising that the school board soon approached Ewell and the faculty about a joint effort. In August 1873 the board asked to use the Mattey School for the next academic year, in return for taking over the College's obligations to the Whaley Trust. It promised the faculty a voice in the conduct and staffing of the school. Ewell agreed, provided that the curriculum included Greek and Latin and that fifteen students were designated Mattey Scholars on the recommendation of the College faculty. He also insisted on proper maintenance of the building and furniture. With this agreement, the Grammar and Mattey School became Williamsburg's white male public school, an arrangement that continued for the next eleven years.[39]

Although details of this town-gown venture are few, cooperation may have been made easier by the fact that the chairman of the school board from 1873 to 1882 was William H. E. Morecock, the longtime secretary of the Board of Visitors.[40] In addition, most of the teachers had some connection with William and Mary, either as students or faculty members. Charles S. Dod was the first master of the new school in 1873–74, but after one year he became an adjunct instructor at the College. Several of his successors—M. L. Lipscomb, Carter H. Harrison, Sydney Smith, and J. R. Copeland had equally brief tenures. William G. Jones taught for one year after he graduated from William and Mary in 1876 and again in 1883–84, after he had returned to Williamsburg to help Ewell tutor young men when the College suspended operations. Cary P. Armistead's four years, from 1877 to 1881, represented the longest commitment during this period.[41]

In September 1884, with the fourteen-year-old building needing renovation and modifications and the College closed, the school board made a new arrangement with President Ewell. The College consented to lease the Grammar School lot and building to the city for ten years beginning October 1, 1884, "for the education of white children—male and female—by white teachers," again with the proviso that the College faculty would nominate fifteen indigent children from Bruton Parish each year. For its part, the school board would see to the needed repairs and return the property in good condition when the lease expired.[42] Although this agreement later occasioned a bitter clash between the city and the College, in the mid-1880s it seemed an eminently sensible arrangement. Otherwise, it is difficult to see how the College could have honored the terms of Mary Whaley' s bequest.

The Grammar and Mattey School teacher and principal from 1884 to the turn of the century was William and Mary graduate John S. Charles, who enjoyed the friendship of both President Ewell and Richard Wise. (Wise served on the school board for four years during the 1880s.) In fact, during the interregnum Charles and his family lived in the Brafferton rent free, in return for protecting the College property.[43]

Life in the Classrooms

Despite the economic difficulties and uncertain prospects of both the College and Williamsburg, the students from the 1870s had fond memories of their days at William and Mary. Many, in fact, became loyal alumni who devoted considerable time, energy, and political skill to revitalizing the College over the next several decades. Their small numbers, shared experiences, and close ties to both faculty members and townspeople seem to have created a strong sense of obligation to the institution. Even those who had attended classes for only a year or two proudly acknowledged William and Mary as their alma mater.

One particularly active graduate from the early 1870s was Robert Morton Hughes, a prominent Norfolk lawyer and state Republican leader, who served on the Board of Visitors from 1893 to 1918 and as its president after 1905.[44] Several men who finished their studies in 1876 staunchly supported the old College. James L. Gordon of Albemarle County was a Board member from 1888 to 1893. The popular Democratic orator, lawyer, and amateur historian Beverley B. Munford also served on the Board; his widow, educational reformer and political activist Mary-Cooke Branch Munford, became William and Mary's first woman Visitor in 1920.[45] Both Warner T. L. Taliaferro, one of General Taliaferro's sons, and William G. Stanard of Richmond, head of the Virginia Historical Society and editor of the *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, remained good friends of the College. In addition, L. Winder Lane, Jr., a student between 1877 and 1879, was twice secretary to the Board of Visitors and College treasurer; his contemporary, poet and literary critic Charles W. Coleman, a son of Cynthia Coleman, served as College librarian for five years. Other local graduates from the Peachy, Armistead, Spencer, and Brooks families also maintained a lifelong interest in William and Mary.

The eventual success of many of these men and their abiding loyalty to the College would seem to speak well for the education they received from the small, underpaid faculty. But, in truth, the content and quality of the academic work done during this period are difficult to determine. Alumni memoirs and reminiscences recount innumerable tales of pranks, sports, disciplinary scrapes, and social occasions for every glimpse of classroom work or serious study. Surviving student correspondence exhibits a similar pattern, and letters of faculty members are only sporadically revealing. Any picture of the academic life of the College is necessarily fragmentary and impressionistic.

Beverley Munford, who candidly admitted that he preferred parties to studying, nevertheless remembered receiving a thorough indoctrination in Jeffersonian principles of limited government from Professor Wilmer. He learned the evils of any interference with contracts and commerce, the dangers of special privilege, and the overriding importance of individual liberty. He also recalled his Latin courses, especially Virgil, with some pleasure , and he credited the College with strengthening his love of history. Greek and mathematics were less to his liking.[46]

Warner Taliaferro also had trouble with Greek and mathematics. In January 1875 he told his father that he had almost dropped Greek because he was struggling as the only preparatory student in with the junior class. But when the professor set aside an hour for him to recite by himself, he began to improve. He still complained about overwork, however, with two French, two German, two mathematics, and one Latin class, in addition to the Greek.[47] A month later he repeated his plaint to his mother and at the same time revealed that students did not always have as much freedom to choose their courses as the catalog implied. “As if I had not enough already,” he wrote, “Col. Ewell has made me take two classes of Math the thing of all others which I most despise.”[48] Whether Taliaferro’s class work was as onerous as he claimed in these appeals for parental sympathy like Beverley Munford, enjoyed an active social life. He also tried to keep abreast of current affairs, especially when his father was a candidate for lieutenant governor on 1875.[49]

Perhaps because of his later service on the Board of Visitors, Robert M. Hughes paid more attention to the academic side of College life in his reminiscences than many of his fellow alumni did. He had positive memories of Professors Wharton, McCandlish, and Wise; and although he thought Wilmer “was not as approachable as the others, due partly to the fact he was a minister,” he singled out the clergyman’s belles lettres course, which covered rhetoric and composition, for praise.[50]

Wilmer also touched the life of the Grammar School master, J. Wilmer Turner, who went on to become an Episcopalian minister. During his first year at William and Mary, Turner studied privately with Wilmer, reciting for him every Friday night He speculated that religious education lay closest to Wilmer’ s heart. “I believe it to be Dr. W’s earnest desire, not to say ambition, to establish a sort of Seminary here (of which I may be the firstfruits, if I remain),” he told his brother.[51] Wilmer’s dream is perhaps one measure of the optimism with which William and Mary reopened in 1869; it withered soon enough.

Although many former students paid tribute to Benjamin Ewell’s character and influence, surprisingly few discussed him as a classroom teacher. One of Professor Wilmer’s sons, C. Breckinridge, who graduated in 1876 and also became a minister, remembered Ewell as “a genial, kindly old gentleman; an excellent mathematician; and a professor who took personal interest in his students.”[52] Another alumnus described the president as “droll and sometimes smutty,” but agreed that he was devoted to his charges.[53] The students reciprocated fully. In William Stanard’s words, “‘Old Buck’ loved the College and his boys with equal fervor and received from the students full measure in return.”[54]

Fortunately, George P. Coleman, another of Cynthia Coleman’s sons who studied with Ewell in the mid-1880s while the College was closed, added some realistic detail to this chorus of praise. Coleman concurred that Ewell was “a wonderful teacher,” even though his favorite injunction to Coleman was, “‘Go to the board, you little ass.'” Ewell worked his charges hard. “I would meet him at 10 o’clock in the morning and stay in one continuous class until two that afternoon,” Coleman recalled. “He would take up first one thing and then another.” Even on days when he had a hangover, the president would simply put a cold cloth on his forehead and go on with his teaching. Innovative and versatile, Ewell knew how to bring a student’s talent to the fore and how to make him think for himself. He also knew how to make a subject interesting. When instructing Coleman in mathematics, for example, he had the boy study ballistics and shoot the sun with a sextant, appealing activities for a teenager. Coleman, who went on to a career in road building and politics—he was state highway commissioner from 1913 to

1923—believed that Ewell gave him a solid foundation for his later work, especially in the principles of engineering.[55]

Some of the students who encountered Ewell near the end of his career also worked with his successor at the beginning of his association with the College. Though later generations of William and Mary graduates would remember Lyon G. Tyler as notoriously distracted and absentminded, he was an alert and enthusiastic young professor in 1877. Acutely aware that he would be learning a great deal as he taught his classes, Tyler was pleased to discover that the library was well stocked in his field. He was gratified, too, to have his own key, so that he could consult the books at will. (Such free access was an important perquisite, for the library was open only two hours a week.)[56] When the session began in mid-October, Tyler learned that he would probably have two classes, with a lecture every morning from nine to ten. He described his teaching style in terms familiar to novice instructors everywhere:

> As to speech-making, I do very little of that. My lectures come too often for me to pretend to write or prepare, in anyway, a set speech. … I find however (tho' I am not naturally fluent) that I express myself tolerably well; & I hope to improve as the session goes on.[57]

Whatever inspiration young Tyler might have provided for his students was cut short by his resignation early in the 1878–79 session. (He had only two students in his senior class and eight in the junior group that fall.) He thought he had enjoyed some success as a professor, and Ewell, Wise, and Wharton all commended his teaching upon his departure, but no student accounts of his classes seem to have survived.[58]

If most of those who attended William and Mary in the 1870s retained little more than a few principles of their favorite subjects and scattered memories of colorful faculty members, they may not have differed much from most of their contemporaries. College education at that time was still as much about building character as about imparting specialized knowledge.[59] Even Benjamin Ewell never claimed that William and Mary offered more than the beginnings of a good education. Many classes emphasized drill and rote learning. There was little emphasis on library work; not only were the hours extremely limited, but students could check out no more than two books at a time for a maximum of two weeks.[60] Mental discipline was more important than creativity. Yet the hours of recitation in Latin, Greek, mathematics, philosophy, rhetoric, modern languages, and science prepared many of the post-Civil War students to read law, attend seminary, or undertake further study at the University of Virginia.

Student Discipline and Social Life

The student life these men recalled so warmly was austere by modern standards, with minimally furnished classrooms and living quarters and a long list of "Laws for the Government of Students."[61] Robert Hughes, who matriculated in the fall of 1870, remembered the lecture rooms as having nothing more than long benches. His room in the College Hotel was heated by a wood fire and lighted by kerosene lamps. "Most of the students were so poor they carried their own wood and water to their rooms, but [Hughes's and his roommate's] combined wealth enabled [them] to hire a negro boy for a trifling sum." Meals he described as lacking in variety but substantial, and like other residents of and visitors to Williamsburg, he recalled with pleasure the area's abundant fish, oysters, and game.[62] Students who boarded at the Wythe House with Henry Wise's daughter, Mrs. A. J. Hobson, or at the Tucker House, run by Mrs. Coleman, may have enjoyed greater comfort and access to Williamsburg social life than those who lived at the College Hotel. Warner Taliaferro, for example, told his father in January 1875 that he had enjoyed a splendid Christmas season because, as a boarder at Mrs. Hobson's, he was invited to everything.[63]

The rules governing student behavior ranged from specific prohibitions against dueling, possessing deadly weapons, gambling, becoming intoxicated, and using profanity to general exhortations to industrious, respectful, gentlemanly conduct. Students could not give parties or travel more than five miles from Williamsburg without permission, nor could any of them deliver a public speech until it had been "revised and approved by the President." In virtually all areas, the faculty had the final say. Even without solid evidence, they could dismiss any student who "habitually" neglected his studies, was "addicted to any vice or immorality," or set a bad example for his fellow students. Moreover, one catchall regulation specified that the faculty had the power "to forbid and punish any offences against good order or propriety not herein enumerated."[64]

On paper students had no rights, yet discipline, at least as alumni recalled it years later, was neither terribly strict nor harsh. The laws themselves provided that "a candid confession of a fault and a promise of amendment may, in most cases, mitigate the punishment or entirely prevent it."[65] In addition, several people remembered cases in which President Ewell allowed convicted offenders to spend their suspensions on his farm.[66] On occasion, he also helped miscreants escape the wrath of townspeople, as when he advised friends of the young man who "threw a dead owl up the aisle of the Methodist Church" during a Sunday night service to spirit him out of town.[67] Ewell's reprimands were often so kindly that students believed he actually enjoyed their high jinks.[68]

Some alumni reminiscences made no mention of the laws; what they recalled instead was a broadly shared code of conduct. According to Beverley Munford, who attended both the Grammar School and the College, "in all matters of deportment [the students] were simply admonished to observe the standards which control gentlemen."[69] There was no ordinance against a student's drinking, " Warner Taliaferro remembered, "but he was supposed to drink like a gentleman." (Drunkenness, however, was grounds for expulsion.)[70] The Honor System had not been codified in 1875, when William Stanard attended the College, but the older students helped orient the newcomers to the institutional standards. "We were simply made to understand that there were several things William & Mary men couldn't do, viz: lie to professors (which included pledges at examinations) and cheat at cards."[71] Students also enforced the code. "There were no student councils or formal trials" in Robert Hughes's day; but "the student who did anything dishonorable was either boycotted or, if the offense was a grave one, was told to leave College."[72]

Recollections differed as to the amount of drinking and card playing among the students. Archie Brooks thought that there was not a lot, although he agreed with Robert Hughes that Williamsburg had an abundance of bars. Students were forbidden to visit "any tavern or tippling house" without permission, but in those days even the grocery stores sold whiskey.[73] William G. Jones, who may have been a purer spirit than most, claimed that Williamsburg had only a few saloons, and he recalled very little student drinking and card playing.[74] In contrast, William Stanard remembered "a good deal of drinking and card playing," mainly among the older students.[75] Warner Taliaferro noted that "all of us students drank a little."[76] In fact, young Taliaferro once upset his mother by mentioning that he had been invited to Mr. Peachy's house to drink "hot whiskey punch & play 'seven up' for five cents a corner." When she expressed alarm, he quickly assured her that he would never gamble and emphasized the pious atmosphere at the Wythe House. (Mrs. Hobson expected all her boarders to attend her Sunday morning Bible class.) As a final argument—which his mother may not have found especially comforting—he reported that "Williamsburg is very much changed (from all accounts) since last year. [T]hey say that there is not one half of the drinking and gambling here this session [1874–75] that there was last year."[77] Despite these disclaimers, President Ewell noted in his report for 1875–76 that there had been more card playing than usual during the session, and he urged the Board to ban cards and any other games of chance on College premises.[78]

As to the pranks students played, there was greater consensus. Stealing the clapper from the College bell was a perennial favorite, as were decorating the professors' lecture rooms and dressing up the statue of Lord Botetourt.[79] Most of the alumni denied that any hazing occurred, but all recalled various tricks played on the new students.[80] Local residents were also targets of student antics, such as the elaborate process known as either "setting the town aright" or "putting the town to rights," which actually involved disrupting the community as thoroughly as possible in a single night. Warner Taliaferro remembered changing gates and putting carts or buggies on top of buildings, and William Stanard described "a beautiful job" from his student days: "Wagons, carts, carriages … a dozen large outhouses (on some of which lawyers' and doctors' signs were placed), and various other obstacles, blocked the street from the church yard wall over to the fence on the other side."[81]

Archie Brooks recounted an even more spectacular prank from his time at the College. One April Fools' Day eve the students built an enormous bonfire behind the center of the Main Building and raised the alarm at one minute past midnight. Residents awoke to see flames shooting high into the air above the old buildings, and recalling past disasters, rushed to the campus to try to save whatever they could of the structures and their contents. They were furious when they discovered the hoax.[82]

Fortunately for the denizens of Williamsburg, the students were not always in such high spirits. Gashes between town and gown were the exception, not the rule. Most of the time, the young men, their professors, and the local citizens got along quite well.

According to Robert Hughes, “there was no town-gown hostility; for town and gown were one and not separate bodies.”[83] Cooperation and interdependence characterized the religious, social, and intellectual life of the community. Students used many of the town’s facilities, and residents often attended campus events.

Although the faculty in the fall of 1869 made attendance at daily prayers in the chapel optional, according to the laws, all students were expected to worship at one of the Williamsburg churches on Sunday morning.[84] Throughout the 1870s students remained overwhelmingly Episcopalian, Methodist, and Baptist, with a few scattered Presbyterians and Disciples of Christ enrolled from time to time. There were also two Catholics, one “Christian,” and a single Jewish student, Zach Hofheimer of Norfolk, who attended for two sessions, from 1869 to 1871.[85] Students indicated their religious preference at matriculation, and they were expected to maintain that affiliation. However, William Stanard recalled that because many of the town’s prettiest girls attended Bruton Parish, a lot of the boys became Episcopalians for the duration.[86] The fact that they could escort young ladies to Sunday night services may also have brought students into churches they would not otherwise have attended.[87]

The purely social occasions where students and townspeople mingled included plays, minstrel shows, musicals, parties, and dances. The dramatic presentations, utilizing the talents of both groups, attracted enthusiastic audiences whether they were mounted in the chapel at the College or the auditorium at the asylum. One alumnus remembered Archie Brooks beating the bones in the minstrel shows, and Warner Taliaferro recalled two student-produced operettas—*Grasshopper* and *Vasco da Gama*—at the asylum. The students staged “a comic opera” in the chapel in 1876 and offered a joint town-gown production of *The Lady of Lyons* during the 1877 commencement festivities. Lyon Tyler gave high marks to a drama presented in April 1878. Although a little hurried, it was “very well acted,” he told his fiancée.[88]

Most of the parties and a number of the dances occurred in private homes. Students welcomed the invitations , although William Jones thought that “a good many of the boys at the College were not invited into the best social circles.” However, he remembered hearing Van F. Garrett, later one of the Seven Wise Men, play Thomas Jefferson’s violin at some of the dances.[89] Beverley Munford, who had grown up in Williamsburg, seemed to be welcome everywhere, as were the Taliaferros, the Hobsons, and others with long-standing ties to William and Mary or links to a powerful local personage such as Mrs. Coleman. Lyon Tyler, as might be expected, was a frequent guest during his brief professorship. In fact, he described “a great party” at Mrs. Coleman’s in June 1878. More than forty people attended; “most came as characters from Dickens’ novels,” and one young woman “made a very smart speech on ‘woman’s rights.’”[90]

There were also weekly dances at the asylum, and although students could bring dates, they were expected to dance with the convalescing inmates.[91] “These affairs gave the patients the opportunity to meet and mix with normal people,” Warner Taliaferro recalled.[92] Apparently, this forward-looking therapy was generally successful, though William Stanard did remember one overenthusiastic young woman who declined to relinquish her partner until the attendants came and carried her off.[93]

For the intellectually inclined, the town offered literary or reading clubs, one of which had approximately thirty members— “about twenty ladies and half as many gentlemen (students).” The founder and president of this group was Mrs. Hobson, “by far the most enterprising person in town,” according to Warner Taliaferro.[94] Many more students were involved in the two campus literary societies, the Phoenix and the Philomathean, whose weekly debates and annual celebration also attracted a good number of local residents.

Established before the Civil War, the societies each had a room in the reconstructed Main Building, but the exact details of their revival after the Civil War are not clear. Grammar School master J. Wilmer Turner told his family in the fall of 1869 that he was ”busily engaged in establishing a literary society in the College, for which I have undertaken to write out a Constitution, By-laws, etc.”[95] The task proved more difficult than he expected, however, because none of the William and Mary students knew anything about such a society. Moreover, he had created the basic structure from memory and after a few weeks, seemed to doubt its soundness. He asked his brother to send him printed copies of the constitutions of the societies at the University of Virginia. His brother obliged, and by mid-January 1870 Turner reported, “*My* ‘Literary Society’ is taking a fresh start & I begin to entertain bright hopes of her future.”[96] Turner never said whether his society was the Phoenix or the Philomathean, but William Jones claimed in his reminiscences that the Phoenix was reestablished first and that Mrs. Robson’s two sons, J. Cannon and Henry W., who entered the College in 1874, revived the Philomathean. The Hobsons’ friend and boarder, Warner Taliaferro, also helped.[97]

By the mid-1870s both groups were flourishing. Almost every student belonged to one or the other, and the societies had renewed contact with alumni members such as Colonel Lamb and General Taliaferro. The 1874 constitution for the Philomathean established a one-dollar initiation fee, a one-dollar assessment for the “library fund,” and dues of twenty-five cents a month. There was also a schedule of fines for various minor offenses. The society met every Saturday evening during the session for a debate and joined the Phoenix in a special display of oratory during finals or commencement week.[98] No comparable Phoenix document has survived, but the group’s fees and regulations must have been very similar to those of the Philomathean.

The questions Philomathean members debated between 1874 and 1876 ranged from the political and historical to the philosophical and psychological. Among the topics for the fall and winter of 1874 were: “Are political parties beneficial to a country?” “Was the fate of Sir Walter Raleigh deserved?” as well as the hoary “Which is mightier, the pen or the sword?” During the next session they considered another ancient query, “Are riches the road to happiness?” in addition to “Should church property be taxed?” and “Is the spanking of a five year old baby too stern a proceeding?”[99]

The skills honed at these weekly gatherings were put on display at the close of each session, when the students competed for prizes and medals before a large crowd of relatives, friends, and visitors. Beverley Munford, whom his contemporaries considered the best orator of their generation, won “a volume of Shakespeare for excellence in declamation” and “a gold medal” for being the top debater in his society.[100] That these com-petitions were an important aspect of finals is one indication of the centrality of the literary societies in the life of the College during these years. Another is the regularity with which members of the Board of Visitors attended these occasions. Grigsby and Lamb, the two diarists among the Visitors, almost always mention celebrations of the literary societies in their accounts of commencement week, even when the Board meetings claimed most of their time.[101]

A detailed description of the joint celebration in June 1876 can be found in the diary of Chloe Tyler Whittle, a young Norfolk resident who accompanied Visitors O. S. Barten and George Woodbridge to the speaking. "The room [in the Main Building] was brilliantly lighted & soon filled with ladies handsomely dressed in almost ball style," she recorded. After the society members marched in and answered the roll call, General Gordon's son, "a pretty little fellow," gave the salutation. "His speech was of the school boy style," Whittle judged, but J. Cannon Hobson's valedictory was a different story. This talented boy of seventeen, who planned to study for the ministry, had already that spring taught several classes in place of the institutionalized Dod. His subject was "Duty," and he exhorted his fellow students to make it their watchword. He also called for an emphasis on moral and spiritual progress rather than material gain in celebrating the nation's centennial. "The concluding speech was good," Whittle said, "but the event of the evening was Mr. Hobson's oration."[102]

The literary society prizes were the only academic honors available to students in the 1870s since Phi Beta Kappa remained largely inactive until 1893. President Ewell and Colonel Lamb tried to revive Alpha of Virginia in the summer of 1875, but surviving records indicate that they held only one meeting. That occurred on July 2, when Ewell, Lamb, and three other pre-Civil War members—Professor Wilmer, General Taliaferro, and the Reverend A M. Randolph, future Episcopal bishop of the Diocese of Southern Virginia—gathered at the President's House to elect officers and select new members. After making Wilmer president and Lamb secretary, they charged Lamb with gathering up all the chapter records he could find and notifying chapters elsewhere of Alpha's rebirth. The new initiates included faculty members, Visitors, and an alumnus.[103] Apparently the chapter planned to elect undergraduate members the next year; however, no initiation followed.[104] Why the 1875 group was unable to sustain the chapter is unclear, though it seems likely that the struggle to save the College, which obviously took priority, absorbed all their time and energy. In 1877 alumnus Robert J. Graves of Philadelphia talked with Colonel Lamb and Hugh Grigsby about calling a Phi Beta Kappa convention, reorganizing the Alpha chapter, and endowing a Phi Beta Kappa professorship at the College, but nothing seems to have come of these proposals either.[105]

A more frivolous group active in the mid-1870s was the Ugly Club. Brought to the College in 1874 by Jennings Wise Garnett, his brother Yelverton, and T. Ritchie Stone, three new students from Washington, D.C., the club periodically chose the ugliest, the prettiest, the wittiest, and the laziest man on campus as well as the leading ladies' man. The designated homeliest student received a pair of boots, an honor he was expected to acknowledge in a humorous speech to the club members. The group seems to have been patterned on the Ugly Club at the University of Virginia.[106]

For their first meeting, the organizers of the William and Mary Ugly Club, acting in the spirit of contrariness they hoped to celebrate, invited Professor Wharton, the faculty member "they considered the least adapted for the purpose," to address the group. But the man many students thought to be "a scholar of the dry-as-dust order," with a wintery disposition, turned the tables on his hosts. Without cracking a smile, "for half an hour, he kept the audience in a steady roar of laughter."[107] With that unexpectedly auspicious beginning, the club was apparently well launched. Warner Taliaferro remembered that it later held some meetings at the asylum auditorium, and Colonel lamb pronounced the Ugly Club celebration during the 1875 commencement "very entertaining."[108]

One other organization that attracted a number of students was the Wise Light Infantry, a local volunteer militia company organized by Richard A. Wise in the summer of 1871.[109] Although it seemed to function primarily as a social and ceremonial body—helping at the unveiling of a Confederate monument in Richmond, for example, and parading at the state fair—rumors that its members had displayed hostility toward the United States government complicated the College's campaign for a federal indemnity in 1872. Apparently the company had been unjustly maligned, but President Ewell had to fend off allegations of disloyalty among students and faculty.[110] The charges are ironic in light of Richard Wise's eventual conversion to Republicanism. Despite its commander's changing political affiliations, the Light Infantry continued its activities into the 1880s.[111]

For the majority of students who did not drill with Richard Wise, there was a variety of other outdoor activities and sports. William Stanard recalled that he and his friends spent much of their spare time out in the country—walking, fishing, and ice skating.[112] Warner Taliaferro remembered that Wise, in his less militaristic moments, sometimes took students sailing on the York River. In his role as College physician, Wise also on occasion ordered students to take constitutionals in the country to improve their health.[113] But the sports with the greatest appeal were baseball and football, both played on the Courthouse Green. As the College had no athletic facilities and as there was as yet no intercollegiate competition, most of these contests were decidedly informal.[114] Sometimes the Grammar School boys challenged the College students; sometimes students took on local residents. In the absence of any "star athletes," most of the players doubtless demonstrated more enthusiasm than skill.

One of the baseball enthusiasts was James Lyons Taliaferro, Warner's older brother, who found the sport helped compensate for the general dullness of Williamsburg. In May 1873 he told his father that the students were excited about an upcoming ball game "between the Modocs, a club which we got up about a month ago, & the Raleigh, which is about two years old and composed of men twenty five years old but very much out of practice." However the Modocs fared that day, young Taliaferro was still "much occupied" with *"Base Ball"* a year later.[115]

Although the game Taliaferro and his friends played in the 1870s was almost identical to modern baseball, their version of football involved only kicking. And, according to William Stanard, any number could play.[116] The youthful energy unleashed by this soccerlike game was so great that the eccentric and sometimes irascible Visitor Montagu Thompson, whose house faced the Green, once tried to persuade the city government to ban the contests. "His reason was that a mob, following the ball, so frequently deluged his front yard." The students responded to Thompson's complaint by hanging him "in effigy from a tree in front of his house."[117] The games continued.[118]

Black–White Relations

Most of the alumni memoirs and reminiscences described town-gown relations in whites-only terms, but a few of the former students also recalled their contacts with some of Williamsburg 's many African-American residents. Although the numerous servants, waiters, washerwomen, and cooks who served the students generally went unremarked, two of their number stood out Everyone knew Malachi Gardner, Benjamin Ewell's young carriage driver and general factotum, and Edloe Washington, the janitor who rang the College bell. Gardner, whom Ewell called "Professor," had worked for the president's family since he was a small boy. For nearly thirty years, he drove Ewell back and forth between his farm and the College and saw to his wellbeing. During the interregnum, when Ewell came to the President's House for several hours every day to tutor local boys, answer letters, and show visitors around the campus, Gardner was his constant companion. Elizabeth Gilman, wife of Daniel Coit Gilman, the president of Johns Hopkins University, recorded her impression of Gardner in the spring of 1887 after she and her family had visited the College.

> Malachi carries all the keys and unlocks and locks up the doors and knows just where to find the books needed. His little heart is all occupied with the old place and if for any reason the Colonel is prevented from coming in, Malachi feels the responsibility of the possible visitors' disappointment deeply. He knows all the musty old college jokes and when the Colonel showed us in the old record book of a hundred years and more ago the wanton deeds of lads who have been gone a century, Malachi respectfully buried his face in his little woolen cap and when he positively could bear no more of 'ye sprightly boyes' he tiptoed into the hall to titter.[119]

George P. Coleman remembered from his tutorial sessions with Ewell that during hot weather Gardner would put a large bottle of water by Ewell's chair so that the president could periodically wet his bald head to cool himself off. He also recalled that Gardner usually rang the College bell to let the town boys know that it was time to come for their lessons.[120] Another of Gardner's duties, which he himself described in a 1938 interview, was making certain that Ewell, who "liked to take a toddy," got home safely when he had been drinking. "If he got too much," Gardner reported, "he would just sit down and go to sleep. I have waited for him many a night until one o'clock for him to wake up so I could drive him out to the country."[121] Edloe Washington, who rang the College bell in the 1870s, figured in fewer reminiscences, but according to Robert Hughes, the students dubbed him the "Professor of Bellology."[122]

Of course, neither Gardner nor Washington emerges from these scattered memories as a fully rounded human being; in fact, Gardner comes perilously close to the stock figure of the faithful black retainer. Yet there is evidence of a more complex racial landscape in post-Civil War Williamsburg. Blacks made up some 55 percent of James City County's population and counted for more than a third of the city's residents in 1870, and during the ensuing decade they enjoyed significant political power. "At no place in the country are civil & political rights more freely accorded to all classes than in Williamsburg ," Benjamin Ewell assured Republican Representative Legrand Perce in early 1872. "Colored men sit on juries & hold town offices; republicans for the most part. There is a healthy good feeling between white & colored."[123] Ewell may have exaggerated the town's racial harmony in order to strengthen the College's appeal for federal funds, or he may have generalized too broadly from his own optimistic outlook. Other more conservative residents, like Montagu Thompson, took a darker view of the situation.[124] Ironically, Robert Hughes, son of a prominent Republican and a future Republican leader himself, offered a less happy assessment when looking back on this period. "The relations between the races were strained" during his entire time in Williamsburg, he recalled, "though … no actual outbreak of any consequence occurred."[125] Still, Hughes's picture, painted sixty years after the fact, may be less accurate than Ewell's contemporary sketch.

Alumnus Julian A. Salle offers some support for Ewell's interpretation in his recollections of the late 1870s and early 1880s when "the best orator in town" was John M. Dawson, the black Baptist minister. Salle, who had attended Dawson's church to hear him preach, described the minister as a cultured man and remembered that Dawson had persuaded Miss Kate Custis to accept his daughter as a music student.[126] Certainly, the freeborn Dawson, who reportedly had attended Oberlin College before the Civil War, was a powerful figure in the local African-American community. Since coming to Williamsburg in 1866, he had combined his ministry with an active political career, serving at various times on the Williamsburg city council, in the state senate, and as treasurer of James City County. In 1882 he ran unsuccessfully for Virginia's at-large congressional seat.[127] That Miss Kate, a daughter of old Williamsburg, agreed to tutor a daughter of the town's leading black Republican surely bespeaks a more relaxed atmosphere than Hughes portrayed.

The Struggle to Survive

As the fortunes of the College declined throughout the late 1870s, the residents of Williamsburg remained staunch allies of President Ewell in his constant struggle to maintain William and Mary in its historic location. At least twice when the Visitors seemed on the verge of closing the College, local citizens joined with the faculty to persuade them to grant a reprieve.[128] Yet, in practical terms, Williamsburg still had little to offer. As late as 1878, Lyon Tyler described the townspeople as "awfully poverty-struck."[129] The long-awaited railroad was still several years from completion. The area's one durable asset was its history, and even that did not always confer the hoped-for benefits.

Although the Board reaffirmed its commitment to Williamsburg in 1879 when it rejected the overtures from the University of the South, by 1880 the College was, weaker than ever. None of the various committees the Board had appointed to examine the school's financial problems had come any closer than had Ewell or Bursar Wise to solving them. Closure was again on the agenda when the Board finally achieved a quorum (after three attempts) in late August of that year.[130]

The meeting was an odd mixture of pleasant sociability and fiscal futility and ended with a decision to keep the College open for another academic year. Ewell plied the Visitors with California champagne and cigars at the same time he begged for money for unpaid faculty salaries and past due expenses.[131] The Board learned that there was little hope of realizing anything from the liens the College held on land in Prince George and Sussex counties because the political upheaval occasioned by the rise of Readjusterism was depressing land prices in that part of the state.[132] It authorized Ewell to borrow $1,000 to meet pressing needs, accepted the resignation of Richard Wise (with relief), and then seized on the suggestion that the Yorktown centennial celebration in 1881 might provide a fund-raising opportunity for the College.[133] To at least one Board member, none of this was much more than the postponement of the inevitable. As Visitor D. Gardiner Tyler told his younger brother Lyon, "we could do nothing to avert [the decline] of the old college."[134]

Clearly, Ewell and the Visitors were grasping at straws. There was little reason to think that the Yorktown celebration would confer any particular benefits when the College had been unable to capitalize on the national centennial in 1876. Ironically, the Yorktown exhibition did help speed the completion of the rail line through Williamsburg, but it was too late to save William and Mary. By the time the first Chesapeake and Ohio train reached the city in October 1881, the College had no collegiate students.

The Interregnum

Documenting the decision to close the College is difficult, in part because President Ewell insisted throughout the 1880s that the school was in fact open. In early 1883, for example, he penned an indignant letter to the editor of the Richmond *State* to refute a news item that described William and Mary as deserted. "The College of William and Mary is neither deserted nor dead," he wrote. "Since the reduction of the Faculty … , the work has been, and is now, very limited, and chiefly local."[135] That limited and local work consisted of Ewell and an occasional assistant tutoring Williamsburg boys at the preparatory level, but it protected the charter and maintained the fiction of historical continuity.

The absence of any clear statement of closure also strengthened Ewell's argument. After the Board of Visitors met in July 1881, Ewell's daughter believed that her father had once more won "his annual battle" to keep the College open.[136] At that meeting some of the Visitors' decisions did seem to assume continued educational activity. They elected a recent graduate, William G. Jones, acting professor of languages for 1881–82 and resolved to pay him $400, the same salary as President Ewell. They also set aside $200 to compensate one or two instructors to be appointed and assigned duties by the president and the executive committee of the Board. In addition, they made General Taliaferro an agent of the College, charged with raising funds from both alumni and citizens to restore the endowment. However, when the Visitors accepted the resignation of Professor Lyman Wharton, they eliminated any possibility of collegiate courses in the coming year.[137] Moreover, because the Williamsburg school trustees had been operating the Grammar and Mattey School for several years, the College could not even maintain the level of preparatory education it had in 1868–69. In effect, William and Mary ceased to operate as an institution of higher education without formally closing.

Although the suspension of classes in 1881 represented the defeat of more than a decade of hope and effort, the minutes of the July Board meeting are as spare and unemotional as any in the surviving records. Fortunately, perhaps, Hugh Grigsby, one of William and Mary's most dedicated supporters, did not live to see this failure. He died in April 1881 and was memorialized at the July meeting, as was another longtime Visitor, William Peachy. Colonel Lamb could not attend.[138] For many of the other Board members, like Montagu Thompson, the suspension so long anticipated may have been anticlimactic. Moreover, like Ewell, the Visitors sometimes maintained the fiction that the College was still operating. In June 1882 they resolved that the "College of William and Mary shall be continued for the reception and education of students for the year commencing … October 1882 and ending July the 4th 1883."[139]

During the interregnum Benjamin Ewell came more than ever to personify the College. Because he rode in to the campus every day to tutor students, greet visitors and conduct tours, correspond with faithful friends of William and Mary, and do all in his power to keep the College's name before the public, he assumed for some the status of a folk hero. For example, President Gilman of Johns Hopkins University, after visiting the College with his wife and daughter in the spring of 1887, described Ewell as "the embodiment of the genius loci, the watchful & faithful guardian of a grand idea."[140] Many others who wrote about William and Mary during the 1880s mythologized the president as the devoted, grey-haired old bell ringer for his habit of having the College bell rung each year on the second Wednesday in October to prevent the charter from lapsing. (The fact that his servant Malachi Gardner sometimes used the bell to summon Ewell's local pupils apparently contributed to the story that Ewell rang the bell daily.)[141]

Although Ewell stood at the center of the campaign to revive William and Mary, past faculty members and others played supporting roles. One of the first serious proposals for reopening the College came from a former professor of Greek and German, Edward

Joynes, in March of 1882. Now on the faculty at the University of Tennessee, Joynes strongly urged Ewell to convert William and Mary into a coeducational normal school. He pointed out that the rise of public education in Virginia had created a great need for competent teachers and argued that if the College offered the requisite professional training, it could probably gain both Peabody Fund money and state support. Although it is unlikely that Ewell accepted Joynes's contention that there was no hope of restoring William and Mary as a liberal arts institution, he thought the normal school idea well worth exploring.[142]

The Board of Visitors met in Richmond in late March 1882 to do just that.[143] Although the Visitors refused to consider surrendering the charter to the state legislature, they suggested that if the General Assembly would grant the College $12,000 a year to establish a normal school, the governor might appoint six Visitors to the Board. Rector Lyons also approached Peabody Fund agent J. L. M. Curry to see if the fund's trustees would match the state's contribution. Curry replied, as his predecessor had to earlier queries, that the fund aided normal schools "established, supported, and controlled by a state."[144] State control was the sticking point Ewell later recalled that the governor and a number of the leading legislators favored the scheme, and that on that basis Curry promised an $8,000 annuity. But some of the Visitors balked.[145] As Colonel Lamb recorded in his diary, "Considered question of giving college to the State for a Normal College, but question was unfavorably received."[146]

Ironically, the plan rejected in 1882 was very similar to the one that finally brought the College back to life in 1888. For several years after 1882, Ewell and the Visitors pursued a number of other strategies, but by the end of the decade, even those who had never been enthusiastic about the normal school idea, had to admit there were no good alternatives.[147]

Meanwhile Ewell tried to persuade the Board to spend some money on maintenance of the Main Building. "As long as the college Building & Grounds are kept in good order so long may a hope be entertained of the restoration of the Institution," he reminded the Visitors in 1884, when he estimated that he needed at least $300 to repair the building's roof, walls, and broken windows.[148] Such minimal patchwork proved inadequate, however, and by 1887 Elizabeth Gilman painted a picture of "old walls … crumbling away" and cows "grazing peacefully on the playgrounds." "It is a most pathetic place," she declared, "full of the past with no present but one of dreary decay, and no future."

In Mrs. Gilman' s eyes, Ewell was almost as pathetic as the ruins over which he presided. She judged his efforts to arouse public interest in the College "hopeless." "The public has long ago forgotten all about poor old William and Mary," she wrote.[149] But there she was wrong. In 1883 William S. Perry, the bishop of Iowa and historian of the Episcopal church, asked Ewell for illustrations of William and Mary for a chapter in *The History of the American Episcopal Church*. "I am anxious to give the College a fitting representation in a work which will be largely circulated," he explained.[150] Charles F. Richardson, a faculty member at Dartmouth College interested in the history of Phi Beta Kappa, also published pieces on William and Mary in the mid-1880s.[151] Senator Hoar told Ewell in 1884 that he would be glad to do anything he could to help restore the College. He found his opportunity two years later when he renewed his plea for contributions to William and Mary in a widely noticed speech at Harvard's 250th anniversary celebration. He still believed that Harvard men had a special obligation to the venerable Virginia institution.[152] A few months earlier, another Massachusetts resident, Edwin D. Meade, had made a similar appeal on behalf of the College during a lecture in Boston. Drawing a vivid portrait of the institution in decline, he called it "one of the saddest things in America."[153] None of these efforts had an immediate impact, but Ewell recognized their public relations value. In 1887 he published newspaper accounts of Hoar's and Meade's speeches, along with various letters of support for the College, in a small pamphlet that could be used in future lobbying campaigns.[154]

The most substantial evidence of continuing concern for William and Mary during these years was a new, concise history of the College by the distinguished Johns Hopkins historian Herbert Baxter Adams.[155] Published in 1887 by the United States Bureau of Education, Adams' s booklet told the story of William and Mary from its founding. It was a solid piece of scholarship.[156] When Adams considered the post-Civil War years, he waxed indignant that the Congress had refused to honor William and Mary's claim, especially when the national treasury bulged with surplus funds. "An institution which was once a beacon of learning and of political intelligence … has been suffered to decline by a nation which owes it an actual although paltry debt of $70,000."[157]

Except for Adams's contention that William and Mary should have long since moved out of Williamsburg, Ewell was very pleased with the history.[158] So also was Visitor Warner Jones,[159] who hoped and believed it would help William and Mary finally get its bill through Congress. "That is a matter we should not let sleep, but should urge with renewed vigor,"[160] he wrote Ewell in June 1887. It was impossible to mount an effective campaign while the school was closed, but when William and Mary renewed its quest for compensation in the early 1890s, the Adams monograph was indeed a valuable aid. And in 1888 it helped persuade the General Assembly to make an annual appropriation to William and Mary.[161]

While President Ewell stood guard over the historical College, the Board of Visitors tried to solve its current problems. Although they met less frequently than when the school was open and sometimes had difficulty getting a quorum, most of them were remarkably faithful to their charge.[162] Judge William Crump, who was elected rector in December 1883 after the death of James Lyons, led the Board through most of the interregnum. Among the most active members were Colonel Lamb, General Taliaferro, P. Montagu Thompson, Judge Warner T. Jones of Gloucester, and D. Gardiner Tyler of Charles City, an 1877 appointee. The Reverends O. S. Barten and Charles Minnegerode also attended many meetings. John Goode resigned in December 1887, just before General Joseph Johnston made his first appearance as a Visitor.[163]

After its initial rejection of the normal school plan, the Board devoted most of its energies for the next four years to sorting out the College's tangled financial problems. But that was a daunting task. Collecting money owed to the school in order to pay off the debts the school owed was a perennial difficulty; frequent rumors that the legislature was about to reduce the dividends on state stock exacerbated the situation.[164] Even verifying the College's assets and liabilities was not easy. For example, Warner Jones and Montagu Thompson reviewed all of Bursar John Wise's reports from June 1876 to July 1883 and concluded that as of July 1, 1883, assets totalled $69,484.03. But in the next sentence they admitted that figure might be too optimistic.[165] Estimates of the College's income and debts varied, too. In 1883 Ewell reported that by ceasing to offer classes the Board had managed to reduce the debt "from twenty odd thousand dollars to about one-fourth of this amount," but a Board of Visitors committee listed it as $7,974.00 in July 1887.[166] Income seemed to average about $2,000 a year, and in the early 1880s, the Board allowed Ewell about $1,000 for himself and the College. [167] Even during the interregnum, however, the Board sometimes had to authorize Wise or Ewell to borrow money.[168]

Several of the Visitors disliked the borrowing because it added to the debt they were trying to eradicate. But as the charter granted the faculty (now reduced to Ewell) significant control over College finances, they were not able to refuse his requests. Warner Jones was so unhappy with Ewell's stewardship in 1884 that he wanted Taliaferro, Goode, and Crump to persuade the next session of the legislature to amend the charter "to give control of the finances of the College to the Board of Visitors instead of the Faculty as now."[169] Nothing came of this suggestion, but the tension between Ewell and some Visitors persisted. In July 1885 Montagu Thompson angrily complained to his friend Jones that the president had done nothing to carry out the Board's directives of the previous summer to sell the College Hotel and several other pieces of property to help pay off the debt. "Not one step has been taken," he fumed. Moreover, the school's affairs were "daily growing worse." Only prompt action would save it from bankruptcy.[170] Of course, Thompson always took the darkest possible view of WIiliam and Mary's financial situation, but his outburst was symptomatic of the unhappy conditions at the crippled institution.

The Campaign for a Normal Course

By late 1885 the Visitors had accomplished all they could without additional funds. Despite their best efforts, several large debts remained uncollected and surplus property stood unsold. Moreover, the College buildings were steadily deteriorating. Meeting in the College library in November, the Board resolved to approach the General Assembly yet again, and by January a committee had drawn up a bill to establish a normal course for white male teachers at the College.

By limiting the enrollment to men and calling for a course that would operate alongside the regular collegiate classes rather than for an entire normal school, the authors disarmed some of the traditionalists who had objected to the 1882 proposal. They also avoided any talk of handing over the College to the state. Instead they asked for an annual appropriation of $10,000, in return for which the governor would name half of the members of a new joint Board of Visitors. The ten existing Visitors would continue as a self-perpetuating group, and the governor would retain responsibility for filling the other ten seats. Students would be drawn from every jurisdiction in the state (each county and city would be entitled to at least one pupil) and would pay no tuition, as long as they agreed to teach for two years within the state.[171]

After accepting the committee's report, the Board appointed Taliaferro, Jones, and Thompson to lobby for its passage in the General Assembly.[172] Although Taliaferro and Jones had powerful political connections, they did not have an easy time with the College bill. (Thompson seems to have played little role in the fight.) There were many calls on the limited funds in the Virginia treasury, and William and Mary had to compete with established state institutions. At the end of the 1886 session, Ewell counseled Jones not to be discouraged by the lack of progress. "It will never do to halt, or to stop your labors, because not immediately successful. Like the rest of mankind Legislators require to be pressed & importuned."[173]

Pressed and importuned they would be, for the Board was firmly committed to establishing a state-supported teacher-training program at the College.[174] The Visitors renewed the charge to the lobbying committee at each of their next three meetings, and they even considered reestablishing a grammar school in the fall of 1887 that could be absorbed into the normal program when the state finally voted an appropriation.[175] Nothing came of the special session of the legislature in the spring of 1887, "called mainly on account of the embarrassed condition of the State, growing out of the debt question." As Warner Jones had predicted, the atmosphere was not conducive to increased spending.[176]

Despite that disappointing beginning, 1887 was not a wasted year for the College. The Richmond *State* reported the arguments of Jones and Taliaferro for fairness both to white males and to the eastern part of the state. They had pointed out that while there was state support to train white women and black Virginians of both genders, Virginia made no provision for the young white man who aspired to teach. And they returned to Ewell's point that while Tidewater paid heavy taxes, it received few benefits from the state. "The request is a most just and reasonable one," the editorial declared in late 1887.[177] It was also modest, compared to the demands from other institutions. In 1887 Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College at Blacksburg had requested $40,000 for buildings, in addition to its $20,000 annuity. "It seems to me it ought not to be considered unreasonable or presumptuous for Wm & Mary to ask for the small appropriation which we ask for in our Bill," Warner Jones observed.[178]

For a time in 1887, there also seemed to be a promise of a large sum of money in Great Britain from the estate of Sir Robert Boyle. Recalling the Mattey Fund, Ewell and the Visitors pursued the claim for nearly a year before discovering that there was in fact no Boyle money.[179] Another piece of hopeful news was Bursar John Wise's belief that he could realize $10,000 on the Mayo debt, one of the larger claims held by the College, but never during Ewell's tenure would the school see any money from that source.[180]

Declaring poetically that the College "'hath become as an oak whose leaf fadeth, and as a garden that has no water,'" President Ewell told a correspondent in June 1887 that he hoped for renewal by the time of the school's two hundredth anniversary in 1893.[181] For once the perennial optimist was too pessimistic. Help arrived in less than a year, when the 1888 General Assembly finally agreed to appropriate $10,000 annually for a normal course at William and Mary.

Aid from the State

Much of the credit for the success of the College's bill belongs to the indefatigable Taliaferro and Jones. As Ewell later noted, they worked ceaselessly from the first to the last day of the session on behalf of the College, "neglecting all other business, undergoing, thereby, pecuniary loss."[182] They had several invaluable allies, however, without whom the bill would never have passed. Their fellow Democrat from Gloucester County, James N. Stubbs, served as floor manager and made the major speech for the bill in the Senate; Lyon G. Tyler, who had returned to Virginia in 1882 and was now a Richmond area Democratic delegate , sponsored and fought for it in the House of Delegates.[183] On the Republican side, Colonel Lamb lobbied some of his friends, but the key figure in that party was Richard Wise, who threw himself into the struggle.[184] Working with Jones and Taliaferro, he gained support from white and black delegates. He managed to win over representatives from southwestern Virginia, who feared that an appropriation for William and Mary would lessen the chances for increased support for Virginia Agricultural and Mechanical College, by proposing a mutually beneficial coalition.[185] Wise's friend, Alfred W. Harris, a black delegate from Dinwiddie County who had fought to establish Virginia Normal and Collegiate Institute six years earlier, called up the William and Mary bill in the House of Delegates for the final debate. He and the six other African-American representatives voted to aid the College. [186] Outside of the legislature, Richard F. Beirne, owner and editor of the Richmond *State*, provided strong editorial support. A long piece on January 19 rehearsed all of the arguments in favor of the bill, and a shorter one on February 24 prodded the reluctant lower house to add its approval to that of the upper.[187]

The importance of the bipartisan support is evident in the final votes. On February 14 the bill passed the Senate, 24 to 5. The yes votes included 14 Democrats and 10 Republicans; only 1 Republican and 4 Democrats voted no. The Republicans were even more important in the House of Delegates, where the real battle was fought. There the vote on March 1 was 57 to 27 in favor, with 29 Republicans and 28 Democrats voting yes and 2 Republicans and 25 Democrats opposed.[188] Surely it was a tribute to both the College and Benjamin Ewell that such disparate groups and individuals could come together to rescue the beleaguered institution. Taliaferro, Jones, and Tyler were dyed-in-the-wool Democrats who despised Readjusters and Republicans. Lamb and Wise had been both. In earlier years, when they were all still Democrats, Taliaferro had railed bitterly against both Richard and John Wise for thwarting his bid for the gubernatorial nomination. Lamb had been a loyal supporter of General William Mahone, the Readjuster leader who was anathema to Taliaferro, Jones, and Tyler.[189] Yet these men managed to put their differences aside when the welfare of the College was at stake. As Richard Wise told Ewell in a jubilant letter announcing the passage of the bill, "We all worked like thunder."[190]

The legislation that Governor Fitzhugh Lee signed on March 5, 1888, was almost identical to the original bill introduced two years before.[191] It was accepted by the existing Board of Visitors, with all present except General Johnston, and with President Ewell in attendance, on April 10. President Ewell was, of course, deeply gratified at the passage of an act which promised William and Mary "new life, health and strength."[192] His faith that his fellow citizens would not allow the historic College to perish had at last been rewarded. As he prepared his final report, however, he must have been aware of how close to death the school had come. His description of the various College buildings was a litany of neglect and decay; he could not even give an estimate of the total cost for repairs until the new Board decided how much would be completely rebuilt and how much just patched up.[193]

Ewell submitted his report at the next meeting of the Board on May 10 and tendered his resignation as both president and professor. "Since I was elected in 1848," he wrote, "all the members of the Board of that day, and all of my associates in the Faculty—the number then was seven—have 'joined the great majority' & therefore I am the only survivor."[194] The Board accepted Ewell's resignation the next day and elected him emeritus professor (later changed to president emeritus) with an annual compensation of $400. At Colonel Lamb's suggestion, the Visitors asked Ewell to continue his stewardship of the buildings and grounds until the next Board meeting, though they also authorized a building committee, consisting of Montagu Thompson, James Stubbs, and Dr. E. G. Booth of Carter's Grove, to make $2,500 worth of repairs.[195]

Although the president's friend, General Johnston, thought the Board had treated him shabbily by not retaining him as a professor at full salary, Ewell pronounced himself satisfied with the arrangement voted. He considered that the Board had been "kind and liberal" in allowing him the same stipend he had received for the past eight years, he told Warner Jones. Moreover, he had no desire to continue in office; just a month shy of his seventy-eighth birthday, Ewell knew the time had come for a younger man to lead the College.[196]

Ewell's approval of the Board's unanimous choice for his successor—John L. Buchanan, the state superintendent of public instruction—may have eased the transition. General Johnston suspected that some Visitors distrusted Ewell's commitment to normal work.[197] But if he lamented the passing of the strictly literary institution he had guided for so long, Ewell never said so publicly. Instead, he spoke of William and Mary's opportunity to provide much-needed competent teachers for the public schools, and he tried hard to persuade Buchanan to take the presidency.[198] Ironically, Buchanan had less faith in the new departure than Ewell did. Appalled by the decrepit condition of the College, he declined the appointment in early July.[199]

As Ewell faithfully performed his transition duties—cleaning, removing debris, draining the College yard, supervising workmen, traveling to Richmond to retrieve some of the College's stock certificates—the Board hired faculty members and resumed its search for a new president.[200] At the end of August, the Visitors elected Lyon G. Tyler, whose ties to the College and recent work for the normal school bill Ewell appreciated. Although he was wary of intruding or meddling, Ewell later offered occasional aid and advice as Tyler settled into the presidency.[201]

In retirement Ewell remained deeply concerned about the welfare of the College, though he generally maintained his distance from the campus unless specifically invited to return. At times he brooded over bad investments and potential donors who had given their money elsewhere during his presidency, but he also enjoyed recounting the legislative triumph of 1888. When the Tyler administration renewed the quest for a federal indemnity in 1892, he stood ready to help; he lived to see the College finally gain the money in 1893. Ewell was also able to participate in the celebration of the two hundredth anniversary of the granting of William and Mary's royal charter, at a thriving institution with more than two hundred students enrolled for that session.[202]

In August 1888, when he sent Warner Jones a bill for thirty-three dollars for his expenses during the transition, Ewell commented that for him, aiding the Visitors and readying the College for a new session had been "a labor of love."[203] That also seems an apt description of Ewell's long campaign to restore William and Mary to some semblance of its former glory. Happily, although much of the restoration and rebuilding occurred under his successors, his labor did not go unrecognized or unrewarded.

When Benjamin Ewell died in June 1894 at his farm in James City County, both Williamsburg and the College paid him tribute. Buildings were draped in dark bunting, and flags flew at half mast. A great crowd of students, faculty, and townspeople escorted his body from the train station to the College chapel for the funeral and then to his burial place in the College Cemetery. Within a week the College renamed the old College Hotel, Ewell Hall.[204]

NOTES

1. *New York Times*, July 2, 1871.
2. *History of W&M to 1874*, 170.
3. Robert M. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 5.
4. [J. Wilmer Turner] to "Brother" (incomplete letter), June 15, 1870, Turner, Faculty/Alumni.
5. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 6.
6. *History of W&M to 1874*, 173.
7. Ibid., 175.
8. Ibid., 175–76.
9. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 13, 1869. The ban on Saturday recitations was decided after "full deliberation & discussion," but none of that discussion was recorded in the Faculty Minutes.
10. The following account is drawn from Ewell, supplemental report to BOV, BOV Minutes, July 3, 1871, unless otherwise indicated.
11. Wilmer also tutored Grammar School master J. Wilmer Turner on Friday nights. J. Wilmer

[Turner] to "Brother," Nov. 29, 1869, Turner, Faculty/Alumni.

12. The master of the Grammar School did not figure in the complaints about underemployment. Turner reported in November 1869 "that my school occupies me 6 hours for five days in the week, not to mention the time I devote to it out of school; then I have two night students, one from College & the other from town, who take up an hour & a half for four nights in each week." J. Wilmer [Turner] to "Brother," Nov. 29, 1869, Turner, Faculty/Alumni.
13. *History of W&M to 1870*, 155.
14. Faculty Minutes, Oct. 5, 1871. If the professors were already teaching a full load, then, if practicable, other faculty members would teach the preparatory classes in those fields or adjunct faculty members would be hired.
15. Ibid.; memo of objection to resolution of the faculty from Snead, McCandlish, and Wharton, Oct. 5, 1871; L. B. Wharton to Executive Committee, BOV, Oct. 9, 1871, folder 51, College Papers; Richard A. Wise to [Hugh B. Grigsby], Nov. 13, 1871, sec. 31, Grigsby Papers.
16. Ewell to Grigsby, Nov. 28, 1871, photocopy of original at VHS, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
17. BOV Minutes, Dec. 14, 1871.
18. Lyman B. Wharton recalled that sometime during the early 1880s, when he and Ewell were the only remaining professors, Ewell told him: "Wharton, I had been thinking about having a Faculty meeting today, but now it isn't worthwhile. As a Professor, I have one vote and as President I have another. You have but one vote. So, if we don't agree, my two votes will decide the matter." Henry T. Louthan to E. G. Swem, Feb. 6, 1939, Henry Thompson Louthan, Faculty/Alumni.
19. College of William and Mary, Schedule of Lectures, undated, in Faculty Minutes, 1846–83. The junior classes were the first collegiate level; students then moved up to intermediate and senior classes.
20. Ewell, supplemental report to BOV, BOV Minutes, June 17, 1872; Benj. S. Ewell, et al. to Board of Visitors, June 18, 1872, Letters, 1870–72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA, and folder 51, College Papers.
21. BOV Minutes, June 18, 1872; copy in folder 51, College Papers.
22. Faculty Minutes, July 26, 27, 28, 1875.
23. BOV Minutes, July 4, 1877; [Lyon G. Tyler] to Annie [Tucker], July 12, 1878, folder July–Aug., 1878,box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.
24. Benjamin S. Ewell to BOV, Aug. 26, 1880, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
25. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 3, 1938; interview with Malachi Gardner, Feb. 2, 1938, box 2, Robert Hunt Land Papers, WMA.
26. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 3.
27. Wilmer, Faculty/Alumni.
28. John E. Hobeika, *The Sage of Lion's Den* (New York: Exposition Press, 1948), 9–12; for a detailed obituary of Tyler, see *New York Times*, Feb. 13, 1935. With bachelor and master of arts degrees from the University of Virginia, Tyler decided that running a private secondary school in Memphis, Tennessee, promised greater financial security and rewards than William and Mary could offer.
29. Richard A. Wise to BOV, Aug. 26, 1880, Richard A. Wise, Faculty/Alumni.
30. BOV Minutes, July 8, 1881.
31. *History of W&M to 1874*, back cover; Warner T. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, May 5, 1876, folder 2, box 9, group 1, Taliaferro Papers. Dod's fate is unknown; according to the 1880 census, he was no longer a patient at the asylum.
32. Ewell, report to BOV, July 4, 1876, in BOV Minutes, May 24, 25, 1877.

33. Jennings Wise Garnett, Faculty/Alumni.

34. The College actually advertised for a professor of moral and intellectual philosophy in Richmond and New York newspapers, but Visitors Peachy and Thompson persuaded their fellow Board members that the salary available was too small "to command the proper talent for this most important professorship." They preferred to contract with Wall rather than risk the permanent addition of a second-rate candidate. Ewell also favored this strategy. James Lyons to W. H. E. Morecock, Nov. 18, Dec. 6, 1878, William H. E. Morecock Papers, Williamsburg Historic Records Association Collection, WMM; Morecock to William B. Taliaferro, Dec. 9, 1878, folder 3, box 10, group 1, Taliaferro Papers; W. S. Peachy and P. M. Thompson to Benjamin S. Ewell, Dec. 17, 1878, folder 54, College Papers; BOV Minutes, Dec. 19, 1878. Julian Sallé remembered taking a course from Wall. Statement of Julian A Sallé, June 14, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

35. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5., 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

36. When the Visitors erected a separate building for the younger students in 1870, they began to return the money they had borrowed from the Mattey Fund to help rebuild the Main Building to its proper use. Lyon G. Tyler, *The Mattey Whaley Model and Practice School of William and Mary College* (Richmond: Whittet and Shepperson, 1895), 14–15, in folder 292, College Papers; also published as Tyler, "Grammar and Mattey Practice and Model School," *WMQ*, 1st ser., 4 (July 1895): 3–14.

37. Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Virginia School Report*, 1871 (Richmond: C. A. Schaffter, Superintendent of Public Printing, 1871), 163.

38. Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Virginia School Report*, 1872, 117.

39. Rawls Byrd, *History of Public Schools in Williamsburg* (Williamsburg: n.p., 1968), 1–5. Tyler describes this agreement as a lease, but no money changed hands. For the original documents, see Minutes of Board of Trustees of Free Schools, Williamsburg , Aug. 7, 1873: 15–16, box 6, Cole Papers, WMM; Ewell, report to BOV, BOV Minutes, July 1, 1874.

40. Byrd, *History of Public Schools*, 109.

41. Ibid., 115–16. Like Jones, Harrison, Smith, and Armistead had studied at the College.

42. Contract between the College and the Williamsburg Board of School Trustees, signed by Ewell and Thomas G. Peachy, September 15, 1884, with a note in Ewell's hand saying that the Board of Visitors authorized this agreement at their meeting in Norfolk, Aug. 8, 1884, folder 292, College Papers; BOV Minutes, Aug. 4, 1884; Byrd, *History of Public Schools*, 10–11.

43. Ewell, final report to BOV, May 10, 1888, folder 52A, College Papers. When the College reopened, Charles applied for a position as instructor in the normal department (teacher training) or assistant instructor of Latin. Receiving neither appointment, he then put his name forth for the principalship of the model school he assumed the College would soon establish. But the creation of a model school proved to be complicated, and several years passed before the College was ready to hire a teacher. Charles remained with the public school system. John S. Charles to BOV, July 4, Aug. 22, 1888, folder 87, College Papers; Byrd, *History of Public Schools*, 11.

44. For a fairly detailed obituary of Hughes, see Norfolk *Virginian-Pilot*, Jan. 16, 1940. Unless otherwise indicated, most of the information in the following paragraph is drawn from the individuals' Faculty/Alumni files.

45. On the Munfords, see Beverley B. Munford, *Random Recollections* ([Richmond?]: privately printed, 1905); Walter Russell Bowie, *Sunrise in the South: The Life of Mary-Cooke Branch Munford*, (Richmond: William Byrd Press, Inc., 1942).

46. Munford, *Random Recollections*, 55–57.

47. Warner T. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Jan. 7, 1875, folder 3, box 8, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

48. Warner T. Taliaferro to [his mother], Feb. 2, 1875, folder 4, ibid.

49. Warner T. Taliaferro to [William B. Taliaferro] , Feb. 18, 1875, ibid.
50. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 5.
51. J. Wilmer [Turner] to "Brother," Nov. 29, 1869; [J. Wilmer Turner] to [?] (fragments), [1869], Turner, Faculty/Alumni. Wilmer's ambition is interesting in light of his role in the 1879 campaign to merge William and Mary with the University of the South.
52. "Reminiscences of Wilmer," 1.
53. "Stanard Tells of Days of [18]75–76," Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
54. Ibid.; Munford, *Random Recollections,* 66.
55. Statement of George P. Coleman, Feb. 25, 1938, box 1, Land Papers. Coleman served on the Board of Visitors from 1912 to 1924. For a short summary of his life, see Lucy Anne Kimbrough, "The Road to Reform: George Preston Coleman and the Beginnings of Virginia's Modern Highway System" (Honors thesis, William and Mary, 1987).
56. Lyon G. Tyler to [Annie Tucker], Oct. 7, 1877, folder Oct. 1877, box 2, group b, Tyler Family Papers; *History of W&M to 1870,* 158.
57. Lyon G. Tyler to [Julia G. Tyler]; Lyon G. Tyler to [his fiancée, Annie Tucker], Oct. 17, 27, 1877, folder Oct. 1877, box 2, group b, Tyler Family Papers. Tyler taught rhetoric, history and "Mental Philosophy, Logic & Ethics."
58. Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], May 17, 1878, folder May 1878; Oct. 16, 1878, folder Oct. 1878; testimonial for Lyon G. Tyler, Nov. 6, 1878, folder Nov.–Dec. 1878, box 3, group b, ibid.
59. The standard accounts of the history of higher education in America during this period are Frederick Rudolph, *The American College and University: A History* (New York: Random House, 1962) and Laurence Veysey, *The Emergence of the American University* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965).
60. *History of W&M to 1870,* 159.
61. "Laws for the Government of Students" broadside [mid-1870s?], folder Miscellaneous, box 1, William Gustavus Jones Papers, WMA. The Laws are also printed in the College catalogs; see, for example, *History of W&M to 1874,* 174–83.
62. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 4; "Autobiography," box 1, Robert Morton Hughes Papers.
63. Warner T. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, Jan. 7, 1875, folder 3, box 8, group 1, Taliaferro Papers; statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5, 1938; statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.
64. Laws broadside, W. G. Jones Papers.
65. Ibid. Veysey notes that many college faculties in the nineteenth century expressed this desire for a confession of guilt: "Penalties for those who confessed were often abridged or remitted; stubborn independence of mind, however, might result in suspension or expulsion." Veysey, *American University,* 35.
66. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni; statement of Miss Patty Morecock, Feb. 23, 1938; statement of Cora Smith, Feb. 25, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.
67. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
68. Statement of Cora Smith, Feb. 25, 1938, box 2, Land Papers; Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 4.
69. Munford, *Random Recollections,* 50.
70. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.
71. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
72. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 6.
73. Statement of Archie Brooks, Mar. 9, 1938, box 1, Land Papers; Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 6; laws broadside, W. G. Jones Papers.
74. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

75. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
76. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.
77. W[arner] T. Taliaferro to [his mother], Feb. 2, 1875, folder 4, box 8, group 1, Taliaferro Papers. To his father Warner admitted that he played cards "sometimes for fun" but denied ever playing for money. W[arner] T. Taliaferro to [his father], Feb. 18, 1875, ibid.
78. Ewell, report to BOV, July 4, 1876 [actually dated May 4, 1877], in BOV Minutes for May 24, 25, 1877. Although there was no quorum for the 1876 Board meeting, the five Visitors who did come to Williamsburg met informally on June 22 and recommended that the faculty "suppress all card playing & gambling of all kinds." Folder 51, College Papers.
79. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni; Munford, *Random Recollections*, 63.
80. Munford, *Random Recollections*, 58–59; Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 9. Stanard said there was hazing, and Warner Taliaferro recalled that in 1874, "we boys at the Hobson House were all new men and we had heard terrible tales of how newcomers were hazed by upperclassmen." Stanard, Faculty/Alumni; statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers. Certainly in later years the faculty spent a great deal of time and energy trying to stamp out hazing.
81. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers; Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
82. Statement of Archie Brooks, Mar. 9, 1938, box 1, Land Papers.
83. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 7.
84. Laws broadside, W. G. Jones Papers.
85. Matriculation Book, 1827–81.
86. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
87. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5, 1938, box 2, Land Papers; Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 7.
88. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5, 1938; statement of Archie Brooks, Mar. 9, 1938; statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, boxes 1 and 2, Land Papers; Diary of Grigsby, July 4, 1877, Grigsby Papers. Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], Apr. 28, 1878, folder Apr. 1878, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.
89. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.
90. Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], June 6, 1878, folder June 1878, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.
91. Hughes remembered these as occurring on Friday evenings whereas William Jones put them on Saturdays; Hughes is probably correct because the literary societies held their meetings on Saturday nights.
92. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.
93. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.
94. Warner T. L. Taliaferro to [his mother], Feb. 2, 1875, folder 4, box 8, group 1, Taliaferro Papers; William G. Jones also mentions literary clubs in his March 5, 1938, statement in box 2, Land Papers.
95. J. Wilmer Turner to "Father," Nov. 5, 1869, Turner, Faculty/Alumni.
96. J. Wilmer [Turner] to "Brother," Nov. 29, 1869, Jan. 17, 1870, ibid.
97. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 5, 1938; statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers. There is a Phoenix Society minute book from 1873 in the College Archives, and Warner's older brother, James Lyons Taliaferro, seems to have belonged to the Phoenix that year. J. L. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, May 31, 1873, folder 5, box 7, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.
98. Constitution, 1874, box 1, Philomathean Literary Society Records, WMA.

99. Minute book, 1874–77, box 1, ibid.

100. Dabney C. Harrison to Mrs. Munford, Nov. 22, 1922, Richmond Public Schools, folder R, box 3, Mary-Cooke Branch Munford Papers, VSL; Archie Brooks called him "a silver tongued orator" in his March 9, 1938, statement, box 1, Land Papers; Munford, *Random Recollections*, 58.

101. See, for example, Diary of Grigsby, July 2, 1874,June 30, 1875, Grigsby Papers; Diary of Lamb, June 30, 1875, July 3, 1877, July 3, 1878, Lamb Papers.

102. Journal of Chloe Tyler Whittle, June [21, misdated as 22], 1876, vol. 15, Conway Whittle Papers, WMM.

103. Minutes, July 2, 1875, folder July 2, 1875–June 7, 1905, box 1, PBK Papers, WMA. The faculty and Board initiates had been active in the indemnification campaign.

104. Statement of William G. Jones, Mar. 13, 1938, box 2, Land Papers; Janice L. Fivehouse, "The History of the Alpha of Virginia Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa" (M.A. thesis, William and Mary, 1968), 71. Garnett, who had been asked to join and whom his friends considered "most likely to reflect honor on his alma mater," died in 1880. Warner T. L. Taliaferro to William G. Jones, June 16, 1880; A. J. Hobson to Jones, Aug. 8, 1880, correspondence, box 1, W. G. Jones Papers.

105. Robert J. Graves to Hugh B. Grigsby, Dec. 5, 1877, sec. 31, Grigsby Papers.

106. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers; "Reminiscences of Wilmer," 4. For a description of the University of Virginia club, see Philip A Bruce, *History of the University of Virginia, 1819-1919,* 5 vols. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1920–22), 3:164; 4:117–18.

107. Both Warner Taliaferro and C. B. Wilmer described this incident. Robert M. Hughes painted a friendlier portrait of Wharton, whom he remembered as "an ideal teacher [who] possessed the rare gift of interesting even those who were not naturally fond of study." Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 4. In addition, Wharton may not have been so staid as the students thought. In December 1877 Lyon Tyler reported to his fiancee, "We have an excitement here in the form of the reputed speedy wedding of Dr. Wharton—one of the professors—to Miss Taylor of Richmond." [Lyon G. Tyler] to Annie [Tucker], Dec. 15, 1877, folder Nov.–Dec. 1877, box 2, group b, Tyler Family Papers.

108. Diary of Lamb, July 1, 1875, Lamb Papers.

109. Commission for Col. Benjamin S. Ewell, Col. Randolph Harrison, and Capt. R. A. Wise as "examiners" under act of Mar. 29, 1871, for reorganization of militia for Williamsburg and James City County, signed by Gov. Gilbert C. Walker, July 24, 1871, folder 20, box 7, Ewell Papers, WMM.

110. See previous chapter for a discussion of these charges.

111. Roll and minutes of Wise Light Infantry Company, June 22, July 13, 1882, folder 2, box 4, Cole Papers; BOV Minutes, Dec. 13, 1883.

112. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.

113. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers; W[arner] T. Taliaferro to [his mother], Apr. 12, 1875, folder 5, box 8, group 1, Taliaferro papers.

114. Statement of Archie Brooks, Mar. 9, 1938, box 1, Land Papers.

115. J. L. Taliaferro to William B. Taliaferro, May 31, 1873, folder 5; Apr. 1, 1874, folder 9, box 7, group 1, Taliaferro Papers. Warner Taliaferro claimed that the same Washington boys who brought the Ugly Club to the College also introduced baseball, but given the popularity of the game in the rural South, it seems unlikely that William and Mary students needed any such introduction. Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

116. Statement of Archie Brooks, Mar. 9, 1938, box 1, Land Papers; Stanard, Faculty/Alumni.

117. Stanard, Faculty/Alumni. For comments on Thompson's eccentricities, see [Robert Bright], Memories of Williamsburg and Stories of My Father (Richmond: Garrett and Massie, Inc., 1941), 13–14.

118. Throughout the 1870s baseball and football remained strictly student-run activities, though not entirely by choice. Warner Taliaferro remembered that the students "were always after the faculty to give us some assistance in sports," but the professors' "attitude as expressed by Dr. Wharton was that we had come to college to train our minds and not our bodies." Statement of Warner T. L. Taliaferro, May 26, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

119. Parke Rouse, Jr., ed., "A College Befriended: William and Mary in 1887," *VMHB* 94 (Jan. 1986): 84–85.

120. Statement of George P. Coleman, Feb. 25, 1938, box 1, Land Papers.

121. Interview with Malachi Gardner, Feb. 21, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

122. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 4. The title may have inspired the sobriquet applied to Washington's famous successor, Henry Billups, who rang the College bell from 1890 until the 1950s. Because Billups allegedly also supplied the students with alcohol, he was known to generations of William and Mary undergraduates as "Professor of Boozology." For additional information on Billups, see his very extensive Faculty/ Alumni file, especially the typescript of Trudier Harris's scholarly study of his career, "Henry Billups: Bell Ringer at the College of William and Mary, 1888–1955," ibid.

123. Benjamin S. Ewell to Legrand W. Perce, Feb. 12, 1872, Letters, 1870-72, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

124. See Thompson's hostile assessment of the freedmen in chapter 1. Rector James Lyons also worried about what he saw as the negative effects of the growing black population in James City County, but he did not comment specifically on relations between the races. In June 1877 he wrote, "One very great impediment to the success of William and Mary College is the depopulation of the white people and the increasing negro population in the county around it, which the Government of the United States is increasing by establishing a negro military school at Hampton and detailing West Point officers to teach in it." Lyons to BOV, William and Mary College. June 29, 1877, folder 54, College Papers.

125. Hughes, "Sixty Years Ago," 4.

126. Salle does not name Dawson in his reminiscences, but there is no doubt whom he is describing. Statement of Julian A. Salle, June 14, 1938, box 2, Land Papers.

127. For a brief sketch of Dawson, see Jackson, *Negro Office-Holders*, 10, 1 1 (picture), 63. Salle said that Dawson defaulted as treasurer of James City County, but Jackson does not mention that. According to Jackson, Dawson owned a number of houses and lots in Williamsburg and died there in 1915, following his retirement from the ministry.

128. [Lyon G. Tyler] to [Annie Tucker], July 16, 1877, folder June–July 1877, box 2, group b, Tyler Family Papers; Cynthia B. T. Coleman to Hugh B. Grigsby, June 18, 1878, sec. 31, Grigsby Papers.

129. Lyon G. Tyler to [Annie Tucker], Mar. 9, 1878, folder 2, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.

130. William H. E. Morecock to Hugh B. Grigsby, June 30, July 31, 1880, sec. 31, Grigsby Papers; Diary of Lamb, July 14, 1880, Lamb Papers.

131. Benjamin S. Ewell to BOV, Aug. 26, 1880, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

132. Charles Stringfellow to Benjamin S. Ewell, July 19, 1880, ibid.

133. BOV Minutes, Aug. 26, 27, 1880.

134. He also commented caustically on Richard Wise: "Dr. Wise by his resignation forestalled the action of the Board, as he would unquestionably have been removed, his duties at the Asylum rendering his attendance on his college duties a farce." D. Gardiner Tyler to Lyon G. Tyler, Sept. 8, 1880, folder 5, box 15 (1857–80), group a, Tyler Family Papers.

135. Benjamin S. Ewell to editor of Richmond State, Feb. 15, 1883, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

136. Elizabeth S. E. Scott to Elizabeth S. Ewell, July 26, [1881], folder 14, box 5, Ewell Papers,

WMM.

137. BOV Minutes, July 7, 1881.

138. Ibid.; Diary of Lamb, Apr. 28, July 5, 1881, Lamb Papers. Two other veteran Visitors—Henry A. Wise and the Reverend George Woodbridge—had died in the late 1870s. BOV Minutes, Jan. 17, 1877, June 14, 1878; Diary of Grigsby, Feb. 15, 1878, Grigsby Papers.

139. BOV Minutes, June 15, 1882.

140. Daniel Coit Gilman to Benjamin S. Ewell, May 28, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell papers, WMA; Gilman's letter is also printed in *Letters, Etc., Relating to the College of William and Mary* (Williamsburg: Benjamin Long, "Gazette" Office, [1887]), 1–2, in folder 22, College Papers, and in Rouse, ed., "A College Befriended," 87.

141. For a good discussion of the bell ringer stories, see Chapman, "Ewell," 283–84.

142. Edward S. Joynes to Benjamin S. Ewell, Mar. 18, 1882, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

143. BOV Minutes, Mar. 26, 27, 1882.

144. James Lyons to J. L. M. Curry, Mar. 25, 1882; Curry to Lyons, Mar. 27, 1882; circular of the general agent of the Peabody Fund, July 1881, folder 22, College Papers.

145. Ewell's later account does not always agree with the surviving documents. For example, he wrote in his autobiographical sketch that the entire incident occurred in 1883. Benjamin S. Ewell to Lyon G. Tyler. Jan. 31, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2; Ewell, "Autobiography."

146. Diary of Lamb, Mar. 27, 1882, Lamb Papers.

147. Diary of Lamb, Feb. 24, 1888, Lamb Papers.

148. Ewell, report to BOV, Aug. 4, 1884, BOV Minutes. For two descriptions of Ewell's routine during this period, see Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, May 23, 1887, folder 5, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM; Ewell to O. Sievers Barten, Aug. 30, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA

149. Rouse, ed., "A College Befriended," 84.

150. William Stevens Perry to Benjamin S. Ewell, Feb. 8, Aug. 9, 188 3, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

151. *Letters, Etc.*, 4–5.

152. George F. Hoar to Benjamin S. Ewell, May 13; 1884, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA; Letters, Etc., 7–9. As grateful as Ewell was for the public support, he did feel compelled to write a letter to the Boston Advertiser on November 23 , 1886, to correct one of the speakers at the Haivard celebration, who claimed the first American chair of law for the Massachusetts institution. Clipping in folder 22, College Papers.

153. *Letters, Etc.*, 7.

154. *Letters, Etc.* For a fuller discussion of this activity during the 1880s, see Chapman, "Ewell," 279–81.

155. Herbert Baxter Adams, *The College of William and Mary: A Contribution to the History of Higher Education with Suggestions for its National Promotion*, Bureau of Education: Circular of Information No. 1–1887 (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1887).

156. [Herbert B. Adams] to Benjamin S. Ewell, Dec. 14, 1886, Letters, 1880–86; Adams to Ewell, Feb. 26, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

157. Adams, *Contribution*, 8, 65.

158. Benjamin S. Ewell to Elizabeth S. Ewell, May 2 , 1887, folder 5, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMM.

159. Ewell recommended the monograph to Board members but took exception to Adams's views on moving the College. Benjamin S. Ewell to Warner T. Jones, June 9, 1887; N. H. R Dawson to Ewell, May 11, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA; Ewell to William B. Taliaferro, June 9, 1887, folder 2, box 12, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

160. Warner T. Jones to Benjamin S. Ewell, June 15, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. In early 1882 Ewell's sister apparently approached the Readjuster leader, William Mahone, who was then one of Virginia's United States Senators, about indemnification. He said that he would support the bill but declined to work for its passage. William Mahone to Elizabeth S. Ewell, Mar. 15, 1882, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell papers, WMA; BOV Minutes, June 15, 1882.

161. N. H. R. Dawson to William B. Taliaferro, Mar. 7, 1888, folder 4, box 12, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

162. Ewell told Charles F. Richardson in June 1887 that the College's "governing authorities" were "keeping the faith." Ewell to Richardson, June 22, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

163. John Goode to William W. Crump, Dec. 15, 1887, folder 54, College Papers; BOV Minutes, Dec. 19, 1887; Diary of Lamb, Dec. 19, 1887, Lamb Papers. Johnston had actually been elected in June 1878. BOV Minutes, June 15, 1878.

164. For one expression of concern about state stock in the late 1880s, see Benjamin S. Ewell to O. Sievers Barten, Aug. 30, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

165. Report of Committee on Finances of William and Mary College, [July 1883] , folder 52A, College Papers.

166. Ewell to editor of Richmond *State*, Feb. 15, 188 3 , Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA; BOV Minutes, July 7, 1887.

167. Income collected in 1873–74 had been $4,522.84, according to the bursar's report for that year. BOV Minutes, June 30, 1874. But by the spring of 1877, the income of the College did not exceed $2,300 a year. BOV minutes of meeting without a quorum, May 25, 1877, folder 51, College Papers.

168. Faculty Minutes, July 3 , 1882, July 4, 1883.

169. Warner T. Jones to William B. Taliaferro, Aug. 3, 1884, folder 4, box 11, group 1, Taliaferro papers.

170. P. Montagu Thompson to Warner T. Jones, July 20, 1885, folder 157, box 2, Warner T. Jones Papers. See BOV Minutes, Aug. 7, 1884, for the directives to which Thompson referred.

171. BOV Minutes, Nov. 27, 1885, Jan. 28, 1886.

172. The Board also empowered them to modify the various provisions if necessary, but the bill as finally enacted two years later was little changed from the original proposal. BOV Minutes, Jan. 28, 1886.

173. Benjamin S. Ewell to Warner T. Jones, Apr. 1, 1886, Letters, 1880–86, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

174. Ewell credits Taliaferro and Jones with winning the skeptical Visitors over to this strategy. Benjamin S. Ewell to "Sir," Sept. 20, 1892, folder 10, box 11, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

175. BOV Minutes, Mar. 17, July 7, Dec. 19, 1887. Dr. Barten, report as to school, Mar. 17, 1887, folder 22, College Papers; Rouse, ed., "A College Befriended," 81. Part of the impetus for the grammar school also seemed to come from the Reverend James R. Hubard of Norfolk, whom the Board elected professor of moral philosophy and humanity in March 1877. Colonel Lamb had suggested the appointment of a second faculty member as a way of protecting the charter should Benjamin Ewell die. Hubard was also to serve as rector at Bruton Parish Church. Although Hubard accepted the appointment in the spring, he resigned it when he fell ill in July. Apparently by late August, he had recovered and wanted to take up the appointment after all, but then he balked at sharing the President's House with Ewell during the day—and Ewell declined to give up his daily campus visits. Diary of lamb, Mar. 4, 1887, Lamb Papers; BOV Minutes, Mar. 17, 1887; Ewell to O. Sievers Barten, Aug. 30, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. Although Hubard never actually worked at the College, the Board officially accepted his resignation at its last meeting before merging with the new members

appointed by the governor under the 1888 law. BOV Minutes, May 10, 1888.

176. Warner T. Jones to William B. Taliaferro, Mar. 24, 1887, folder 2, box 12, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

177. Richmond State, Dec. 21, 1887.

178. Warner T. Jones to William B. Taliaferro, Mar. 24, 1887, folder 2, box 12, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

179. To follow this saga, see the numerous letters between General C. B. Norton of Boston and Ewell, beginning with Norton to Ewell, June 25, 1887, in Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. See also Diary of Lamb, July 7, Dec. 19, 20, 1887, May 23, 1888, Lamb Papers; BOV Minutes, Dec. 19, 1887.

180. Diary of Lamb, July 21, 1887, Lamb Papers; Benjamin S. Ewell to William W. Crump, Aug. 27, 1890, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. For a clear account of the Mayo investment, which Ewell considered the worst mistake of his administration, see Chapman, "Ewell," 232–34.

181. Benjamin S. Ewell to Charles F. Richardson, June 22, 1887, Letters, 1887, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

182. Benjamin S. Ewell to "Sir," Sept. 20, 1892, folder 10, box 11, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.

183. *Speech of J. N. Stubbs, in the Senate of Virginia, February 14, 1888, on the Passage of Senate Bill No. 53, to Establish a Male Normal School at the College of William and Mary in Connection with the Collegiate Course*, pamphlet, folder 23, College Papers; Benjamin S. Ewell to Lyon G. Tyler,Jan. 31, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA; J. A. Johnson to Authorities for Choosing a President for W&M College, Aug. 3, 1888, folder Tyler, Lyon, G.—Corresp., 1888–1900, box 13, Tyler Papers, WMA; Chapman, "Ewell." 290-91.

184. Diary of Lamb, Feb. 24, 1888, Lamb Papers. Even those who differed with Wise politically agreed on his energy, determination, and single-mindedness in pursuit of a cause. See, for example, Lyon G. Tyler to Annie [Tucker], Dec. 9, 1876, folder Dec. 1876, box 2; Mar. 15, 1878, folder 2, box 3, group b, Tyler Family Papers.

185. Richard A. Wise to Warner T. Jones, Feb. 25, 1888, folder 23, College Papers. "We made a combination with the Blacksburg men as I suggested, and I will stay here to aid them and carry out good faith," Wise told Ewell after the vote. Wise to Ewell, Mar. 1, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

186. Wise to Ewell, Mar. 1, 1888, Letters., 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA. Chapman, "Ewell," 291.

187. Richmond *State*, Jan. 19, Feb. 24, 1888.

188. "Complete accounting of vote ... ," enclosed in Richard A. Wise to Benjamin S. Ewell, Mar. 1, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

189. All of these men were deeply involved in the politics of their day, and feelings frequently ran high. In August 1877, for example, General Taliaferro described his loss of the Democratic gubernatorial nomination this way: "The Mahone party played me false all the way through. The Wises especially did all they could not only to elect Mahone but to defeat me. They made war upon me all the time." William B. Taliaferro to [his wife], Aug. 11, 1877, folder 5, box 9, group 1, Taliaferro Papers. In 1880 D. Gardiner Tyler commented on Richard Wise's "savage" Readjusterism in a letter to his brother Lyon, Sept. 8, 1880, folder 5, box 15 (1857–80), group a, Tyler Family Papers. Colonel Lamb's changing views—he opposed Mahone before he embraced him—can be followed through his diary. See his entry for December 21, 1880, for his "devotion" to the Readjuster cause at that point.

190. Wise to Ewell, Mar. 1, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.

191. An Act to Establish a Normal School at William and Mary College … , printed copy, Mar. 7, 1888, folder '23, College Papers. See Section IV for additional provisions in the final version.

192. Benjamin S. Ewell to "Sir," Sept. 20, 1892, folder 10, box 11, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.
193. Final report of the president of the College to the old Board, May 10, 1888, folder 52A, College Papers.
194. Benjamin S. Ewell to BOV, May 10, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
195. Diary of Lamb, May 11, 1888, Lamb Papers; BOV Minutes, May 11, 1888.
196. Joseph E. Johnston to T. T. Gantt, May 29, 1888, folder 5, box 2, Joseph E. Johnston Papers, WMM; Benjamin S. Ewell to Warner T. Jones, May 12, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
197. Joseph E. Johnston to T. T. Gantt, May 29, 1888, folder 5, box 2, Johnston Papers.
198. Benjamin S. Ewell to William B. Taliaferro, June 20, 1888, folder 5, box 12, group 1, Taliaferro Papers.
199. John L. Buchanan to William W. Crump. July 2, 1888, folder 23, College Papers.
200. Benjamin S. Ewell to Warner T. Jones, Aug. 22, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
201. Diary of Lamb, Aug. 23, 1888, Lamb Papers; BOV Minutes, Aug. 23, 1888.
202. See Chapman, "Ewell," 296–301, for a description of Ewell in retirement.
203. Benjamin S. Ewell to Warner T. Jones, Aug. 22, 1888, Letters, 1888–98, box 2, Ewell Papers, WMA.
204. Chapman, "Ewell," 301.